

Plantation and Civility in the North Atlantic World

*The Case of the Northern Hebrides,
1570-1639*



Aonghas MacCoinnich



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Plantation and Civility in the North Atlantic World

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Plantation and Civility in the North Atlantic World

The Case of the Northern Hebrides, 1570–1639

By

Aonghas MacCoinnich



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Cover illustration: (front) detail from a map of Scotland by Willem Janszoon Blaeu, *Scotia Regnum* (Amsterdam, 1635). This shows a Dutch response to the attempt by Charles I to impose sovereignty over his seas by placing a ship flying a Dutch flag between the Isle of Lewis and the Scottish mainland. Pointedly these were the waters denied Seaforth's Dutch partners by the Association for British fishing from 1631. A detail from the same map at the rear of the book shows a scene with Dutch herring boats fishing adjacent to the Scottish coast. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Library of Scotland. NLS, shelfmark: Marischal 21.

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Gu Màiri agus Alasdair Tormod



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Aonghas MacCoinnich

Là Buidhe Bealltuinn, 2015

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Abbreviations

APS	Thomson, T. & C. Innes, (eds.), <i>Acts of Parliaments of Scotland, 1424–1707</i> (12 vols., Edinburgh, 1814–1875).
AT	Argyll Transcripts, Inveraray Castle Archive. Volumes 8–14 (1600–1669) accessed at Inveraray. Volumes 2–7 (1400–1599) accessed as photostat copies held in the Scottish history subject area, the University of Glasgow.
AUL	Aberdeen University Library.
Birrel's <i>Diary</i>	'The Diary of Robert Birrel, burges of Edinburgh, containing Divers passages of staite and uthers memorable accidents. Frome the 1532 yeir of our Redemption, till the beginning of the yeir 1605' (64 pp.). Printed as an appendix to Dalyell's 'Fragments of Scottish History.' Sir John Graham Dalyell, (ed.), <i>Fragments of Scottish History</i> (Edinburgh, 1798).
BL	British Library, London, England.
Calderwood, <i>History</i>	Thomson, T., & D. Laing, (eds.), <i>The History of the Kirk of Scotland, by Mr David Calderwood</i> (8 Vols, Edinburgh, Wodrow Society, 1842–9).
CANMORE	Web resource of the Royal Commission of Ancient and Historic Buildings, Scotland (RCAHMS): http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk/ .
<i>Chron. Frasers</i>	Mackay, W., (ed.), <i>Chronicles of the Frasers, The Wardlaw Manuscript entitled 'Polichronicon seu policratica temporum, or the True genealogy of the Frasers, 916–1674', by Master James Fraser minister of the Parish of Wardlaw (now Kirkhill), Inverness</i> (Edinburgh, 1905).
<i>Collectanea</i>	Gregory, D. & W.F. Skene (eds.), <i>Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis</i> (Iona Club, Edinburgh, 1847).
<i>csp Charles I</i>	Bruce, J. & W.D. Hamilton (eds.), <i>Calendar of State Papers of the Reign of Charles I</i> (17 vols, London, 1858–1882).
<i>csp, Carew</i>	Brewer, J.S. & W. Bullen (eds.), <i>Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, 1515–1624</i> (6 vols, London, 1867–1873).
<i>csp, Ireland</i>	Hamilton, H.C., E.G. Atkinson & R.P. Mahaffy (eds.), <i>Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth, preserved in the State Paper department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office</i> (11 Volumes, London, 1860–1912).

- CSP, Ireland (Charles I)* Mahaffy, R.P. (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland in the reign of Charles I: preserved in the Public Record Office* (4 vols., London, 1900–1903).
- CSP, James I* Everett-Green, M.A. (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series preserved in the State Paper Department, of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. James I* (4 volumes, 1603–1625. London. 1857–1859).
- CSP, Scotland* Bain, J. (et al. eds.), *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary Queen of Scots, 1547–1603* (13 vols., Edinburgh, 1898–1969).
- DSL* Dictionar o the Scots Leid. The Dictionary of the Scots Language. Online webs resource <<http://www.dsl.ac.uk/>>.
- Dunvegan Book* MacLeod, R.C. (ed.), *The Book of Dunvegan, Being documents from the muniments room of the Macleods* (2 vols., Aberdeen, Third Spalding Club, 1938–39).
- ER* Burnett, G. & G.P. McNeill (eds.), *The Exchequer rolls of Scotland 1264–1600: Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum 1264–1600* (Edinburgh, 23 vols, 1878–1908).
- FES* Scott, H. (et al. eds.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ* (8 vols., Edinburgh, 1915–50).
- GAR, ONA* Geementarcheif Rotterdam, Oud Notarieel Archieef.
- Fraser, Cromartie* Fraser, W. (ed.), *The Earls of Cromartie: kindred, country and correspondence* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1876).
- Gordon, Sutherland* Weber, H. (ed.), *A Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland from its origin to the year 1630, written by Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, baronet, with a continuation to the year 1651. Published from the original manuscript* (Edinburgh, 1813).
- Highland Papers* MacPhail, J.R.N. (ed.), *Highland Papers* (4 vols., Edinburgh, 1914–34).
- HMC* Historical Manuscripts Commission.
- HMC, Hatfield MSS* Giuseppi, M.S. (et al. eds.), *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Hon. the Marquess of Salisbury preserved at Hatfield House* (24 vols., London, 1883–1976).
- ICA* Inveraray Castle Archives.
- MacGill, Old Ross-shire* MacGill, W. (ed.), *Old Ross-shire and Scotland as seen in the Tain and Balnagown Documents* (2 vols., 1909–11).
- ML* Glasgow City Archives, Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
- Monro, 'Description'* Description of the Occidental, i.e. Western Isles of Scotland by Mr Donald Monro who travelled through many of them in

	Anno 1549', printed as an appendix to M. Martin, <i>A description of the western Islands of Scotland, circa 1695 and a late voyage to St Kilda</i> (Birlinn, Edinburgh, 1999), 299–345.
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh.
NRS	National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh.
NRAS	National Register of Archives, Scotland.
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford University Press, 2004), < http://www.oxforddnb.com >.
Oppenheim, Monson	Oppenheim, M. (ed.), <i>The Naval Tracts of Sir William Monson</i> (Navy Records Society, London, 5 Vols., 1902–14).
OS	Ordnance Survey.
Pitcairn, <i>Trials</i>	Pitcairn, R. (ed.), <i>Ancient Criminal Trials in Scotland compiled from the Original records and MSS., with historical illustrations, etc. By Robert Pitcairn</i> . 3 Volumes in 7 parts (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1833).
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i> .
RCAHMS, 1928	<i>Royal Commission of Ancient and Historic Monuments & Constructions of Scotland, Ninth report, with inventory of monuments and constructions in the Outer Hebrides, Skye and the Small Isles</i> (Edinburgh, 1928).
RCRBS	Marwick, J.D., (ed.), <i>Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland 1295–1738</i> (6 vols., Edinburgh, 1870–1890).
Retours	Thomson, T. (ed.), <i>Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatam quae in Publicis Archiivis Scotiae adhuc servantur abbreviato</i> (3 Vols., Edinburgh, 1811–16).
RMS	Thomson, J.M. (ed.), <i>Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1306–1668</i> (Edinburgh, 11 Vols, 1882–1914: Clark Constable Reprint, 1984).
RPCS	Masson, D. & J.H. Burton (eds.), <i>Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1545–1625</i> (14 vols., Edinburgh, 1877–1898).
RPCS (2nd Ser.)	Masson, D. & P. Hume Brown, (eds.), <i>Register of the Privy Council of Scotland second Series, Vols 1–7 [1625–1643]</i> (Edinburgh 1899–1906).
RPS	Brown, K. (et al. eds.), <i>Records of the Parliaments of Scotland</i> – Published online by the University of St Andrews at: www.rps.ac.uk .
RSS	Livingstone, M. (et al. eds.), <i>Registrum Secreti Sigilli regum Scotorum: Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland 1488–1580</i> (Edinburgh, 8 vols, 1948–1982).
SAUL	St Andrews University Library.

SCRAN	SCRAN, online web resource: http://www.scran.ac.uk/ .
SP	Paul, J.B. (ed.), <i>Scots Peerage</i> (9 vols., Edinburgh, 1904–1914).
Spottiswoode, <i>History</i>	Russell, M. & Napier, M. (eds.), <i>History of the Church of Scotland, beginning in the year of our Lord, 203, and continued to the end of the reign of King James VI. By the Right Rev. John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St Andrews, and Lord Chancellor of Scotland</i> (3 vols., Edinburgh, Spottiswoode Society, 1847–51).
SSNE	Murdoch, S. & A. Grosjean, <i>The Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern European Biographical Database (SSNE)</i> Published on the internet by the University of St Andrews, 2004. http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/index.php .
TA	Dickson, T., J.B. Paul, & C.T. Macinnes (eds.), <i>Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland 1473–1580: Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum 1473–1580</i> (13 vols., Edinburgh, 1877–1978).
TGSI	<i>Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness.</i>
TNA	The National Archives. Kew, England.

Conventions

The currency referred to in the text is the Scottish pound unless otherwise stated. All the internet resources cited here were referred to between 2010 and 2014 unless otherwise indicated. The forms of place-names referred to in the text broadly mirror the current approaches taken by Ordnance Survey maps – which use Gaelic forms for place-names for the Islands of Barra, the Uists and Lewis and anglicised versions of Gaelic place-names for their maps of other areas of the Gaidhealtachd such as Skye and elsewhere in Scotland. The Ordnance Survey grid referencing system, the letters ‘OS’ followed by a two letter and a six digit grid identification number, have been used to identify placename locations where necessary.¹ Gaelic forms of personal names have been used here for individuals who were Gaelic speakers, rather than anglicised versions of these forenames. Where such individuals had recognised English surnames such as ‘Macleod’ or ‘Mackenzie’ these English forms of surnames have been used (i.e. ‘Coinneach Mackenzie’ here rather than ‘Kenneth Mackenzie’).

The written language most often used by Scottish people, both Highland and Lowland, in the early seventeenth century was usually either Scots or Scots influenced English. Some Scots language words appear in source quotations in the text, in the footnotes and in the appendices. Some of the more commonly occurring Scots words have been included in a glossary (below, appendix G2). However, the reader is referred to the online Scots Dictionary, should this prove necessary, for any unfamiliar terms.² Where there are contractions or abbreviations in primary sources used in the text, the footnotes or in the appendices, any additional letters supplied are placed in square brackets. Early modern Scots, for example, habitually wrote ‘with’ as ‘w’ which is shown here as ‘w[i]t[h].’ Scots and Englishmen of this period had a relaxed attitude to punctuation. This can make contemporary source quotations difficult to follow and a minimum of punctuation has been added for this reason to texts quoted in the main body of the book, in footnotes and in the appendices. A more detailed note on language and some of the choices made here on issues of nomenclature can be found at the end of the book (appendices G1-3).

¹ Ordnance Survey, *Landranger Series of maps, 1:50,000* (Southampton, 1976-), Maps 1–85.

² *Dictionar o the Scots Leid/Dictionary of the Scots Language* (DSL). An online web resource: <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/dsl/>.

The Conditions for Plantation. The Scottish Context Pre 1598

Introduction

The Northern Hebrides centring on the Island of Lewis on the Atlantic coast of Scotland and the wider Gaelic speaking region of the Highlands and Islands are sometimes viewed from within Scotland, Britain and further afield, as peripheral, remote and isolated. Such modern geographical perspectives were not always adopted in earlier centuries and were certainly not held by the indigenous inhabitants of the *Gaidhealtachd*.¹ Shipping bound to or from the Netherlands, Scandinavia or the Baltic which attempted to pass through the narrow Straits of Dover, was often vulnerable to harassment from French, Flemish or English pirates or privateers. This together, with the prevailing south westerly wind, meant that Northern European shipping often attempted the longer, more hazardous sea route past the storm-lashed north of Scotland when trafficking with the wider world in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.² Despite being adjacent to a busy international shipping route the Hebrides had hitherto been relatively insulated from the demands of Edinburgh governments in terms of control exercised by the latter and the revenue they were able to extract. This changed during the reign of James VI of Scotland 1567–1625, a monarch determined to exploit all possible resources and bring all corners of his realm to heel. There are several reasons for James VI's interest in a corner of the realm largely, if not completely, ignored by his predecessors.³ One of these was the Irish and British dimension: the Macleods of Lewis and most of their Hebridean neighbours had been active participants in England's Irish wars.

1 R.A. Dodgshon, *From chiefs to landlords. Social and economic change in the western Highlands and Islands, c. 1493–1820* (Edinburgh, 1998), 11–12.

2 N.A.M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Seas. A Naval History of Britain. Volume one, 660–1649* (London, 1997), 351–2, 361, C.R. Boxer, 'Treasure From the Sea: Shipwrecks of Dutch East Indiamen, 1629–1749,' in, *History Today*, 23 (1973), 766–775, at 769–772.

3 Fifteenth and sixteenth century Stewart monarchs, James I, James II, James III, James IV, James V and Queen Mary all intervened in the Highlands with varying degrees of success. None of these monarchs enjoyed a lengthy reign and none imposed their will on the Highlands and the Islands for a lengthy period. J. Cameron (& N. MacDougall, ed.), *James V: the personal rule, 1528–1542* (East Linton, 1998), 228–242, 245–248. See also chapter 2, below.

This activity had been tolerated, if not tacitly encouraged, by Scottish monarchs but by the later 1590s James, as the most likely heir to Elizabeth I of England, stood to inherit this conflict. Adopting the English fashion for Irish-style plantation and implementing this in Gaelic Scotland might show his future English subjects that James was suitably tough on Gaelic barbarity and prepared to deal with the causes of it (Chapter 3). Another pressing factor for an impecunious king was the boom in the herring fishery in the later sixteenth century, much of it driven by stocks in Hebridean waters. The coastline – and the seas of the North Minch basin were, moreover, dominated by the Macleods of Lewis, a family who, from a governmental perspective, obstructed the progress of commerce and thus impeded the flow of tax into the royal coffers.

These were some of the many pressures which led to state sanctioned intervention in the Northern Hebrides. This was to result in fierce competition between five different groups of people both native and stranger, from both within and outwith the northern Hebridean region, for control of this area, the Isle of Lewis in particular, over a fifty year period. The approaches taken by these different groups of people, both native and newcomer, to the same unit of land, over a relatively short time period, can give fresh insights into processes such as state formation and plantation. The number of rival groups contesting this space also affords a convenient means of structuring the book. This, essentially, is a series of case studies exploring how a number of successive groups attempted to control and exploit the same set of resources in a discrete area over a half century from different perspectives. Chapter two examines the native Macleods of Lewis, or Siol Torcaill, a Gaelic-speaking clan who had been established in the island since the fourteenth century but whose land was taken from them, despite their stout resistance, initially by Lowland Scottish colonists or planters in 1598; a job finished off by the Mackenzies of Kintail in 1610. This chapter considers what it was about Siol Torcaill that made them, more than their neighbours, vulnerable to predatory outsiders. Other than Gregory's pioneering history (1836) and William C. Mackenzie's *History of the Outer Hebrides* (1903) no detailed evaluation of the Fife Adventurer plantations of Lewis, 1598–1607, has ever been attempted. This has mainly been due to the lack of readily accessible source materials. Yet this, arguably, was the first Scottish plantation under the auspices of the Scottish Crown (different from the numerous Scots stranger communities in Europe), predating attempts at Scottish settlement in Ulster by a number of years and anticipating later Scottish plantations at Acadia (1629) and at Darien (1695). New evidence is presented here (chapter three), drawn largely on a range of evidence and including under-utilised archival sources, to try and explore some of the pressures faced by these Lowland planters during their attempts to establish a viable settlement in Lewis.

This Lowland Scots plantation failed by 1609, if not 1607, and these planters, known as the Fife Adventurers, were then succeeded in possession of the island by the neighbouring Mackenzie clan in 1609. The Mackenzie clan (chapter four) were Gaelic speaking Highlanders like their Macleod predecessors, but much more politically well-connected and commercially astute. They were faced with the daunting and expensive task of attempting to make a success of a failed venture. This chapter, drawing on fresh evidence, will explore how the Mackenzies were able to succeed where the Fife Adventurers had failed. The Mackenzies, keen to develop their new territory brought in some Dutch specialists, from Zeeland (chapter five), to modernise their fishery in 1628. The Dutch were ousted from the area, in turn, by English merchants and adventurers (chapter six) who themselves sought to control the area and hoped to 'civilise' it under the auspices of the 'British' fishery project from 1630 until the outbreak of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639) put paid to English commercial operations in Lewis.

Three over-arching themes cut across most of the case studies that follow in chapters two to six and form part of the backdrop against which the old Macleod lordship failed and the Fife Adventurer episode was initiated. These three wider themes will be addressed in this chapter: firstly the cultural and linguistic divergence between the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland, secondly, the 'civility' agenda of the Crown and its agents and, thirdly, the importance of the fishing grounds of the North Minch in the run up to the first plantation of 1598.

Highlands and Lowlands – Cultural and Linguistic Divergence

It is worth briefly considering some aspects of the nature of Scotland at the end of the sixteenth century which had a very different character in many respects from the nation today. Most Scots now live in an urban or semi-urban environment, mostly concentrated in the Lowland 'Central Belt' stretching from Glasgow eastwards across to Edinburgh and northwards up the eastern coastal plain to Aberdeen. The Highlands and Islands are now relatively sparsely populated. The population was much more evenly spread throughout the kingdom, Highland as well as Lowland in the sixteenth century than is now the case. At the start of the seventeenth century most Scots lived in the countryside or in small settlements. Even in the Lowlands, although there were a great many well-established towns and cities, urban populations remained relatively small and many still lived rurally. The country was a very different

place culturally and linguistically than it is today. Only 1% of Scots now speak Gaelic. At least one-third, if not more, of all Scots spoke Gaelic as their first language around 1600, mainly in the Islands and in the Highlands.⁴

A growing divide is often said to have opened up in Scotland between the Highlands and Lowlands during the later middle ages. Gaelic, formerly spoken throughout much of the Kingdom of Scotland, had retreated from the southern and eastern Lowlands to the Highlands, Hebrides and to Carrick and possibly parts of Galloway by the fifteenth century. Burghs, licenced trading monopolies and towns established in the twelfth century in the Lowlands of the south and east of Scotland, were centres of commerce and dominated from their inception by speakers of the Inglis (Scots) language. The churches, similarly, were re-founded in the Lowlands during the twelfth century and moved away from their Gaelic past.⁵ In the predominantly Gaelic speaking Highlands, there were fewer burghs. Some burghs, such as Inverness, Tain, Dornoch in the north, abutted Gaelic speaking districts and long retained large Gaelic speaking populations. The predominant means of social organisation in the Highlands was in clans, loosely kin-orientated groups. The clan was defined by contemporaries in legal documents as an aggregation consisting of kin, friends, allies and partakers.⁶ These clans were often hierarchical organisations with these powers and jurisdictions resting, in theory, if not always in practice, with the nucleus of a family hierarchy, usually in the person of the clan chief. Remote from Edinburgh, many clan chiefs and their followers often showed scant regard for diktats from the southern courts and councils. Royal crack-downs and attempts at imposing control over rebellious subjects are a staple of the historical narrative for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries against which growing Highland – Lowland antipathy often forms a backdrop. By the late fourteenth century, if not earlier, Gaelic speaking Highlanders were labelled ‘barbarous’ by their Lowland peers. The growing divergence between the Gaelic speaking Highlands and Inglis/Scots speaking Lowlands by the later

4 C.W.J. Withers, ‘Linguistic changes,’ in P.G.B. McNeill & H.L. MacQueen (eds.), *Atlas of Scottish History to 1707* (Edinburgh, 1996), 426–429.

5 T. Clancy, ‘Gaelic in Medieval Scotland: advent and expansion (The Sir John Rhys memorial lecture, 2009),’ in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 167 (2009), 349–392. S. Taylor, ‘Babbet and bridin pudding or polyglot Fife in the Middle Ages,’ in *Nomina*, 17 (1994), 99–118, at 106–111. R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe Conquest, Civilisation and Cultural Change, 950–1350* (Penguin, 1994), 234, 270–79.

6 A.I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788* (East Linton, 1996), 1–24, 30–52. M. MacGregor & A. Mackillop, ‘Clans of the Highlands and Islands,’ in M. Lynch (ed.), *The Companion to Scottish history* (Oxford, 2001), 93–97. *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, IV (Aberdeen, 1849), 231–232. *RPCS*, v, 740–741.

Middle Ages is a commonplace of Scottish historiography with the Gael cast in the role of 'the other,' whose motives for rebellion are often not questioned. This has deep historical roots within Scotland and has parallels elsewhere in Europe. All too often, this, rebellion, was simply what Gaels did, something reflected until recently in Scottish historiography.⁷ Few have asked how this may have been viewed from the Isles if not the Highlands. From a Hebridean perspective, one might well ask 'what did the Stewarts ever do for us?' Powerful pro-Stewart clans such as the Campbells and the Mackenzies form an important exception to the stereotype.⁸ Nevertheless, given the exploitative, sporadic, and often violent, interventions of the Scottish monarchy in the area from the late medieval through into the early modern period, it can seem surprising that they commanded any loyalty at all from many of their Highland and Hebridean subjects.⁹

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- 7 M. MacGregor, 'Gaelic barbarity and Scottish Identity in the later middle ages' (7–48), D. Broun, 'Attitudes of Gall to Gaedhil in Scotland before John of Fordun' (49–82) and S. Boardman, 'The Gaelic world and the early Stewart Court' (83–109), all three essays in, D. Broun & M. MacGregor (eds.), *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall. The great ill-will of the Lowlander? Lowland perceptions of the Highlands, medieval and modern* (Glasgow, 2009). W.M. Aird, "Sweet Civility and Barbarous Rudeness": a view from the Frontier. Abbot Ailred of Rievaulx and the Scots,' in S.G. Ellis & L. Klusákova (eds.), *Imagining Frontiers. Contesting Identities* (Pisa University Press, 2007), 59–76. The Gaelic Scot has often been viewed as a peripheral rebel whose motives for rebellion need not be examined. A selection of quotes, admittedly out of context, from Gordon Donaldson, a former historiographer royal, can illustrate this point. 'Purely Highland families played hardly any part in national affairs in the sixteenth century.' Western Highlanders and Islesmen were 'troublesome' and, despite the extensive rebellion of Dòmhnall Dubh Macdonald, 1545, involving a large force of Highlanders, with Irish and English dimensions, 'the fate of Scotland was not to be determined in the West Highlands.' Only magnate families such as the Campbells or Gordons need be considered as 'no Highland chief was of much importance in comparison with these two semi-lowland families.' G. Donaldson, *Scotland: James V – James VII. The Edinburgh History of Scotland, volume 3* (Edinburgh, 1990), 13–14, 50–52, 72.
- 8 S. Boardman, *The Campbells, 1250–1513* (Edinburgh, 2006). J.E.A. Dawson, *The Politics of Religion in the age of Mary Queen of Scots. The Earl of Argyll and the struggle for Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2002). A. MacCoinnich, "Kingis rabellis" to Cuidich 'n' Rìgh; the emergence of Clann Choinnich, c. 1475–1508,' in, S. Boardman & A. Ross (eds.), *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland, 1200–1500* (Dublin, 2003), 175–200. A. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd. Eachdraidh Chlann Choinnich, c.1466–1637' (tràchdas PhD, Oilthigh Obar Dheathain, 2005). J. Munro, 'the Mackenzies,' in, R. Oram & G. Stell (eds.), *Lordship and Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2005), 273–291.
- 9 Despite the efforts of Evan Macleod Barron (1934) old stereotypes such as those regurgitated by Donaldson (previous note) cast a long shadow. E.M. Barron, *The Scottish War of Independence. A critical study* (2nd edition, Inverness, 1934), xv–xxiv. Recent historiography

The dominance of Lowland governance and trade also resulted in the prevalence of the written Scots language throughout the kingdom, supplanting the earlier reliance on Latin. This was also the case in the Highlands in connection with administration and commerce by the sixteenth if not the fifteenth century. Moreover, the lack of status of the Gaelic tongue by the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and the universal usage of Scots (latterly English, increasingly, post-1603) for most writings has resulted in a dearth of Gaelic language sources to draw on. Gaelic scribal activity was restricted to narrow contexts, such as genealogy, medicine and poetry, and a restricted geographical range on the southern and western fringe of the Gaidhealtachd. There was little enough Gaelic writing within Argyll and the southern Hebrides and practically none in the northern and eastern Gaidhealtachd.¹⁰ This can mean that a modern historian can contradict travellers' first-hand reports of the widespread nature of Gaelic speech and assert that a Highland town in the seventeenth century such as Inverness could 'view itself as an island of Lowland civility surrounded by wild Highland barbarity' despite good evidence to the contrary.¹¹ Certainly, the

has been more nuanced and more questioning of such received opinion. See, for example, Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*. Dodgshon, *From chiefs to landlord*. E.J. Cowan, 'The invention of Celtic Scotland,' in E.J. Cowan & R.A. Macdonald (eds.), *Alba, Celtic Scotland in the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 2000), 1–23 and at 4, 19–21. J. Goodare, *The Government of Scotland, 1560–1625* (Edinburgh, 2004), 220–245. J.E.A. Dawson, *Scotland re-formed, 1488–1587* (Edinburgh, 2007), 72–74. A. Cathcart, 'The forgotten '45: Donald Dubh's rebellion in an archipelagic context,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 91 (2012), 239–264, at 233–240. S. Murdoch, *The Terror of the Seas? Scottish maritime warfare, 1513–1713* (Brill, Leiden, 2010), 134–142, 329.

10 A. MacCoinnich, 'Where was Gaelic written in late medieval and early modern Scotland? Orthographic practices and cultural identities' in *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 24 (2008), 309–356, at 314–322. For a detailed survey of Gaelic manuscripts from this period see also, R. Black, 'The Gaelic Manuscripts of Scotland,' in W. Gillies (ed.), *Gaelic and Scotland. Alba agus a' Ghàidhlig* (Edinburgh, 1989), 146–174.

11 A. Kennedy, 'The urban community in restoration Scotland: government, society and economy in Inverness, 1660–c.1688,' in *Northern Scotland*, 5 (2014), 26–49, at 31. Kennedy's view of Inverness as an Anglophone island in the Highlands does not accord with the observation of Thomas Tucker (1655), that Gaelic was so commonly used that 'one halfe of the people understand not one another' or with the description of Inverness given by Thomas Kirk (1677), that 'all the Highlanders speak a kind of wild Irish; and all in the town of Inverness do generally use that language, except some of the better sort that can speak Scotch...' Kirk also related that he had attended a wedding at Inverness but was unable to follow the service as 'it was in the Highland Language.' P. Hume Brown (ed.), *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1891, James Thin reprint, 1973), 174. P. Hume Browne (ed.), *Tours in Scotland, 1677 and 1681 by Thomas Kirk and Ralph Thoresby* (Edinburgh, 1892), 28, 30.

town's officials wrote all their records in Scots/English and, it has been observed, bore 'Lowland' names: the inference being that this meant they were non-Gaelic.¹² Despite this, an ostensibly 'Lowland' burgess family such as the Cuthberts of Inverness, who may appear at first glance to have little to do with the Gaidhealtachd, had long-standing ties of marriage and fosterage with the Mackenzie clan and were, like the Mackenzies able to operate in a bi-cultural and bilingual manner. Indeed the Cuthbert family of Castle Hill in Inverness appear to have used the style 'Mac Sheòrais' in Gaelic.¹³ Moreover, there is evidence of a provision for Gaelic religious services from the 1630s and as late as 1704, a survey of Inverness by the church found that a mere 40 individuals living in Inverness could not understand Gaelic, while a further 900 were bilingual and over 3000 parishioners understood no English at all.¹⁴ The historical invisibility of the Gaelic language extends far beyond the towns. Almost all the manuscript histories of Gaelic speaking clans produced in the period, and written by clansmen, were in English.¹⁵ No one has yet suggested, however, that the lack of Gaelic texts surviving from Highland clans meant that they did not use Gaelic. The pattern in the Highlands in the early modern period (if not as

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- 12 Kennedy, 'The urban community in restoration Scotland: government, society and economy in Inverness,' 31.
- 13 A. MacCoinnich, 'Daltachas, fineachan agus Alba anns an t-siathamh agus an t-seachdamh linn deug,' in G. Munro & R.A.V. Cox (eds.), *Cànan & Cultur/Language & Culture, Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 4* (Edinburgh, 2010), 37–54, at 45. C.F. Macintosh, 'Minor Highland Families (no. x) – The Cuthberts of Castlehill, styled "MacSheòrais,"' *TGSI*, 21 (1896–97), 10–21. Similarly, the Baillie family, long associated with Inverness, claimed descent from thirteenth century King of Scots, John Balliol, and were ostensibly Anglophone. Yet 'Iain Dhu Baillie' (1620) bore a Gaelic by-name and William Baillie, the eighth laird (fl. 1660), is said to have not only spoken Gaelic but composed Gaelic verse. C.F. Macintosh, 'Minor Highland Families (no. xi) – The Baillies of Dunain,' *TGSI*, 23 (1897–98), 140–152, at, 141, 143, 144. There was a similar cultural milieu at the southern end of the Gaidhealtachd. Gaelic was widely spoken in Highland Perthshire and Atholl but Scots (and latterly English) was written. S. Murdoch & A. Grosjean, *Alexander Leslie and the Scottish generals of the Thirty Years War, 1618–1648* (London, 2014), 2–4.
- 14 V.E. Durkacz, *The decline of the Celtic languages. A study of linguistic and cultural conflict in Scotland, Wales and Ireland from the Reformation to the twentieth century* (Edinburgh, 1983), 12–13. A. Macdonald, 'The Presbytery of Inverness, 1632–1644,' in *TGSI*, 38 (1937–41), 483–512, at 498–501, 511. See also, A. Fraser, 'Contributions towards the history of the third charge of Inverness, commonly called the Gaelic Church of Inverness,' *TGSI*, 3 (1873–74), 167–181.
- 15 There are over 60 of these clan histories of which the red and black Books of Clanranald alone contain a significant amount of Gaelic. M. MacGregor, 'Writing the history of Gaelic Scotland: a provisional checklist of 'Gaelic' genealogical histories,' in *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 24 (2008), 357–379. MacCoinnich, 'Where was Gaelic written,' 314–322.

early as the late medieval period) was that people spoke Gaelic but (almost always) wrote in Scots or English.¹⁶

Yet this masks the rich literary-oral culture within Gaelic Scotland at the time, which can be glimpsed through the surviving corpus of Gaelic poetry (pre 1730) which includes exemplars from almost every corner of Gaelic Scotland. Much of this seems to have been Gaelic song, composed and recited without recourse to paper, much of it not written down until the eighteenth or nineteenth century. While much was lost, what does survive largely (with one or two important exceptions) came through the oral tradition in this manner. Gaels may have often chosen to write in English, but they were sophisticated and discerning practitioners and consumers of Gaelic poetry. The canon of surviving poetry from the period ranges from simple songs in everyday vernacular Gaelic to coded, highly complex motifs with high registers of language and stylised linguistic conventions.¹⁷ Indeed, knowledge of spoken Gaelic, Gaelic poetry and genealogy were integral to clanship and to the exercise of power in the Gaidhealtachd. Even those whose jurisdictions spanned both Gaidhealtachd and non-Gaelic areas, lairds such as the Gordons of Buckie, the Gordons of Leitcheston (c.1644), magnates such as Sir Robert Gordon, tutor of Sutherland (c.1620), the Murrays of Tullibardine (1630 x 1699), the Marquis of Argyll (c.1640), while ostensibly Anglophone, also spoke Gaelic and took great care to ensure that the heads and heirs of their families had a Gaelic education, learnt Gaelic and its cultural mores and could operate in that world.¹⁸

16 MacCoinnich, 'Where was Gaelic written,' 318–322.

17 I am grateful to Professor William Gillies for bringing this to my attention and to Dr Martin MacGregor for discussing this point with me. W. Gillies, 'The Gaelic of Niall MacMhuirich' *TGSI*, 65 (2006–2009), 69–95, and at note 41. M. MacGregor, 'The Campbells: lordship, literature and liminality,' in *Textual Cultures: texts, contexts, interpretation*, 7 (2012), 121–157. C.Ó Baoill & D. Macaulay, *Scottish vernacular verse to 1730: a checklist* (2nd edition, Aberdeen, 2001). J. Macinnes, 'The Panegyric code in Gaelic poetry' in M. Newton (ed.), *Dùthchas nan Gaidheal. Selected essays of John Macinnes* (Edinburgh, 2006), 265–319.

18 A.I. Macinnes, 'Seventeenth century Scotland: the undervalued Gaelic perspective,' in C.J. Byrne, M. Harry & P.Ó Siadhail (eds.), *Celtic Languages and Peoples* (Halifax, N.S., 1992), 535–554. D.L. Evans (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1629, May – 1630, May* (London, HMSO, 1960), 255 (no. 815). A.I. Macinnes, *The British Confederate. Archibald Campbell, Marquess of Argyll, 1607–1661* (John Donald, Edinburgh, 2011), 66–67. R. Black, 'A Scottish grammatical tract, c. 1640,' in P. de Brún & M. Ó Murchú (eds.), *Celtica, vol. XXI. Essays in honour of Brian Ó Cuív* (1990), 3–16, at, 6–7. MacCoinnich, 'Where was Gaelic written?' 315 & n. 15, 19. J. Stuart (ed.), *A breiffe narration of the service done to three noble ladies by Gilbert Blakhal, priest of the Scots Mission in France and the Low Countries, and in Scotland, MDCXXXI–MDCXLIX* (Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1844), 103–110. J.M. Bulloch (ed.), *The House of Gordon, volume 1* (Aberdeen, 1903), 56–58. NRS, GD 112/39/449.

Gaelic speech, omnipresent in Northern and Western Scotland, could be found in the countryside as close as a day's travel from Lowland centres such as Glasgow, Stirling, Perth and Aberdeen. Despite this few, perhaps, of the remaining half of the population in the Lowlands retained much awareness by the end of the fifteenth century, far less the sixteenth, that Gaelic had once been spoken widely in parts of the Lowlands, in areas such as Fife, perhaps 200–300 years earlier, and that some of their forebears, too, had once spoken Gaelic. Scotsmen in the Lowlands, from the fourteenth or fifteenth century onwards, found themselves increasingly different linguistically and culturally from their Highland, Gaelic-speaking, countrymen.¹⁹ This is even reflected in the names given to the languages of Scotland. Gaelic, formerly called 'lingua Scotica,' the Scottish tongue, was known from the fifteenth century onwards as 'Irish.' This is an indication of the increasingly marginal status of Gaelic in Lowland Scotland as much as the cultural connections of the Gaelic language with the island of Ireland. This may also have been the result of a conscious (or unwitting) attempt by southern Scots at jettisoning a language no longer spoken by many of them. Inglis, the distinctive form of English spoken in Southern Scotland had come to be known around the same time as 'Scots,' replacing Gaelic as the 'national' language of Scotland, a process which may have began, perhaps as early as the twelfth or thirteenth century but which only becomes apparent by the later fourteenth century.²⁰

Already, by the early sixteenth century, Scots-language education and literacy had taken root among the chiefly classes in the Highlands with the result of this was that all written business in the Highlands and between Gaelic speaking Highlanders was usually conducted in Scots from the early sixteenth

19 C.W.J. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland. The transformation of a culture region* (London, 1988), 3–6. A. MacCoinnich & S. Pons-Sanz, 'The Languages of Scotland, 1400–1700,' in N. Royan (ed.), *The Companion to Scottish Literature, 1400–1600* (forthcoming). S. Boardman, 'The Gaelic world and the early Stewart Court,' 108–109. M. Macgregor, 'Gaelic barbarity and Scottish identity in the later middle ages,' at 19–32. Taylor, 'Babbet and bridin pudding or polyglot Fife in the Middle Ages,' 99–118. See also S. Taylor & G. Markus, *The Place Names of Fife* (Donington, 5 vols., 2006–2012).

20 C. Robinson & R. Ó Maolalaigh, 'The several tongues of a single kingdom: the languages of Scotland, 1314–1707,' in T.O. Clancy & M. Pittock (eds.), *The Edinburgh history of Scottish literature. Volume one, from Columba to the Union (until 1707)* (Edinburgh, 2007), 153–163. MacGregor, 'Gaelic barbarity and Scottish Identity in the later middle ages' 19, 42–45. Boardman, 'The Gaelic world and the early Stewart Court,' 83–109. See also, D. Horsburgh, 'When was Gaelic Scottish? The origins, emergence and development of Scottish Gaelic identity, 1400–1750,' in C. Ó Baoill & N.R. McGuire (eds.), *Rannasachadh na Gàidhlig, 2000* (Obair Dheathain, 2002), 231–242, at 232–233.

century onwards. While there was a thriving oral Gaelic culture this is largely hidden to the historian due to the survival of papers, overwhelmingly written in Scots or English.²¹ By the early seventeenth century, the Privy Council and the Scottish establishment viewed Gaelic with distaste as being backward, barbarous and something to be educated out of people through the gradual extension of English language schooling. There are some notable exceptions to this in Argyll and Isles where Gaelic continued to be used throughout the period, but even there, the prevalence of written Scots made its presence felt. Hebridean chiefs who predated the regal union of 1603, such as Ruairidh Mòr Macleod (d. 1626) and Dòmhnall Gorm Macdonald (d. 1616), were the last of their respective families to regularly sign their names in Gaelic and use Gaelic script.²² The establishment of Scots/English schooling would gradually, it was thought, wear Gaelic out although this took much longer in Gaelic Scotland than those advocating such an approach, such as Sir Robert Gordon, Tutor of Sutherland, c.1620, would ever have imagined. The Scottish government approaches towards Gaelic can be contrasted with the situation in Ireland, where a number of sources show that the English regarded Irish Gaelic as one of the many markers of native 'incivility' and took the Irish peoples' preference for Gaelic speech as a sign of insubordination if not a marker of rebellion.²³

Yet while this Highland-Lowland, Scotophone-Gaelophone, divergence within Scotland was very real in many respects it can also be over-emphasized. While there were very real differences there was also much shared culture. This

21 J.E.A. Dawson (ed.), *Clan Campbell Letters, 1559–1583* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1997), 7–8, 20–21. MacCoinnich, 'Where was Gaelic Written?' 318–342.

22 C.S. Terry (ed.), *De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus, by Sir Thomas Craig. Edited from a manuscript in the Advocates' Library* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1909), 288–9. MacCoinnich, 'Where was Gaelic written,' 320, 321, 335 & note 15. A.I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788* (East Linton, 1996), 76–77. J.W.M. Bannerman, 'Literacy in the Highlands,' in I.B. Cowan & D. Shaw (eds.), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), 214–235. The Synod of Argyll in the mid to later seventeenth century (c.1659 onwards) was the exception to this general trend. The Synod developed Gaelic publishing for the purpose of religious proselytization. D.C. Mactavish (ed.), *The Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639–1661* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1943–44), i, 173, 185, 187, 222–223, 273; ii, 2, 3, 15, 35, 98, 145–146, 163, 177, 185, 199, 200, 203, 211, 224. R. Black, 'Gaelic religious publishing, 1567–1800,' *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 24 (2008), 73–86.

23 MacCoinnich, 'Where was Gaelic written,' 335 & n. 15. G. Kew (ed.), 'The Irish Sections of Fynes Morison's Unpublished Itinerary,' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 37 (1998), 1–138, at, 50–51, 65–66. 102. W. Maley (ed.), 'The Supplication of the blood of the English most lamentable murdered in Ireland crying out of the earth for revenge (1598),' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 36 (1995), 3–78, at 64–65. R. Gillespie (ed.), 'Three tracts on Ireland, c. 1613,' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 38 (2004), 1–48, at 12–13.

comparative homogeneity within Scotland can also be highlighted by contrasting the Scottish situation with the English reactions to their encounters with the kinship structures of the Irish Gaeltachd. English commentators on Gaelic Irish kinship structures and customs, such as clanship, fosterage and gossoprie were highly critical of the practices they saw. The approach taken to the government in Scotland to the Highlands was markedly different when they set out measures intended to control the Scottish Gaidhealtachd in 1609. In Scotland, customs such as fosterage, universal in the Highlands although less common in the Lowlands, seemingly raised no problems for Lowlanders, while practices such as gossoprie were universal in Scotland indicating the importance of kinship links throughout the nation.²⁴

From Barbarity to Civility

James VI of Scotland, moreover, whose family had traditionally practiced child-rearing arrangements that appear to have some similarities to fosterage, seemed unconcerned about Gaelic kinship structures in Scotland.²⁵ He was also seemed less concerned with the language they spoke than with the perceived barbarity of his Highland subjects. The King's own views of the Gaidhealtachd and its inhabitants famously found expression in his *Basilikon Doron* of 1598: there were two types of people in the Highlands, those who could be reformed and those who were beyond redemption.²⁶ With regard to the latter category James must have had the Macgregors and the Macleods of Lewis in mind. The Privy Council Register together with other sources record the increasingly shrill and vituperative rhetoric from king and council, the intensity of the invective directed at Gaels increasing in proportion with

24 A. MacCoinnich, 'Daltachas, fineachan agus Alba anns an t-siathamh agus an t-seachdamh linn deug,' in G. Munro & R.A.V. Cox (eds.), *Cànan & Cultur/Language & culture. Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig*, 4 (Edinburgh, 2010), 37–53. F. Fitzsimmons, 'Fosterage & gossip in Late Medieval Ireland. Some new evidence,' in P.J. Duffy, D. Edwards & E. Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland, c. 1250–c.1650. Land Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin, 2001), 138–149. S. Murdoch, *Network North. Scottish kin, commercial and covert associations in northern Europe, 1603–1746* (Brill, Leiden, 2006), 1–48. J. Dawson, 'The Gaidhealtachd and the emergence of the Scottish Highlands,' in B. Bradshaw & P. Roberts (eds.), *British consciousness and Identity: the Making of Britain, 1533–1707* (Cambridge, 1998), 259–300, at, 289–290.

25 MacCoinnich, 'Daltachas, fineachan agus Alba,' 46–48.

26 James I, 'Basilikon Doron,' in *The Workes* (originally published London: 1616, Anglistica and Americana Reprint, New York: 1971), 159.

the level of difficulty they experienced in exerting control over them. The language used gives a clue to the way in which they thought of those targeted for expropriation who were to be either gradually drawn to civility by the good example of civil planters, or failing that, to be 'ruited out,' prior to a plantation of 'civil' people.²⁷

The models of colonisation deployed by historians are helpful to some extent in conceptualising the plantation of Lewis.²⁸ However, there is a subtle difference between plantation and colonisation. Colonisation proper may be a straightforward exploitative operation, with colonists enjoying full-powers to either asset strip whatever they are colonising or else to appropriate or monopolise resources to their own full advantage. Allan Macinnes has pointed out the significance of this difference between the terms plantation and colonisation: arguing that the former term was used by the Scots regarding the consolidation of control of troubled internal lands, such as Lewis or Ulster and that the latter was used for new lands, such as Nova Scotia, added to the Stuart polity.²⁹ Colony was a term used by the English settlers in relation to their intended settlement of Lewis, but not, it seems, a word generally used by the Scots.³⁰

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- 27 A. MacCoinnich, 'Mar phòr san Uisge: Ìomhaigh Sìol Torcail an Eachdraidh,' in M. Byrne, T.O. Clancy & S. Kidd (eds.), *Litreachas & Eachdraidh. Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2, Glaschu, 2002* (Roinn na Ceiltis, Oilthigh Ghlaschu, 2006), 214–231, at, 217–220, 223–227. M. MacGregor, 'Civilising Gaelic Scotland: the Scottish Isles and the Stewart Empire' in É.Ó. Ciardha & M.Ó. Siochrú (eds.), *The Plantation of Ulster. Ideology and Practice* (Manchester, 2012), 33–54, at, 34–36.
- 28 See J. Goodare, *The Government of Scotland, 220–221, 227, 233*. A. Grosjean & S. Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the early modern period* (Brill, Leiden, 2005), 5–6.
- 29 A.I. Macinnes, 'Making the plantations British, 1603–38,' in S.G. Ellis & R. Eßer (eds.), *Frontiers and the writing of History, 1500–1850* (Hannover Laatzén, 2006), 95–125, at, 97–98, 110.
- 30 For an English usage of 'colony' in relation to Lewis (1629) see TNA, SP 16/152, fol. 121. Scots (with an the exception of Sir Robert Gordon) do seem overwhelmingly to have used the terms 'plant' and associated terminology, such as transplantation, rather than 'colony' during this period for Stornoway (1598, 1602, 1628, 1630, 1632, 1635), Ulster (1610, 1615, 1624), Clan Gregor (1613), Jura (1620), Abernethy (1631), Canada (1632). Although this is, admittedly, impressionistic the instances found for Scots using the word 'colony,' 1598–1640, were mainly in relation to activities in North America rather than Scotland with references to colonies at Virginia (1618) and Canada (1628). *RPCS*, vii, 524–525. *RPCS*, xii, 340–341. *RPCS*, xiv, cxxvii–cxxviii. *RPCS* (2nd ser.), iii, 94–6, 260; iv, 106–107. Spottiswoode, *History*, iii, 101–103. J. Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1625–1642* (Edinburgh, 1871), 31. J.D. Marwick (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, A.D. 1573–1642* (Scottish Burgh Records Society, Glasgow, 1876), 372–3. M. Wood & R.K. Hannay (eds.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, A.D. 1589 to A.D. 1603* (Edinburgh, 1927), 221. M. Wood (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the*

Plantation, the word mostly used by contemporary Scots, *could* refer the amicable settlement of people invited in to improve something or establish something anew: whether a church, a settlement or ministers or, indeed for the settlement of Dutchmen who were invited into Stornoway in 1628 (Chapter 5).

Despite these patterns of language use, at least one contemporary Scot, Sir Robert Gordon, used the terms 'colony' and 'plantation' interchangeably with regard both to Lewis, 1598–1609 and Scottish plans for Nova Scotia in 1621.³¹ Irrespective of terminology, what this meant in practice for Lewis in 1598, or Ulster in the following decade, was the expropriation of the 'barbarous' natives by 'civilised' planters. From a modern perspective it is difficult not to think that the paradigms of civility, as played out in Scotland and Ireland, seem based, despite the intellectual and legal justifications, on prejudice against deviations from 'norms' of Jacobean society and on self interest. Civility and its corollary, barbarity, was to cast a long shadow in Scottish, Irish and international contexts, stretching into the twentieth century and its effects in one sense or another may be with us still.³² There is no question that some planters approached this with cynicism, prejudice and naked opportunism. On the other hand, it was also the case that many Jacobean were sincere in their concepts of civility and barbarism. They will, like the chaplain to the Fife Adventurers, or Sir Robert Gordon, have had no doubts about the righteousness of their actions in 'reducing' of lands and such as Lewis or Ulster and the barbarous inhabitants thereof 'into civilitie,' together with giving them an acceptable form of religion, albeit at sword-point if necessary. Plantation and civility meant progress.³³

Burgh of Edinburgh, 1626 to 1641 (Edinburgh, 1936), 48, 66, 264. *APS*, iv, 139, 160–64, 248–251. *RCRBS*, iii, 322–326. *NLS*, Adv MS, 33.1.1 vol. 3 no. 45; vol. 5, no. 32; vol. 6, no. 8; vol. 11, no. 14. *NLS*, MS 21178, fol. 26. *NRS*, GD 147/45/2. *NRS*, GD 46/18/138. *NRS*, RD 1/441, fol. 192r. *NRS*, E 8/4/32. *TNA*, SP 16/291, fol. 92. *NRS*, AC 7/1, fol. 184. *NLS*, Adv MS, 33.1.1, vol. 8, no. 47.

31 Gordon, *Sutherland*, 270, 274, 371.

32 For civility and its link to colonialism in modern times see Mark Ferro, *Colonisation, a Global History* (1997), 11–12, 20–23. See also, J. Osterhammel, *Europe, the "west" and the civilising mission*. German Historical Institute, London. *The 2005 Annual Lecture* (London, 2006). R. McVeigh & B. Rolston, 'Civilising the Irish,' in *Race & Class*, 51 (2009), 1–28. E.W. Said, 'Afterword. Reflections on Ireland and postcolonialism,' in C. Carroll & P. King, *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory* (Notre Dame, 2003), 177–185. For the association of these concepts with slavery, see, M. Křížová, 'Frontiers of Race, Frontiers of Freedom: the fabrication of the "Negro Slave" in Early Modern European Discourse,' in, Ellis & Klusaková, *Imagining Frontiers. Contesting Identities*, 109–123.

33 For the chaplain's account, see Chapter 3 & appendix. See also Gordon, *Sutherland*, 396–7.

Perceptions in the Scottish Lowlands of the Highlanders as being barbarous may, as discussed above, have had their roots as early as the fourteenth century and were well established by the end of the fifteenth century and possibly followed on from an earlier language shift from Gaelic to Scots.³⁴ The taxonomy of barbarity and civility drawn on by late medieval and early modern European writers was based on a distillation of the thought of the ancient philosophers, Aristotle (384–322 B.C) and Cicero (106–143 B.C), which held that brutish modes of living in scattered settlements in woods and plains was beastly and that the inhabitation of settled communities such as city-states would lead towards higher forms of human existence.³⁵ This notion of barbarity had been adopted, initially, by Latin Christian writers to describe the pagans with whom they came into contact in contrast with their own Christian civility. The term ‘civility,’ however, although mentioned by earlier sixteenth century commentators such as John Mair, seems to be given a striking new emphasis in Scotland following the Reformation of 1560. A similar, parallel, phenomenon has been noted in an English distaste for the margins of their state, particularly the Welsh and Gaelic-Irish margins. As early as the twelfth century English commentators, reconfigured these ancient classifications, conflating Englishness with civility. Englishness (and civility) was predominantly urban, settled, with a manorial economy and a cereal based agriculture, socially rigid and highly regulated. This was contrasted with the sylvan, feral Celtic fringe with wild peoples living in an uncivil manner, speaking uncivil tongues and with uncouth customs.³⁶ The barbarous neighbours, whether in Wales, Ireland or Scotland, were often regarded as lazy, bestial, prone to theft and the antithesis of civilisation. If not pagan, their religious practices were held in disdain. These conceits were given a new lease of life and new ideological impetus viewed through the lens of civic humanism following the English Reformation of the 1530s.³⁷ In the

34 M. MacGregor, ‘Gaelic barbarity and Scottish identity in the later middle ages,’ 7–48.

35 S.G. Ellis, ‘Civilising the natives: State Formation and the Tudor Monarchy, c. 1400–1603,’ in Ellis & Klusaková, *Imagining Frontiers. Contesting Identities*, 77–92, at 79.

36 Ellis, ‘Civilising the natives: State Formation and the Tudor Monarchy, c. 1400–1603,’ 83–87. C. Carroll, ‘Barbarous Slave and Civil Cannibals. Translating Civility in Early Modern Ireland,’ in C. Carroll & P. King (eds.), *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory* (Notre Dame, 2003), 63–80, at 63–73.

37 S. Ellis, ‘Reducing their wildness...unto civility:’ England and the ‘Celtic fringe,’ 1415–1625,’ in B. Smith (ed.), *Ireland and the English world in the late Middle Ages: Essays in honour of Robin Frame* (Basingstoke, 2009), 176–192, at 185, 188–190. J. Leersen, ‘Wildness, wilderness and Ireland: medieval and Early-Modern patterns in the demarcation of civility,’ in the *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 56 (1995), 25–39, at, 30–34, 39. J. Ohlmeyer, ‘Seventeenth century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic histories,’ in the *American Historical*

Lowlands of Scotland, although the Reformation was slower to take root and not established until a generation later, there was a similar tendency to marginalise the Gaidhealtachd.

The new (or repackaged) emphasis on civility dovetailed neatly with older Lowland narratives of Gaelic barbarity in which the negative image of the Highlanders as wild, wicked, treacherous and lazy were already well established.³⁸ 'Civil' Scotland, was imagined as being populated with citizens striving towards a common 'civic' good (in theory if not always in practice) and was the antithesis of barbarous 'clannit' Scotland, organised along tribal lines, speaking an uncouth language, Gaelic, and pursuing narrow clan agendas.³⁹ Civility spoke Scots, dressed and behaved in a different manner from the 'Hieland' men. The latter lacked the markers of civility: the obvious ones being language, forms of worship, education, dress, architecture as well as the less explicit mores of their society. The Highlanders were (even) more clannish than Lowlanders, did not dress according to Lowland fashion, had different attitudes towards the generation of wealth, the distribution of profits, and the structure of society. The Fife men who came to Lewis in 1598, in contrast, suborned themselves to 'civic' authority rather than 'tribal militarism.' They had a council, a kirk session, they took minutes and took care to observe due process and forms of law (or appearance thereof). Martin MacGregor condensed some of the characteristics of civility as the acknowledgement of 'royal supremacy, law, Protestantism, trade and commerce based on urban centres, and the English language'⁴⁰ These concrete differences echoed the views of Lowland

Review, 104 (1999), 446–462, at 459–460. K. Pluymers, 'Taming the wilderness in sixteenth and seventeenth century Ireland and Virginia,' *Environmental History*, 16 (2011), 610–632, at 624–626. R.R. Davies, *The First English Empire. Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093–1343* (Oxford, 2002), 114–141.

38 R.A. Mason, *Kingship and the Commonweal. Political thought in Renaissance and Reformation Scotland* (East Linton, 1998), 107–109, 132–133, 247. MacGregor, 'Gaelic barbarity and Scottish identity in the later middle ages,' 18–28. A. Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage. Highland clanship, 1451–1609* (Leiden, 2006), 32–38.

39 P.J. McGinnis & A.H. Williamson (eds.), *The British Union: a critical edition and translation of David Hume of Godscroft's De Unione Insulae Britannicae* (Aldershot, 2002), 16. Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*, 32–38. A. Williamson, 'Scotland and the rise of civic culture, 1550–1650,' in *History Compass*, 3 (2005), 91–123, at 111–114. A.H. Williamson, 'Scots, Indians and Empire. The Scottish politics of civilisation, 1519–1609,' in *Past & Present*, 150 (1996), 46–83, at, 47, 59–62, 64–65. George Buchanan, himself a Gaelic speaker, advocated universal Latin as the way forward away from the uncouth vernacular. P.J. McGinnis & A.H. Williamson (eds.), *George Buchanan the Political Poetry* (Edinburgh, 1995), 40.

40 MacGregor, 'Civilising Gaelic Scotland: the Scottish Isles and the Stewart Empire,' 34. See also chapter three, below.

intellectuals, who saw themselves as renaissance men, inheritors of the values of Graeco-Roman antiquity. For sixteenth century Lowland Scottish writers and thinkers it was clear that while Scotophone (and later Anglophone) Lowland Scots could, like the English, enjoy civility: Highlanders, viewed as workshy, warlike and lawless did not fit the bill.⁴¹

Hume et al & Civility

The Lowland Scots planters who arrived in Lewis in late 1598 were far from the classical ecclesia: an assembly of adult male citizens along the lines of classical antiquity envisaged by George Buchanan (1506–1582).⁴² The planters in Lewis, may well, however, have read some of Buchanan's work and, if they did not agree with all of his ideas they will have been in agreement with him on the importance of civility. They certainly placed a high importance on worship, which Buchanan would doubtless have looked on favourably, and placed a priority on the construction of a church and the employment of a minister in Lewis.⁴³ David Hume (or Home) of Godscroft (c.1558–1630), whose brothers and nephews were actively involved in the Plantation of Lewis, 1598–1605, was steeped in the tradition of 'civic humanism' of Buchanan and was a protégé of Andrew Melville. Yet while Buchanan and Melville could rail against the influence of kinship in society, Hume, a younger son of the Humes (or Homes) of Wedderburn, was himself embroiled in the turbulent dynastic politics of the eastern Scottish Borders.⁴⁴ For Buchanan and Melville, Hume of Godscroft and

41 A.H. Williamson, 'George Buchanan, civic virtue and commerce. European imperialism and its sixteenth century critics,' in the *Scottish Historical Review*, 75 (1996), 20–37, at, 33. A. Williamson, 'Radical Britain: David Hume of Godscroft and the challenge to the Jacobean British vision,' A.H. Williamson, 'Scots, Indians and Empire,' 54, 59–60. See also, E.J. Cowan, 'The Discovery of the Gaidhealtachd in sixteenth century Scotland,' in *TGSJ*, 60 (1997–98), 259–284.

42 A. Williamson, 'Radical Britain: David Hume of Godscroft and the challenge to the Jacobean British vision,' in G. Burgess, R. Wynnner & J. Lawrence (eds.), *The Accession of James I. Historical and cultural consequences* (Basingstoke, 2006), 48–68, at 51.

43 The Fife Adventurers made building a church, 1598–1602, and staffing it with a minister one of their top priorities. See chapter three, below.

44 P.J. McGinnis & A.H. Williamson, 'Hume, David, of Godscroft (1558–1629x31),' *ODNB*, entry no. 14139. M.M. Meikle, *A British Frontier? Lairds and gentlemen in the eastern Borders, 1540–1603* (East Linton, 2004), 32–37. A. Groundwater, 'The obligations of kinship and alliance within governance in the Scottish Borders, 1528–1625,' in *The Canadian Journal of History*, 48 (2013), 1–27.

even James VI, civility required that Protestant citizens put the requirements of common weal before private self interest: either for individuals or clans.⁴⁵ For James VI, though, this common weal was centred on service to him as monarch and James's ideas, given wider circulation and prominence, backed by the institution of kingship had the more currency.⁴⁶ This was especially the case, one imagines, within the Fife Adventurers' 'Society of Lewis' given the personal connections of many of them with the king. Some of the main players in the Plantation of Lewis in 1598, such as Sir James Anstruther, Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno and Colonel Stewart were courtiers or were personally known to the monarch. Hume's interpretation of civility, on the other hand, mirrors his own background, based on loyalty to family and dynasty. This did not always diverge from the royal agenda although it could, periodically, lead to tensions.⁴⁷ Ironically, Hume of Godscroft's idea for strengthening the Union (playing to the royal enthusiasm for fuller Anglo-Scottish Union, 1603–1605): by giving Scottish territory – such as Lewis where his brothers were engaged – over to the English came to fruition some 30 years later, although not in the form that he envisaged it.⁴⁸ This mixture of Scots and English in Scottish waters and in a Scottish port was to lead, in the 1630s, not to co-operation and amity as envisaged by Hume, but to escalating rivalry and even hostility (Chapter 6).

Winning Hearts and Minds

The civility envisaged by Hume and others was based on notions of the *civitas*, the Roman city state, with all members of society working for the common good. This, ostensibly, was what the Fife Adventurers intended to put into practice in Lewis (Chapter 3). In theory, plantation would help to raise the level of civility of wilderness areas, resulting in people from such areas eschewing narrow tribal self-interest and embracing the civic norms of the state. The good example of higher civility set by civilised planters would irresistibly raise the

45 A.H. Williamson, 'Scotland and the Rise of Civic Culture, 1550–1650,' in, *History Compass*, 3 (2005), 91–123, at 95–96.

46 Williamson, 'Radical Britain,' 55.

47 McGinnis & Williamson, *The British Union*, 45. A. Williamson, 'Education, culture and the Scottish civic tradition,' in A.I. Macinnes & A.H. Williamson (eds.), *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603–1714: the Atlantic connection* (Leiden, 2006), 33–54, at 47.

48 McGinnis & Williamson, *The British Union*, 216–217. Williamson, 'Scotland and the Rise of Civic Culture,' 105–106, 111–112.

mores of brutish society upwards, encouraging them by example.⁴⁹ In practice, however, civility could be coercive, Scots-speaking (and increasingly, English-speaking), commercially driven and based on the mores of southern, burghal, Scotland. Outsiders, groups who did not conform to civic norms, such as gypsies, border clans who pursued feuds, or dissident Highlanders, such as the Macgregors and the Macleods of Lewis, could find life in Jacobean Scotland (or Britain) extremely uncomfortable.⁵⁰ The Macgregors, and also the ostensibly 'civil' Ruthven family from Perthshire had their names proscribed, although the latter group were exceptional in that they had been perceived as a threat to the king's person on no less than the three occasions.⁵¹ The perspective of these latter groups, sitting at the sharp end of Jacobean government can be harder to access and has, understandably, received less attention in a historiography which tends to be preoccupied with state formation, particularly with regards to the Highlands. Of these groups of outsiders, the Macgregors, in particular, have left a rich corpus of evocative Gaelic poetry and song which can give some insight into their experience.⁵² A sympathiser (if not a member) of the Macleods of Lewis, moreover, left an account which is critical of the agenda of others in plantation Lewis: 'the Ewill Trowbles of the Lewis,' which can be used to question the plantation consensus implicit in official sources.⁵³

Murray Pittock has demonstrated that the apparently sharp cultural divides between Highlands and Lowlands (in the Jacobite period) can appear to blur the more closely they are subject to scrutiny.⁵⁴ It can be surprisingly difficult, in a similar manner, to pin down incivility in the earlier Jacobean period the closer one looks at the evidence. While disorder would appear to be a clear marker of

49 CSP, Scot, xii, 291. For Irish parallels see, N. Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650* (Oxford, 2001), 121–123, 189, 191–192, 197–199, 202–205. See also, below, Chapter 3.

50 J. Goodare & M. Lynch (eds.), *The Reign of James VI* (East Linton, 2000), 203–204. J. Goodare, *The Government of Scotland, 1560–1625* (Oxford, 2004), 237, 240, 261–265.

51 Murdoch & Grosjean, *Alexander Leslie and the Scottish generals of the Thirty Years War*, 16–18.

52 The Macgregors have a number of Gaelic poems which can be dated to the period of their persecution in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. C.Ó Baoill & M. Bateman (eds.), *Gàir nan Clàrsach. The Harps' Cry. An Anthology of 17th century Gaelic poetry* (Edinburgh, 1994), 54–59, 68–73. W.J. Watson (ed.), *Bàrdachd Gàidhlig. Specimens of Gaelic poetry* (3rd ed., Stirling, 1959), 242–6. M. MacGregor, "'Surely one of the Greatest poems ever made in Britain': the lament for Griogair Ruadh MacGregor of Glenstrae and its historical background," in, E.J. Cowan & D. Gifford (eds.), *The Polar Twins* (Edinburgh, 1999), 114–136.

53 *Highland Papers*, ii, 262–279.

54 M. Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite clans. The Jacobite army in 1745* (2nd ed., Edinburgh, 2009), 31–39.

Highland incivility, this was also a condition embraced by many of King James VI's unruly non-Highland, non-Gaelic speaking, subjects particularly in the Orkneys, Shetlands and Borders. Epithets such as 'barbarous' and 'incivil' would suggest no education. Such learning was supposed to be one of the markers of civility promulgated by central government in the Statutes of Iona of 1609, yet it can be demonstrated that the leadership of the Macleods of Lewis, the epitome of incivility, could, in fact, read and write in Scots and must have been educated, in some cases, up to 20 years earlier.⁵⁵ While there can be no doubt that the factionalism and disorder within the Macleod of Lewis lordship was endemic in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, their categorisation as irredeemably barbarous and their expropriation of 1598 was not signposted by the experience of earlier generations. Earlier lords of Lewis were considered sufficiently important to have their coats of arms included in catalogues of national heraldry (figure 2b) – and Queen Mary had earlier taken a direct interest in the marriage of the Macleod heir (Chapter 2). The civility or barbarity of the men of Lewis had not, seemingly, been such an issue earlier for their fellow Scots as it became towards the end of the sixteenth century.

Tribalism vs Civility? The Example of the Adventurers

The idealisation of civility notwithstanding, Hume's vision of civility seems closer to reality in practical terms than those propounded by Buchanan and

55 'Learning necessarily comprised a civic activity.' Williamson, 'Scotland and the Rise of Civic Culture,' 111. Although not, perhaps, 'learned' it seems clear, nevertheless, that most of the Highland elites were literate by the end of the sixteenth century. Letters survive in Scots from Murchadh Macleod of Siabost (1598) and his brother, Niall (1611), while a third brother, Tormod, was educated at school in Perth. Tormod, a legitimate son, became leader of the clan, c. 1602–05. Neither Murchadh or Niall, however, was legitimate or would ever inherit, yet their father had taken care to see they were educated. This suggests this much maligned family put an emphasis on the importance of education. *Highland Papers*, ii, 269. NRS, PC 10/14D, no. 1403 (printed in *RPCS*, xiv, cxxv–cxxviii). NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 3 no. 38 (printed in *Collectanea*, 49). At least two holograph letters survive, written, in Scots, by Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Dunvegan, from 1596 and 1615. The oldest surviving copy of the *Kingis Quhair* by James I was in the possession of Dòmhnall Gorm Macdonald of Sleat in 1593 suggesting that he too was Scots-literate. Yet both men also habitually signed their names with classical Gaelic corra-litir and were patrons of Gaelic arts. NLS, Adv. MS. 29.2.6, no. 71 (fol. 109). NLS, Adv MS, 33.1.1, vol. 6, no. 1. MacCoinnich & S. Pons-Sanz, 'The languages of Scotland,' (forthcoming). Bannerman, 'Literacy in the Highlands,' 215. MacGregor, M. MacGregor, 'The Statutes of Iona: text and context,' in the *Innes Review*, 57 (2006), 111–181, at, 144–147. MacCoinnich, 'Where was Gaelic written,' 316–322.

Melville, not least because of the intensely clannish and close-knit nature of Scottish society. Buchanan and Melville could idealise a time when men could act unselfishly and without putting dynastic interests first. Writers such as Melville and George Buchanan, while important were not, perhaps, 'representative of broadly based Scottish opinion.'⁵⁶ Moreover, ties of kinship and affinity really mattered in early-modern Lowland Scotland, and could cut across other ties of association.⁵⁷ Hume, who had two brothers and at least one nephew tied up in the plantation of Lewis, 1598–1605, had a vision of Britain following the regal union in which it might become great through the 'selfless patriotism of leading families.'⁵⁸ Ironically, this dynastic, even clannish view of society was one shared less with intellectual clerics in the Lowlands, or even the monarch, than with Highland dynasts such as the Mackenzies, whose clan histories, if not as erudite as Hume's were prolific during the course of the later seventeenth century.⁵⁹ It is noticeable and unsurprising that a Gaelic Highland clan such as the Mackenzies who were to succeed in Lewis where the Lowland planters had failed did use the language of civility but placed a much greater emphasis on the legitimacy of their claim to Lewis through descent (Chapter 4, below).

Personal Qualities

While the ideological dimension of plantation mattered a great deal, the personal qualities of the participants were, arguably, even more important to the success or failure of plantation. The Fife Adventurers were led by a group of tough and determined individuals, people such as Sir James Spens of Wormiston, and Sir George Hay, the future chancellor of Scotland. Their abilities, skillsets and determination to succeed in their attempts to establish a town at Stornoway counted for as much as the capital investment they made in the plantation. The fact that these people were, and in many cases continued to be, successful people makes the failure of their venture at Stornoway all the

56 R. Mason, Scotland, 'Elizabethan England and the Idea of Britain' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., vol. 14 (2004), 279–293, at 292.

57 S. Murdoch, *Network North*, 1–48.

58 McGinnis & Williamson, *The British Union*, 40.

59 A. MacCoinnich, 'Scribis le pen di shenchis.' Criomagan de Ghàidhlig ann an eachdraidhean Beurla Chlann Choinnich, ca. 1550–1711,' in K. Nilsen (ed.), *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig*, 5. *Fifth Scottish Gaelic research conference* (Sydney, Nova Scotia, 2010), 149–194. M. Macgregor, 'The genealogical histories of Gaelic Scotland,' in A. Fox & D. Woolf (eds.), *The Spoken word. Oral Culture in Britain, 1500–1850* (Manchester, 2002), 196–239.

more intriguing and worthy of investigation. What did this group think they were doing, and why did their enterprise fail? Similarly, the personal qualities that the English entrepreneurs, such as John Mason and the Dutch fishermen at Stornoway, such as Martin Corijns Weyten and Jan de Bogaerde, brought to bear in their attempts to make a success of their venture were clearly a factor in the success or failure of their respective plantations of Lewis. We lack, in most cases, detailed evidence to be able to explore this such as any extant corpus of correspondence, but it seems clear that these were a group of talented individuals who pursued their various agendas in a determined fashion.

Within Gaelic or Highland clan society, the personal qualities of chiefs always counted for much and was something on which Gaelic panegyric praise poetry, which could be the 'spin' of Gaelic chiefs, always placed a great emphasis.⁶⁰ In the context of the Macleods of Lewis, the claimant, Torcall Conanach was something of a disappointment for his Mackenzie backers (chapters two and four, below). Another factor in the eclipse of Torcall Conanach Macleod was the emergence of his younger half brothers. The two other legitimate sons of Ruairidh Macleod chief of Lewis (d.c.1595), Torcall Dubh (d. 1597) and his brother Tormod (chief, c.1602–1605), both showed glimpses of considerable ability, not least with Tormod's military defeat of the Fife Adventurers and a subsequent negotiated settlement: albeit one that the defeated party, the Fife Adventurers, were to break faith with. Niall Odhar Macleod, de facto chief of the Macleods of Lewis, 1605–1613, was a war leader and guerrilla fighter of considerable ability and skill. The Macleods, however, unlike their enemies, were hopelessly politically isolated.

The Mackenzies, in contrast, had powerful friends and connections in Edinburgh which could make life difficult for their opponents. Alasdair Bayne of Logie, Easter Ross, made repeated attempts to try to take his neighbour, Coinneach Mackenzie, chief of the Mackenzies of Kintail, to law in 1598–1599 and finally succeeded in getting Mackenzie punished for 'certane crymes' including 'herschip and slauchtere' which resulted in Coinneach's goods being escheat. However, Coinneach's goods were then granted by the crown to his

60 For the role of the clan chief and the role of Gaelic panegyric praise poetry, see M. Newton (ed.), *Dùthchas nan Gaidheal: Selected Essays of John Macinnes* (Edinburgh, 2006), 265–319, at 270, 274–283. Conversely, Eoin, the last lord of the Isles, in the late fifteenth century, traditionally gets blamed for the collapse of the Lordship of the Isles (1493). The Macdonalds of Sleat abandoned their siege of Eilean Donnan castle, rather than press the attack, in 1539 following the death of their chief and leader, Dòmhnall Gorm, from an arrow wound. *Highland Papers*, i, 47. D. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 145–6.

brother Ruairidh Mackenzie which, in effect, meant that he was granted them back.⁶¹ He literally got away with murder. Coinneach, chief of the Mackenzies, 1594–1611, was described by a contemporary as ‘very politique’ and has been described by a subsequent historian as having been ‘unprincipled,’ even treacherous, and an ‘unscrupulous double-dealer’ who, ‘like Machiavelli’s Prince, create law and order because it paid him to do so.’⁶² In addition to being capable and politically astute Coinneach Mackenzie comes across from the records as impulsive and physically imposing. Although he managed to deflect the slaughter charge brought against him in 1599 by his neighbour in the Dingwall area, Alasdair Bayne of Logie, Mackenzie was a dangerous enemy to have and not one to let a grievance subside. Mackenzie had to take a bond of caution not to harm Bayne in 1600, and, had apparently, ‘conceived a deadly hatred against him.’ Nor did this animus fade with the passing of time. Bayne, climbing the stairs to see his legal agent in Edinburgh, Alexander Gibson, in early 1607, was met at the head of the stairs by none other than Mackenzie who attacked him with knives and swords. Bayne was pitched down the stairs into the street, breaking several of his ribs in the process, leaving him in great ‘perell of his lyff.’⁶³ Something of Coinneach’s impatience with procedure and intolerance of delay can also be seen in his precipitate assumption of Privy Council membership in July 1594, which gained him a reprimand. Coinneach took membership a year and a half later anyway, and clearly had political backing at court and the council but the way in which he attempted to pre-emptively assert this additional power is revealing.⁶⁴ Similarly, his zealous attempt to attend the communion service at Elgin in February 1601, in contravention of the rules of the kirk session, suggest a cavalier attitude even to religious observance. One would not envy William Young who was charged by the Elgin Kirk Session with

61 The complaint by Alasdair Bayne of Logie was that Mackenzie’s men destroyed his corn, cornyard, house and goods and killed his servant and kinsman, ‘William Suthirland.’ It took Bayne three arduous journeys to Edinburgh, accompanied by witnesses and at his own expense, before he was finally able to get any action against Mackenzie. *RPCS*, v, 528–529. *NRS*, PS 1/70, fol. 27v.

62 D. Laing (ed.), *The Original Letters of Mr John Colville, 1582–1603, to which is added his Palinode, 1600* (Edinburgh: 1858) 350–352. M. Lee jr., *Government by Pen: Scotland Under James VI & I* (University of Illinois, Urbana, 1980), 82.

63 Alexander Gibson, had one of three offices that registered legal deeds at the Court of Session in this period. W. Coutts, *The Business of the College of Justice in 1600* (Edinburgh, 2003), 1, 3. *RPCS*, vii, 332. *NRS*, RD 1/75, fol. 403–407. *NRS*, RD 1/94, fol. 376.

64 Mackenzie was elected and chosen as a Privy Council member, 18 February 1595–96. *RPCS*, v, 161, 273.

informing Coinneach that no one was to attend services save such as ‘that communicatis at that tyme.’⁶⁵

Civilitie and the Mackenzie Clan

Yet this apparent brashness should not mask Coinneach Mackenzie’s considerable political nous and nerve. When confronted in 1598–1599 with the extremely serious (and probably true) charges of spuilie (spoilation) and conspiracy to undermine his majesty’s lieges in the plantation of Lewis, he reacted by replying ‘insolently,’ to the fury of his accuser, Thomas Cunningham, burgess of Crail, and defending himself stoutly against the charges. While economic motives may have been one incentive pushing men from Fife to the north of Scotland ‘civilitie,’ ostensibly, was what they hoped to inculcate. One of the yardsticks of civility was the subordination to the rule of law. Cunningham tried to implicate the Highlander in the resistance to both himself and the ‘godlie and civil’ plantation in which he was engaged and in which he had been ‘wonderfully crossed.’⁶⁶ Mackenzie may have been a Highlander, but didn’t consider himself particularly barbarous whatever his accuser might think. Mackenzie’s advocate mounted a spirited defence ridiculing Cunningham’s arguments, not least his inability to handle Gaelic names. How could, he asked, Cunningham expect the crown to prosecute people when he could get neither their names nor territorial designations right? Cunningham wanted to press charges against the two sons of Iain Maciver in Loch Broom. Mackenzie pointed out that Maciver, in fact, had six sons and the charge was incompetent.⁶⁷ Cunningham’s lawyer wanted Mackenzie to take responsibility for the malefactors and ‘enter’ them before the court. Mackenzie refused on the grounds that most of those named were not in his bounds and that he could not reasonably be held responsible for their behaviour. Mackenzie and his advocate then made the observation that Mackenzie and his forebears had been law abiding lieges of the crown:

65 W. Cramond (ed.), *The Records of Elgin 1234–1800* (2 Vols, Aberdeen, 1903–8), ii, 88.

66 Action by Thomas Cunningham burgess of Crail against Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail, 1600. NRS, JC 26/3. Spottiswoode, *History*, iii, 101–103.

67 ‘...McEvir and McEvir twa sonis to Johne Mc Evir in Loch Brume ar nawayis sufficient nor p[er]fite designit be ther proper names and duelland places qlk of necessitie aucht to be done because the said Johnne McEvir quha is all[egit] to duell in Loch Brume had sex sonis. Swa in all necessitie the said p[er]sewar mon mak speciall designation of the twa desyrit to be pre[sen]tit...’ NRS, JC 26/3.

...and obey their lawis in all humilitie, and that it can never be verefiet that he or his predicesoris past memor of man hes evir incurit the panes of rebellion for dissobedience of the lawis. Ane thing verie rare evin in Lowtheane to sie...⁶⁸

This last riposte is an intriguing one, and echoes a line in a report by Sir John Skene to the exchequer, 1595, suggesting that if people in the Hebrides could be compelled by force or restraint to pay their taxes, then they could yield even more rent than their nominal tax burdens and be as 'obedient as the duellaris [*dwellers*] in Fyiff or Lowthiane.'⁶⁹ It may be that this reference to 'Fife or Lothian' was a reflex of the better known motif of the barbarous Highlander in contrast to the civilised Lowlander and that Mackenzie's advocate, three years later, was addressing such a stock image in his rebuttal. Cunningham pressed on with his attempt to prosecute, despite Mackenzie's defence which he called an 'impertinent discours,' but with limited success. Although Cunningham and the Adventurers managed to get Mackenzie imprisoned in Blackness for opposing the plantation he was released, according to contemporaries, not by any principles underpinned by concepts of civility or due process of law, but by old fashioned 'clannish' networking; not least his friendship with the influential Alexander Seton of Fyvie.⁷⁰

Clan Mackenzie tradition, the earliest of it committed to paper within the lifetime of those who personally knew Coinneach, remembered his chiefship and the conquest of Glengarry and Lewis lands as a golden era. Mackenzie's

68 'Defenss for the pairt of Kenneth McKainzie of Kintaill aganis the pretendit summondis persewit be Thomas Cunnyngghame burges of Craill befor my lord iustice and his deputis c[on]trair him.' NRS, JC 26/3.

69 A.L. Murray, 'Sir John Skene and the Exchequer, 1594–1612,' in *Miscellany One of the Stair Society* (Edinburgh, 1971), 125–155, at, 141.

70 The Gaelic adage 'is fheàrr caraid is a' chùirt na crùn sa sporan' comes to mind here (better a friend at court than a full purse). Seton, already a prominent player in Jacobean politics by the mid 1590s, had sold Mackenzie the lands of Pluscarden in 1595, and later, while Chancellor of Scotland, 1614, married one of his daughters to Coinneach's son and heir, Cailean. Sir Robert Gordon noted how Coinneach Mackenzie used his friendship with Seton, then president of the Court of Session, to undermine the Macdonnells of Glengarry two years later. Seton was also the provost of the city of Edinburgh at the time of the plantation of Lewis and Mackenzie's incarceration. Gordon, *Sutherland*, 269., M. Lee jnr., 'King James's Popish Chancellor,' in I.B. Cowan & D. Shaw (eds.), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland. Essays in honour of Gordon Donaldson* (Edinburgh, 1983), 170–182. M. Lee jun., 'Seton, Alexander, first earl of Dunfermline (1556–1622),' *ODNB*, entry, no. 25113. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 220–224.

premature death in 1611 was 'to the great greiffe of all his friends and the great contentment of all his enemies.' What little remains of what was clearly a wide-ranging oral Gaelic poetic tradition echoes this.⁷¹ His younger brother Ruairidh, who became tutor or administrator of his estate, proved just as effective in prosecuting the Clan interest following Coinneach's death and during his son, Cailean Ruadh's minority. Cailean Ruadh, Coinneach's son, who came of age in 1618 also proved to be a dynamic and effective leader, a committed Calvinist, moreover, with a capacity for reconciliation that both his father and close rival, Gilleasbuig Campbell, Lord Lorne, seem to have lacked. Cailean, who advocated ruling with both 'love and fear,' seems to have been able to build bridges with vassals such as the Macleods of Assynt, the Macdonalds of Clanranald and surrounding clans (albeit on his terms) rather than relying solely on coercive tactics.⁷²

Fisheries

While personal qualities of some of the main players were important this, and to a much greater extent, the theme of state formation, have tended to dominate the agenda in most discussions of the genesis of plantation in Lewis. The rationale for the involvement of these groups can sometimes get overlooked. The economic underpinning for all this activity was the fishery around the north-west coast of the British Isles. There is evidence of a great abundance of herring and a variety of other species especially cod, ling, and haddock in the documentary record from as early as the mid sixteenth century. Martin Rorke suggested that the earlier royal policy of James V in his voyage around the isles in 1540, and his itinerary, related to his awareness of, and interest in, the hitherto neglected fishery of the west coast. James included Lewis and Skye on his

71 ML, MS 591702, 40v-42r. ML, MS 591703, 72r-73v. *Highland Papers*, ii, 1-68, at 37-49, 62-63. MacCoinnich, 'Scribis le pen di shenchis,' 152-153, 171. C.Ó Baoill & M. Bateman, *Gàir nan Clàrsach*, 80-81. A. MacCoinnich, 'Long, fion agus fine. Dan le Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh, fear Aicheallaidh, c.1639 x 1643,' in, C.Ó Baoill & N.R. McGuire (eds.), *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 6. Papers read at Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 6, held at the University of Aberdeen, 23-26 August, 2010* (An Clò Gaidhealach, Obar Dheathain, 2013), 121-175, at 123, 128, 144.

72 For Lord Lorne's approaches to neighbouring clans see Macinnes, *The British Confederate. Archibald Campbell, Marquess of Argyll, 1607-1661*, 77. For Cailean Ruadh, the first Earl of Seaforth, and his approach to his relations with his neighbours, see, MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 442-446.

itinerary, not normally the stamping ground of Scottish monarchs.⁷³ The royal visit was followed by the survey of the Hebrides by Mr Donald Monro, 1549, the earliest detailed description of the area. Monro's account, which informed George Buchanan's history, discussed every Hebridean island with special reference to the marine and other resources. Good anchorages on the islands were noted together with the value of each location for fishing. This spoke of a great awareness by the inhabitants of the resources and of an active subsistence fishery, as one might expect, in almost every island. However, Monro also mentions that there was a 'gude tak of herring' in three of the sea lochs of Skye, and another fishery in a further 13 sea lochs on that island, and similarly mentioned three lochs which were being profitably exploited in Lewis for herring. This points at a more systematic exploitation of resources than mere subsistence. Vatersay to the south, similarly, was praised for having an excellent anchorage for the many ships 'that cumis to fisch thair' and Barra was described as having a rich fishery of keling (cod), ling and other white fish. Haddock, whiting, flounder, lythe and skate were mentioned in Uist and Lewis. Eriskay was described as having a good white-fish ground and two sea lochs in Lewis were noted by Monro as having a ground for white fish that remained productive all year long. Monro, a Gaelic speaker from Easter Ross, was well placed to conduct such a survey, due to his role as a priest at various times in Trotternish, Skye and Eaglais na h-Aoidhe in Lewis.⁷⁴

The consistent references by Monro to the herring fishery suggest that they were being commercially exploited whereas the references to cod and ling, in particular, indicate a deep-water line fishery. These bottom dwelling fish, together with the herring, could not be caught by tidal traps and needed to be actively pursued by boat. While there may well have been local activity in these fisheries it was possible that these grounds were already being frequented by the commercially advanced and relatively highly capitalised Lowland Scottish fleets from the early to mid sixteenth century. Martin Rorke, in his study, based largely on data from customs and exchequer papers, has demonstrated how a

73 M. Rorke, 'The Scottish herring trade, 1470–1600,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 84 (2005), 149–165, at, 159, 163, 165. J. Cameron, *James V. The personal rule, 1528–1542* (East Linton, 1998), 239–242, 243, 245–246.

74 'Description of the Occidental, i.e. Western Isles of Scotland by Mr Donald Monro who travelled through many of them in Anno 1549' Printed as an appendix to M. Martin, *A description of the western Islands of Scotland, circa 1695 and a late voyage to St Kilda* (Birlinn, Edinburgh, 1999), 299–345, at, 320–1, 323, 325, 327, 331, 334–338. C.T. McInnes (ed.), *Calendar of Writs of Munros of Foulis, 1299–1823* (Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh, 1940), no. 61, p. 18. R.W. & J. Munro, 'Monro, Donald (d. in or after 1575), *Church of Scotland minister and author*,' *ODNB*, entry no. 18968.

boom in the herring fishery of the fleets of Lowland Scottish burghs in the 1560s, through into the 1590s was based on catches taken from the waters of the west Highlands and the Minch. Rorke linked the growth of the Crown's interest in the 'Highland Problem' with this parallel increase in fisheries from the 1570s onwards. Many of the areas associated with this West Highland activity were the lochs of Lewis and Loch Broom both lands controlled by the Macleods of Lewis.⁷⁵

Determined attempts by the Fife Adventurers to wrest the Lordship of Lewis from the Macleods, 1598–1609, were to prove unsuccessful (Chapter 3). However, documentation from the subsequent Mackenzie period of stewardship of the island, 1610–, provides more detailed clues as to the nature of the marine environment. Descriptions of the fishery of Lewis, possibly written by Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty, Seaforth's chamberlain in Lewis and manager of his fisheries, give an indication of the abundance of the herring fishery all around Lewis. The sea lochs at the south east of the island running from Loch Seaforth northwards and at Loch Ròg on the west coast, were particularly good for herring and included herring spawning grounds. Banks off the east coast of Lewis were systematically worked for ling and cod, while further ling and cod fishery banks had been identified on the more challenging west coast in the open Atlantic.⁷⁶ The Mackenzies sought to develop this by introducing Dutch expertise (Chapter 5), although their efforts were to be hampered by strong opposition from Scots burghs and English interests. English commentators were dismissive of the underdeveloped and undercapitalised fishery run by the Mackenzies in comparison to their own operation in Newfoundland, but they were in no doubt, during the 1630s, of the potential of the North Minch area for a viable commercial fishery, to be controlled, naturally, by themselves. Political rather than environmental factors were, however, to prove a bigger hazard to English (or British) ambitions to develop their fishery in Lewis (Chapter 6).

Conclusion

All of the factors discussed in this introductory chapter, such as Highland-Lowland cultural and linguistic differences, perceptions of barbarity and civility

75 M. Rorke, 'The Scottish herring trade, 1470–1600,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 84 (2005), 149–165.

76 This is discussed below in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 and in appendices A1 & A2 and D2 & D3 (NRS, GD 46/20/Box 5. NRS, GD 46/18/147. NRS, GD 188/31/12/1), also MacCoinnich, 'Long, fion is fine.'

and the ideological dimension to this in relation to Gaelic Scotland are themes with which the various groups coming to Lewis grappled in different ways. The personal traits of the protagonists and the economic conditions underpinning all of the human activity also influenced the patterns of plantation in Lewis from 1598 onwards. These factors were addressed by the various planters in a number of ways. The Macleods of Lewis, who had controlled the Lordship of Lewis since the mid fourteenth century were, from the mid sixteenth century onwards, riven with internecine conflict and labelled by the incoming planters as barbarous. This perceived Highland or Gaelic barbarity, or 'incivility,' was increasingly viewed as unacceptable by Jacobean 'civic' Lowland Scotland and this dislike of Highland society was rationalised in a sophisticated way by contemporary Lowland writers. A paradigm of Highland barbarism and backwardness as a polar opposite of Lowland civility and industry was accepted implicitly, if not explicitly, by many, though by no means all, historians and writers over the course of the centuries that followed.⁷⁷

The Fife Adventurers themselves, while they may (or may not) have thought along these lines may have anticipated that with their superior civic organisation, kirk discipline and better equipped and well-planned polity, they might be able to establish themselves relatively easily in the midst of such a disunited, if not disorganised, group of rebels such as those they found in Lewis. Highland clans who were not politically marginalised, and who did not suffer from internal division, such as the Mackenzies of Kintail were, however, a very different proposition. Their chief, Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail, resentful of being cut out of the plantation, did everything he could to 'crosse' it. He was a dangerous enemy to have, augmenting the old-fashioned 'barbarous' approaches with sharp legal arguments, defending himself ably in the 'civic' forum of the

77 A.I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788* (East Linton, 1996), ix–x, 123–25, 210–234. M. MacGregor, 'Gaelic barbarity and Scottish Identity in the later middle ages,' 8, 10, 25–30, 46–48. Donaldson, *James V–James VII*, 3–4, 13–14, 50–52, 72. E.M. Barron, *The Scottish War of Independence. A Critical Study. Second Edition with new introduction* (Inverness, 1934), xxvii, xxx, liii, lxvi–lxxii. A. MacCoinnich, 'Cleifis of Irne: *Clann Choinnich agus gnìomhachas iarainn, c. 1569–1630*,' in W. McLeod, J.E. Fraser & A. Gunderloch (eds.), *Cànan & Cultar: Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 3* (Edinburgh, 2006), 137–152, at 137–138, 149 & notes 2, 3 & 5. E.J. Cowan, 'The Invention of Celtic Scotland' in E.J. Cowan & R.A. Macdonald (eds.), *Alba. Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era* (East Linton, 2000), 1–23, at 1–2, 19–21. C. Kidd, 'Teutonic ethnology and Scottish nationalist inhibition, 1780–1880,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 74 (1995), 45–68, at, 51–55, 57–62, 63, 68. A. Lumsden, 'Beyond the dusky barrier: perceptions of the Highlands in Waverley novels,' in Broun & MacGregor (eds.), *Mìorun Mòr nan Gall, 'the great ill-will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern* (Glasgow, 2009), 158–186 at, 166–167, 171.

law court. Mackenzie was not only well-versed in using the legal system but also, crucially, well-connected in the Scottish political establishment. The position of the Mackenzies (chap. 4) was in marked contrast to that of the hapless Macleods of Lewis. The following chapter (chap. 2) will consider the nature of the Macleod of Lewis (Siol Torcaill) Lordship. Two main questions arise in the first instance. Firstly, how was it that Siol Torcaill, more than any of their neighbours, found themselves not only marginalised but so alienated from the king and the parliament by the end of the sixteenth century that their fellow Scots sought to root them out as a prelude to a plantation of 'civil' people in Lewis? And secondly, what it was about the land and the people and their practices in Lewis that made it so difficult for the incoming planters to uproot Siol Torcaill?

The Lordship of the Macleods of Lewis

Introduction

Clan Macleod (of Lewis) were remembered by some of their neighbours as a ‘wicked, bloody crew whom neither law nor reason could guid[e] or model.’¹ This was written by the neighbouring Clan Fraser chronicler in the late seventeenth century two generations after the fall of Siol Torcaill or the Macleods of Lewis. The Macleod clan had become an object lesson to other Gaelic kindreds of what befell a disunited clan. Unity was strength and if this failed all was lost.² Yet, such a view of the Macleods of Lewis as being exceptionally bloody was voiced with the benefit of hindsight. To their Gaelic speaking contemporaries in the sixteenth century this was not obvious. For Mr Dòmhnall Monro who wrote a description of the Isles in 1549, and who himself served as a priest in Lewis and knew them well, the Macleods were no better, or worse than any other clan.³ All of the neighbouring clans had links with Siol Torcaill, of which kinship is the most obvious. A well-known song composed about Dòmhnall mac Iain mhic Sheumais, fl. 1600 x 1630, a member of the Macdonalds of Sleat, for example, contains a line praising his kin connection to *Rìgh Leòdhais*, the chief of Lewis. Several copies of the chiefly genealogy of Siol Torcaill were preserved in Gaelic Ireland, indicative of their status as a major clan as well, probably, as their role as patrons of Irish poets and providers of soldiers to Irish chiefs.⁴ When the chief, Torcall Dubh Macleod, was captured by Mackenzie of

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- 1 Some aspects of the themes discussed in this chapter have appeared in two previous publications: ‘Siol Torcaill and their lordship in the sixteenth century,’ in J. Randall (ed.), *Crossing the Minch: Exploring the links between Skye and the Hebrides* (Islands Book Trust, Callicvol, 2008), 7–32; and also A. MacCoinnich, ‘Dùn Èistean: the historical background, c. 1493 – c. 1700,’ in: R. Barrowman (ed.), *Dùn Èistean: Excavations on a Late-Medieval Clan stronghold* (Acair Press, Stornoway, forthcoming, 2015).
 - 2 *Chron. Frasers*, 40–41. MacCoinnich, ‘Mar Phòr san t-Uisge,’ 214–31.
 - 3 D. Monro, ‘Description of the Occidental, i.e. Western Islands of Scotland by Mr Donald Monro,’ 299–334. Munro, ‘Monro, Donald (*d.* in or after 1575), Church of Scotland minister and author,’ *ODNB*, entry no. 18968.
 - 4 ‘Rìgh Leòdhais’ used for the chief of Lewis, is found in some of the versions of the song ‘A mhic Iain ‘ic Sheumais,’ c. 1600. J.L. Campbell & F. Collinson (eds.), *Hebridean Folksongs: waulking songs from Barra, South Uist, Eriskay and Benbecula* (3 vols., Oxford, 1981), iii, 98–99. W.D.H. Sellar, ‘The Ancestry of the Macleods reconsidered,’ *TGSI*, 55 (1997–98), 233–258.

Kintail in 1597 and murdered under pretence of a trial, the horrified reaction by West Highland chiefs to this episode seems real enough and not the response one would expect had the clan been considered beyond the pale.⁵ For contemporaries in the Lowlands, however, who produced most of the materials on which we rely as the sources of our information, the Macleods were the epitome of incivility and barbarism: a line which is echoed by most historians.⁶

The Macleods of Lewis were frequently in rebellion against the crown during the sixteenth century, notably in 1504–6, 1530 and 1540–1555, often supporting insurrections in association with Clan Donald, for reasons that are not clearly understood.⁷ The century ended as it had begun with the Macleods again regarded as rebels by the crown. This time, however, they would be forfeit and their lands granted to the Fife Adventurers, a consortium of Fife based merchants and noblemen, in 1598. Had there been newspaper headlines during the sixteenth century, the Macleods of Lewis may have occasionally made the front page, and had such papers been at the sensational end of the market, the exploits of the thrice married Ruairidh MacLeod, (c.1510–c.1595), the last chief of Siol Torcaill, who fathered four sons by his three wives and at least a further five sons by various other women out with wedlock, would certainly have sustained media interest.⁸ Ruairidh's household was not in itself unusual:

5 A. & A. Macdonald (eds.), *The Clan Donald* (3 vols., Inverness, 1896–1904), ii, 757–758. *CSP Scot*, xiii, 182, 191. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 220. TNA, SP 52/62, fol. 13, 19.

6 For perceptions held by both contemporaries and subsequent historians of the clan see MacCoinnich, 'Mar Phòr san t-Uisge', 214–231.

7 The Macleods of Lewis appear as rebels charged with treason in the parliamentary record, 1505–1506, April–June 1531, September 1545–July 1546. See the RPS website (Records of the Parliament of Scotland) under the headword 'Macleod' <<http://www.rps.ac.uk/>>. D. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Highlands of Scotland* (2nd edition, Glasgow, 1881), 99–103, 131, 144. W.C. MacKenzie, *The History of the Outer Hebrides* (Paisley, 1903), 118–123, 125–130, 138–147. Cathcart, 'The Forgotten'45: Donald Dubh's Rebellion in an Archipelagic Context', 239–264.

8 Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis (d. 1595) had legitimate sons from his marriages: firstly to Seònaid Mackenzie (1) Torcall Conanach (c. 1540–c.1624); from his second marriage to Barbara Stewart, (2) Torcall Oighre (c. 1542–1566); from his third marriage to a daughter of Maclean of Duart (3) Torcall Dubh, c. 1575–1597, and (4) Tormod, c. 1580–c.1620(?). Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis also had five illegitimate sons: (i) Tormod Ùigeach, d. c. 1585, (ii) Murchadh, d. 1600, (iii) Dòmhnall, d. c. 1585, (iv) Ruairidh Òg, d. c. 1594, (v) Niall Odhar, d. 1613. Of these only Torcall Conanach seems to have died in his own bed. Tormod died in exile in the Netherlands and the other brothers all met a violent end. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides* (Paisley, 1903), 149–150, 154, 157, 163, 168, 190, 222, 257–8. See also appendix B1.

other contemporary chiefs had similar arrangements, although not always with such serious consequences.⁹

Macleod's Family

From a statistical point of view it would seem reasonable to assume that old Ruairidh also begat daughters, although if he did these are unknown to both history and tradition, reflecting, perhaps, the patriarchal nature of society as well as the dearth of surviving sources for this period.¹⁰ His eldest son, Torcall Conanach Macleod, who old Ruairidh had disowned (see below), was something of a disappointment both to his estranged Macleod kinsmen and to his Mackenzie backers alike.¹¹ Although Torcall's claim to Lewis faltered, it was not due to lack of support either from his Mackenzie kinsmen or from his spouse. Torcall's wife, Mairead, a daughter of Macdonnell of Glengarry, seems to have been a forceful, capable woman. She was described by a contemporary as the 'commander' of her husband, and can be seen in charge of her husband's business in Lewis, pressing their case for lands there from the Fife planters in 1600. Mairead was exceptional only in that a document happens to survive to tell us so.¹² Despite the survival of a small but important corpus of Gaelic song which can give us access to the female voice from the period, the nature of the bulk of surviving source material for the Highlands for this era, written by men, is often mute on the role of women other than as mothers, sisters or spouses.¹³

9 Ruairidh's contemporaries, the Macneils of Barra and Patrick Stewart, Earl of Orkney also experienced domestic discord of a similar nature and parallels can also be drawn with some Irish chiefly households from the time. W.D.H. Sellar 'Marriage, divorce and concubinage in Gaelic Scotland,' in *TGS*, 51 (1978–1980), 464–493. P. Parkes, 'Celtic Fosterage: Adoptive Kinship and Clientage in Northwest Europe' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 48 (2006), 359–395, especially at 382 & note 49. P.D. Anderson, 'Stewart, Robert, first earl of Orkney (1533–1593),' *ODNB*, entry, 26504.

10 It may be that Ruairidh simply had no daughters from any of his three marriages. Legitimate daughters were important in dynastic politics and in the marriage market. Illegitimate daughters (like illegitimate sons), less so. K.M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland. Wealth, family and culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2004), 76–79.

11 *Highland Papers*, ii, 60, 268, 272.

12 Mairead was described as such by a contemporary observer, a member of the Learmonth family of Balcomie. NRS, RH 15/45/45/2.

13 Notable exceptions to this observation include aristocrats such as Catriona Maclean, the widow of the fourth Earl of Argyll, Lady Agnes Campbell who was a daughter of the third earl of Argyll, and Agnes's daughter from her marriage to Seumas Macdonald of Islay,

Each of Ruairidh's three spouses, Seonaid Mackenzie, Barbara Stewart and his final spouse, Seonaid Maclean, a daughter of Maclean of Duart, must have had a significant, although unknown impact on the internal workings of the lordship of Lewis. Nothing is known of the mothers of Ruairidh's numerous illegitimate children, yet many of these women may well have been daughters of locally important individuals. Little consideration too, both in the sources and subsequent historiography, is given to the role of women as *muime*, or foster mothers, although they were of central importance to family relationships and the links of kin and affinity that were so important to clanship.¹⁴

Fosterage, the reciprocal raising of kinsmen and relatives' children, was a distinctive feature of Highland clanship in this period and could be a means of creating strong and enduring mutual relationships.¹⁵ While many aspects of Ruairidh Macleod's colourful family life are unclear even less is known of the children fostered in Ruairidh's turbulent household, or indeed where his own children, whether legitimate or illegitimate, were raised. These are significant missing links in our understanding of the dynamics of Ruairidh's lordship (c.1539–1595). The understanding of the largely hidden networks of affinity related to practices such as fosterage can be as important as an appreciation of conventional dynastic relationships.¹⁶ Indeed both the internal and external

Finola (Fionnghall) Macdonald, known as 'an Nighean Dubh.' All of these women played pivotal roles in the politics of the south western Hebrides and Ulster in the second half of the sixteenth century. N. Maclean Bristol, *Murder Under Trust. The crimes and death of Sir Lachlan Mòr Maclean of Duart, 1558–1598* (East Linton, 1999), 51–2, 99. J.E.A. Dawson, *The Politics of Religion in the age of Mary Queen of Scots. The Earl of Argyll and the struggle for Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2002), 104–110, 155–165, 201–205. The female voice can be heard in surviving Gaelic song attributed to women from the period (c.1580–1640), such as Nic Còiseam (c.1600), Mòr Chaimbeul (c. 1570), Mòr NicPhàidein (c.1625) and others whose identity has been forgotten. Ó Baoill & Bateman, *Gàir nan Clàrsach*, no. 2, 10: cf. no. 4, 5, 8, 15. W. McLeod & M. Bateman (eds.), *Duanaire nan Sracaire. Songbook of the Pillagers. Anthology of Scotland's Gaelic verse to 1600* (Birlinn, Edinburgh, 2007), no. 71. A. Frater, 'Scottish Gaelic Women's poetry up to 1750' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1994), 571–616. See also D.U. Stiùbhart, 'Women and gender in the early modern Gaidhealtachd' (233–249), and A. Frater, 'Women of the Gaidhealtachd and their songs to 1750' (67–79), both essays in E. Ewan & M.M. Meikle (eds.), *Women in Scotland, c.1100–c.1750* (East Linton, 1999).

14 W.D.H. Sellar 'Marriage, divorce and concubinage in Gaelic Scotland,' in *TGSI*, 51 (1978–1980), 464–493.

15 MacCoinnich, 'Daltachas, fineachan agus Alba,' 37–53.

16 For the importance of affinity, kinship and fictive kinship to the Campbell Earls of Argyll at this time see, J.E.A. Dawson, *The politics of religion in the age of Mary Queen of Scots*, 15, 40–41, 81–83.

dynastic politics of the Macleods of Lewis and the thorny relationships between various members of the family were to play a major part in the eventual downfall of the clan.

The Ewill Trowbles of the Lewis

This was related in some detail by the writer of the ‘Ewill trowbles of the Lewis,’ a manuscript written towards the end of the 1620s cataloguing the downfall of the Macleods.¹⁷ The writer seems, from the level of detail and first hand knowledge he displays, to have been a member of the vanquished Siol Torcaill family, and it is the sole written source by a contemporary that is clearly sympathetic to the Macleods’ cause and critical of the victorious Mackenzies. Parts of this account appear, almost verbatim, in Sir Robert Gordon’s *History of the Earldom of Sutherland*. It is likely that the writer of ‘Ewill Trowbles’ was one of the Macleods of Lewis, and that it was possibly written to inform Gordon’s history.¹⁸ Indeed Dòmhnall, one of the surviving sons of Niall Odhar Macleod, and possibly other members of the Macleod kindred, were sheltered and sponsored by Sir Robert Gordon, tutor of Sutherland, in the second decade of the seventeenth century. Sir Robert kept a watchful eye on and maintained a keen rivalry with the neighbouring Mackenzies.¹⁹

‘Ewill Trowbles’ is critical of the parts the crown, the Fife Adventurers and, above all, the Mackenzies played in the downfall of the clan, yet it is unflinching in its description of the role of the Macleods themselves: narrating their dissension, betrayals, and murders. Torcall Conanach is, with surprising fairness, treated as someone who suffered from ‘simplicitie,’ and was used as a dupe by the perfidious Mackenzies. Within Lewis, the brieve or britheamh kindred, were also singled out as having been instrumental in the downfall of the Macleods. The brieve, or hereditary lawman of Lewis, Iain mac Ùisdean a’ Bhritheimh, betrayed and delivered his chief, Torcall Dubh Macleod, to Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail who promptly had Torcall Dubh executed, probably in the summer of 1597. The brieve, in particular, was castigated for having committed the ‘excreable and unnatural’ act of betraying his master (see below, this chapter). The writer did, however, had the satisfaction of

17 ‘The Ewill Trowbles of the Lewes,’ in *Highland Papers*, ii, 269–275. The original manuscript, probably written 1626x30, is in the National Library of Scotland (NLS, Adv MS, 22.7.11).

18 MacCoinnich, ‘Mar phòr san t-uisge: iomhaigh Siol Torcail an eachdraidh,’ 221–222.

19 Gordon, *Sutherland*, 267–276.

reporting that the brieve was 'justly punished' shortly afterwards, slain by Iain mac Dhòmhnaill mhic Ùisdein, one of the Macleods of Assynt.²⁰

Such was the depth of dislike for the *britheamh* kindred, who were 'hated of all men,' that this could even be used as a justification in the pro-Macleod account for internecine warfare such as the attack and capture of Murchadh 'Siabost' Macleod by his half-brother, Niall Odhar in 1600. Murchadh, who together with his brother Niall had led the resistance to the Fife Adventurers from late 1598 and 1599, had also leagued with the *britheamh* kindreds (and colluded with the Mackenzies) in the capture of James Learmonth of Balcomie, one of the Fife Adventurers. This collusion by Murchadh with the enemies of his late brother, Torcall Dubh, was seemingly too much for Niall Odhar, who used this as an excuse to capture Murchadh, handing him over to the colonists. Murchadh was tried at St Andrews on charges of piracy, kidnap, sorning and theft, piracy, reiff (plunder), slaughter and murder. A letter signed by James VI, granted the commission for his trial, stating that if Murchadh were found guilty he would be '...hangit, heidit, quarterit & drawn and his head to be affixit above the nether bow' of Edinburgh. Murchadh was promptly given judicial process and executed but not before implicating Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail.²¹ For Niall, however, the pardon he had obtained for the betrayal of his brother at the end of 1600 was to be short lived, and his peace with the Lowland colonists in 1600 was to last less than a year.²²

While personal ties did little to create stability within the lordship of Lewis in the latter half of the sixteenth century, this difficulty was compounded by the troubled relationships of the Macleods with the neighbouring Macdonalds of Sleat, the Mackenzies of Kintail and also the crown. Under the leadership of Ruairidh, the last established chief, c.1538–1595, the Macleods of Lewis were perennial rebels, and rarely in good favour in parts south and east of the kingdom of Scotland. Ruairidh's late uncle Torcall (†c.1506), the former chief, had succumbed to a royally sanctioned expedition at the opening of the sixteenth century, involving a fleet which reduced Stornoway castle with cannon. Torcall

20 *Highland Papers*, ii, 268–269, 272–273. For a consideration of the role of the brieve see the discussion below in this chapter. See also MacCoinnich, *Dùn Èistean: the historical background, c. 1493–c.1700*.

21 Letter, James VI, directing the trial of 'Murrow McCloyd of Sebest,' 3 February 1600/1601, for crimes including the kidnap of James Learmonth of Balcomie, the murder and slaughter of Arthur Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, Joseph Learmonth, David Schort and 'diverss otheris personis.' NRS, PC 10/14/D, no. 1405. For Mackenzie's role in this see below in Chapter 3 and also in appendix C2. Mackenzie, *The History of the Outer Hebrides*, 184–185, 189–191.

22 *Highland Papers*, ii, 270–271.

had been in rebellion in support of his wife's nephew, Dòmhnall Dubh, claimant to the Macdonald Lordship of the Isles thus drawing royal enmity. When Dòmhnall Dubh escaped a second time in 1545–6, he again drew on widespread Hebridean support which included backing from the Macleods of Lewis.²³ Ruairidh's estrangement from Edinburgh lasted long after Dòmhnall Dubh's death in 1546. Although there were periodic signs of rapprochement with the crown and Privy Council from the rule of James v and his daughter, Queen Mary, through into the 1570s, discord rather than harmony with Edinburgh was to be the keynote of Ruairidh's chiefship. Ruairidh continued this pattern of defiance to the diktats of Edinburgh and came under sustained and serious pressure towards the middle of the century and again towards the end of the sixteenth century from the crown and its agents.

Not least in terms of Macleod transgressions was their failure to contribute anything to the royal coffers for much of the sixteenth century. Indeed, not only did Hebrideans, the Macleods of Lewis in particular, fail to contribute revenue to the king's exchequer, they actively hampered the growth of the profitable and lucrative fishery being conducted around the coasts of Lewis by Lowland Scottish boats (discussed in Chapter 1 and 3). This political and fiscal intransigence culminated in the expropriation and forfeiture of the clan by King James and his granting of Macleod of Lewis clan lands to loyal subjects, the Fife Adventurers, many of them personally known to the king, who *would* do his bidding *and* contribute revenue. The Macleods of Lewis thus ceased to exist as a landholding clan in their own right following the forfeiture of Lewis in 1598, the attempted plantation by the Fife Adventurers and the subsequent invasion by the Mackenzies of Kintail (1609–11). This, the lethal in-fighting among the Macleods and the subsequent plantation, has been comprehensively covered in W.C. Mackenzie's *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 1903, which provides a detailed narrative history of the period, synthesising clan histories and tradition with a solid underpinning of primary source research.²⁴ The remainder of the present chapter approaches the history of the Macleods more thematically, but remains heavily indebted to Mackenzie's pioneering scholarship.

23 For an appreciation of Dòmhnall Dubh in his wider Scottish, British and Irish contexts see Cathcart, 'The Forgotten'45. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles*, 166–177.

24 Chapter 5–8 in Mackenzie's book (Paisley 1903) offers the most detailed narrative of these times. See also D. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland* (1832: 2nd edition, Glasgow 1881, reprinted by John Donald, 1974).

The Macleods of Lewis and the Old Order

The Macleods, from their very earliest appearances on historical record sometime in the fourteenth century, were split into two main groups: Siol Tormoid (The Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan in Skye) who continue and still survive as an entity, and Siol Torcaill (The Macleods of Lewis), who, with the exception of cadet branches such as Raasay and Assynt were eradicated as a cohesive force by the end of the opening decade of the seventeenth century.²⁵ No one would seriously question the status and importance of the Macleods of Harris/Dunvegan as a clan in this period. They were not in the same league as the Campbells (few were) in terms of importance, not perhaps as powerful as the Mackenzies were to become by 1600, but a significant group of players nonetheless, on a par, perhaps, with the Macleans or the Macdonalds of Sleat. However, for two to three hundred years the Macleods of Lewis were, arguably, an equal if not larger and more formidable force than their namesakes in Harris and Dunvegan. Indeed, the profile of the lords of Lewis, both locally and nationally was such that, rebels or not, their coats of arms are included in three collections of Scottish heraldry from the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries (see below).

Siol Torcaill were proprietors of land not only in Lewis, but in Assynt, Coigeach and Vaternish. Their reach extended into the open Atlantic, they utilised the resources of the Flannan Isles 32 Kilometres off the west coast of Lewis and the islands of North Rona and Sulaisgeir, 71 Kilometres off the north coast of Lewis.²⁶ They also effectively held Raasay 'by the sword' from the Bishop of the Isles. This meant that the bishop was unable to evict them (or probably collect rent) in 1549, even though he was titular landlord. The Raasay branch settled their differences with the bishop sometime during the latter half of the sixteenth century, and were episcopal tenants holding Raasay directly off the bishop of the Isles until 1608.²⁷ There were also elements of Siol

25 *Highland Papers*, ii, at 279. W. Matheson, 'The Macleods of Lewis,' in *TGSI*, 51 (1976–78), 320–337. W.D.H. Sellar, 'The Ancestry of the Macleods reconsidered,' in *TGSI*, 60 (2000), 233–258.

26 Monro, 'Description,' 331–332, 338–339. See also maps 1 & 2.

27 A Malcolm MacGillechaluim obtained a grant to Raasay, formerly technically the property of the Bishop of the Isles, from James VI in 1596. 'Malcolm' was the Scots/English form used for the Gaelic personal name 'Gillecaluim.' The Mackenzies assumed overlordship of Raasay in 1608, and became feudal superiors of the MacGilleChaluim family for Raasay thereafter. Mackenzie stipulated that galley service was due to him from MacGilleChaluim whenever he required it together with a rental payment. Monro, 'Description,' 322. NLS, Adv MS 31.3.4, fol. 28r. NRS, RS 37/5, fol. 265v. NRS, GD 128/23/ (Bundle) 2, [notarial copy

Torcaill in Eddrachilles, Wester Sutherland, and they continued to occupy part of Gairloch, Wester Ross, without title (until around 1611) despite the overlordship and increasing pressure here from the Mackenzies from 1494 onwards.²⁸

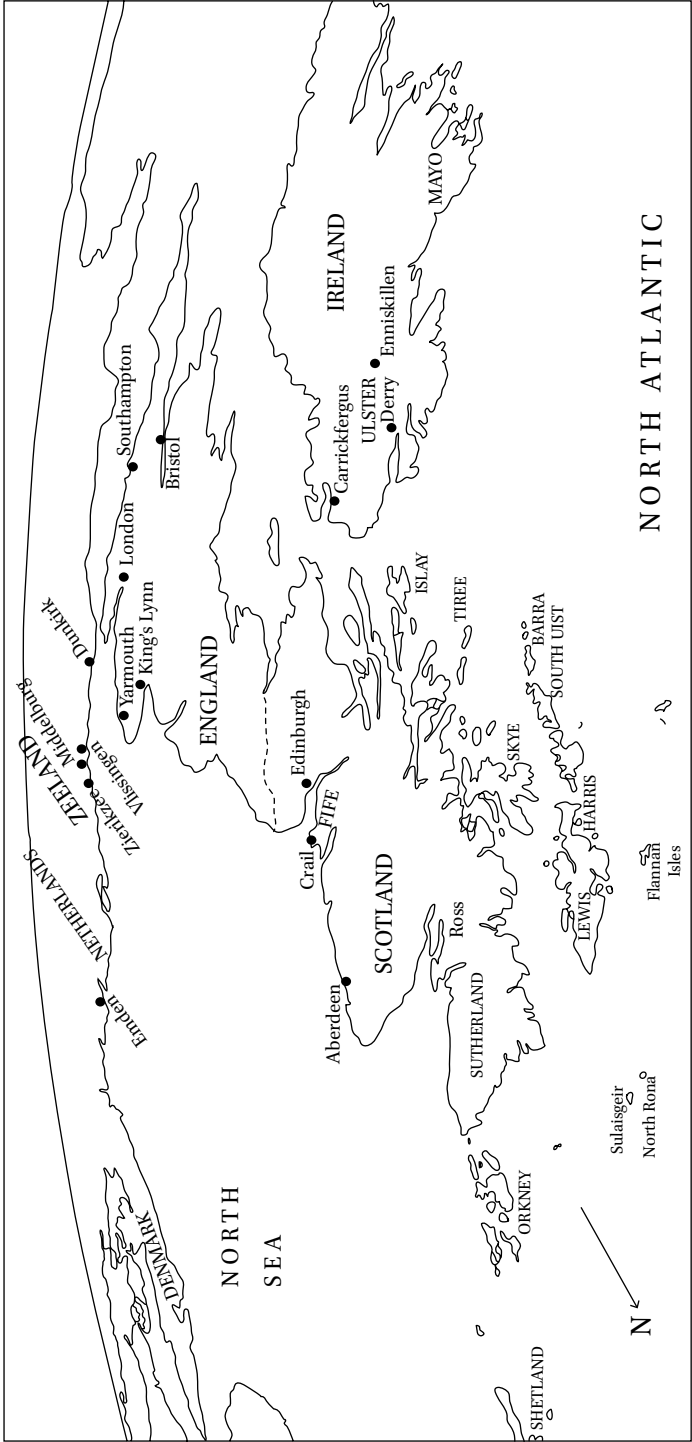
The geographical implications of this are more apparent when one considers a map (see Maps 1, 2 & 3). This shows us that the Macleods of Lewis could control the entire North Minch basin from their bases on the western mainland at Gairloch, Coigeach, Assynt and Eddrachilles and also from their island bases on Raasay, Vaternish, and Lewis. The outlying Atlantic islands of the Flannans and North Rona and Sulaisgeir were an important, if peripheral, part of their lordship. These outliers were to grow in importance in the first four decades of the seventeenth century as efforts to exploit the fishery intensified.²⁹ The importance of seagoing links is clear, and frequent transport back and forth was an essential feature of life in the Macleod lands. This had obvious dangers, and indeed one of the many turning points in the family history of the period was the unfortunate death of Torcall Oighre in 1566 (discussed below), when in cross-channel transit between various parts of the Siol Torcaill lordship, he and 60 of his followers were caught in a storm off the coast of Trotternish and their birlinn was lost with all hands. This tragedy was repeated a century later when Iain mac Gillechaluim Macleod of Raasay was, similarly, caught by foul weather on his return from Stornoway.³⁰ The papers and charters of the Macleods of Lewis have been lost. However, one surviving deed

made in 1873 of the] 'Inventory of the Writtis and evidentis delyverit be Alex[ande]r Mc Gillichallum of Rasay To ane Nobill Lord Coline earle of Seafort upone the 27th day of April 1629 yeirs.' N. Macleod, *Raasay. The Island and its people* (Edinburgh, 2002), 31–32, 268–70.

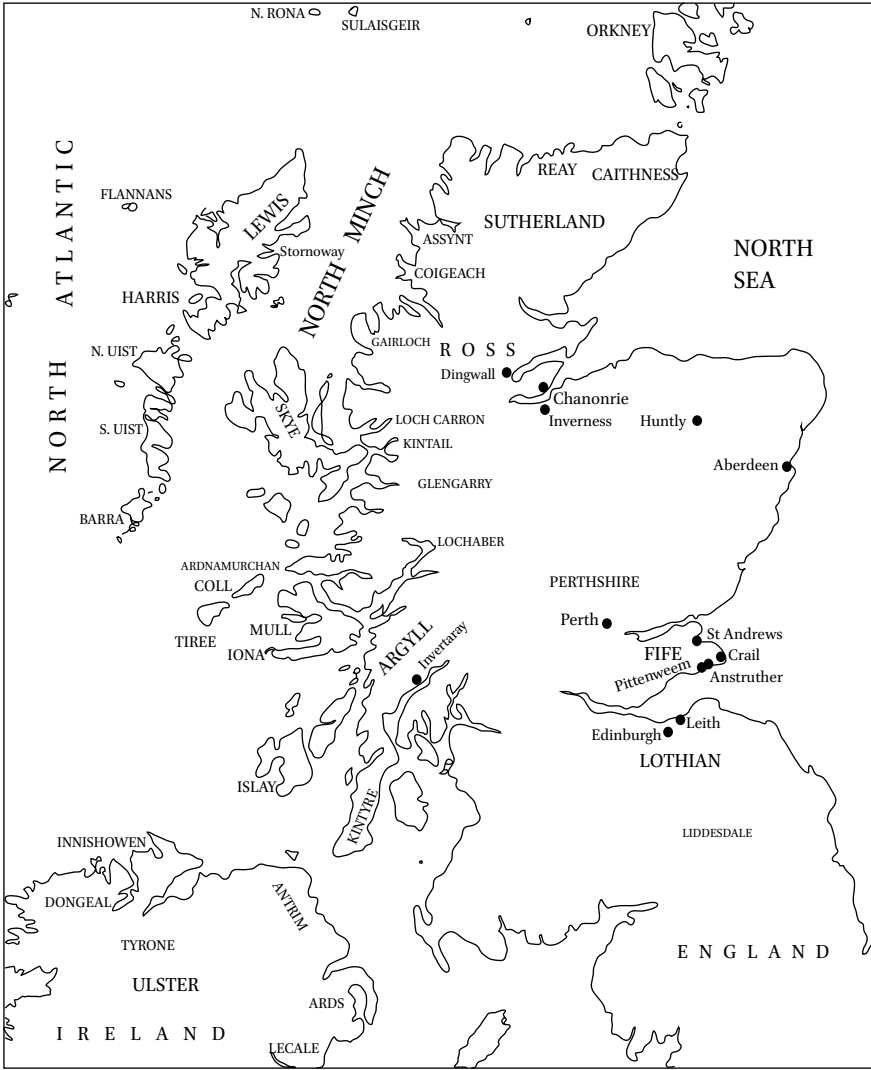
28 'The McLeods lairds of Lews were posses'd of a large estate viz., The sixteen davochs of the Lews now possessed by my Lord Seafort, the four davochs of Waterniss, now possessed by the laird of McLeod the four davochs of Rasay now possessed by Macleod of Raasay, the foure davoch of Coigach possessed be the Earl of Cromarty the four davoch of Gairloch now possessed by Mackenzie of Garloch the four davoch of Assint now possessed by Mackenzie of Assint and the four davoch of Eddarachilles by the Lord Reay being in all fourty davoch of land.' For a discussion of 'davochs,' a unit of land, see A. Ross, 'The Dabhach in Moray: a new look at an old tub,' in A. Woolf (ed.), *Landscape and Environment in Dark Age Scotland. St John's House Papers*, 11 (St Andrews University, 2006), 57–74. 'The Genealogy of the family of Assint' (1739), NLS, MS 19308, fol. 4.

29 Appendix A1 & E4.

30 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 149. 'Marbhrann do Iain MacGilleChaluim Ratharsaidh' (c.1671) J. Carmichael Watson (ed.), *Gaelic Songs of Mary Macleod* (Scottish Gaelic Texts Society, Edinburgh, 1934) 26–8; 114–115. A contemporary account of this is offered in *Chron. Frasers*, 498–499.



MAP 1 Lewis and the wider world. A North Atlantic perspective.

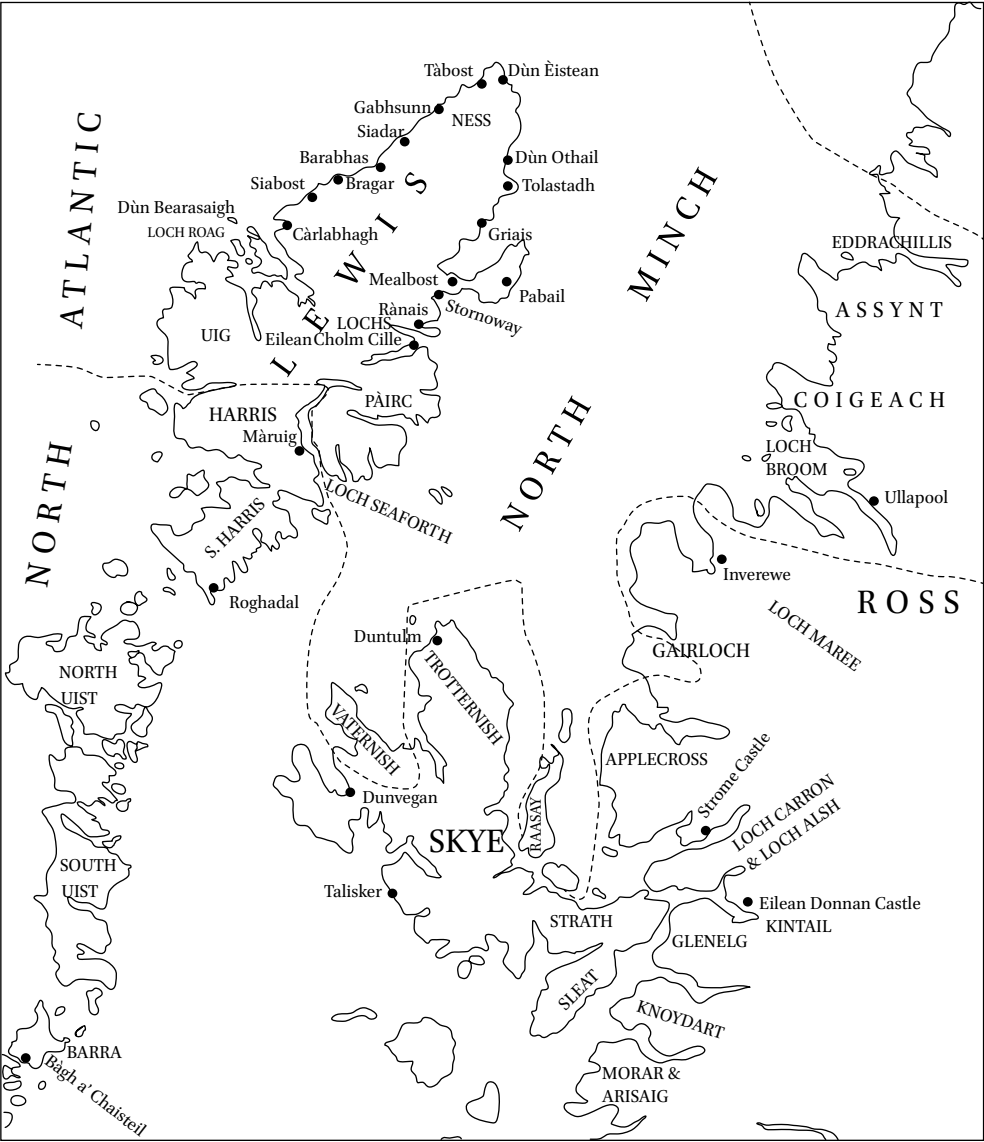


MAP 2 *Scotland, showing some of the areas mentioned in the text.*

related to the Macleods of Raasay specifically mentioned that the laird of that island had to supply his superior with a fully manned galley when required.³¹

The maritime, cross-Minch, nature of the Siol Torcaill lordship is best demonstrated by the witness list to a sasine following a charter granting land to Torcall Conanach Macleod, as son and heir of his estranged father in 1572, in

31 NRS, GD 128/23/ (Bundle) 2.



MAP 3 *Skye, the Outer Isles and Wester Ross. The North Minch and some places mentioned in the text.*

what was to prove a brief reconciliation. The ceremony, by which ownership of the land was formally transferred, was carried out at four of the discrete parts of the Macleod lordship on successive days, at Ullapool for Coigeach, at Inverkirkaig for Assynt, at Pabail for Lewis, and at 'Todynebane' (An t-Aodann Bhàin/Edinbane) for Vaternish, 5–21 April 1572. This witness list is effectively a

list of the leading men in the Macleod lordship in 1572. Some of these are readily identifiable, such as Dòmhnall mac Iain Dhuibh Mhòir in Gairloch and Dòmhnall mac Gille Caluim Mhòir in Raasay, while others such as the men from Loch Broom in Coigeach and Pabail, Point, in east Lewis are harder to identify.³² Two of the groups of witnesses, however, are well known (if imprecisely) to tradition and to history – Clann mhic Amhlaigh (Macaulays) of Ùig in Lewis, and Sliochd a' Bhritheimh, the briefes or hereditary judges (later known as Morrisons) traditionally associated with Ness in Lewis, but probably operating more widely within the Macleod lordship. Both of these groups are discussed at more length elsewhere.³³ Although many of the people mentioned here are obscure to history and tradition, this does, nevertheless, gives a unique snapshot of the leading men of the lordship in a brief hiatus before the disorder that was to follow. While the focus of this study is on Lewis, few of the mainland based members of the clan whether in Gairloch, Raasay, Vaternish, Coigeach, Assynt or Eddrachilles, will have escaped involvement in the maelstrom of violence from clan disorder and plantation that centred on Lewis in the decades leading up to 1610.

While the role of shipping, birlinns, galleys and lymfaddis [*long-fada*, or long boats] were obviously crucial to the maintenance of a trans-Minch lordship, they may not have been the sole means of communication. In good, clear, weather many of these places, Vaternish and south Lewis, Raasay and Gairloch, and perhaps even parts of Coigeach and Assynt with outlying Lewis, are in line of sight. No archaeological evidence has, as yet, been found to corroborate the existence of beacon fires. Yet their existence is suggested by the appearance of the burning mountain device on Macleod heraldry preserved in the 'Armorial de Berry' of c.1450, the 'Workman's MS' of c.1565, and the 'Sunderland Hall MS' also dating from the sixteenth century (figure 2b). All three of these fifteenth and sixteenth century manuscript witnesses feature a burning mountain or

32 A list of these men can be seen in A. MacCoinnich, 'Siol Torcail and their Lordship in the sixteenth century,' 20–21 & 31. For a traditional tale of a crime committed by a 'mac Iain Duibh' from Gairloch see J.H. Dixon, *Gairloch and a Guide to Loch Maree* (Edinburgh, 1886: Reprinted 1974), 44. N. Macleod, *Raasay*, 38–40.

33 The Macaulay kindred, associated largely with Ùig in Lewis, are discussed in Chapter three, below, and in A. MacCoinnich, 'Siol Torcail and their Lordship in the sixteenth century,' 21–22, 31. See also F.W.L. Thomas, 'The Traditions of the Macaulays of Lewis,' in *PSAS*, 14 (1879–80), 363–431. The brithemh kindred, later known as the Morrisons, often associated with Ness in Lewis, is discussed in F.W.L. Thomas, 'Traditions of the Morrisons (Clann MhicGille Mhuire) Hereditary Judges of Lewis,' *PSAS*, 12 (1876–78), 503–556. W. Matheson, 'The Morrisons of Ness,' *TGSI*, 50 (1979), 60–80. See also, A. MacCoinnich, *Dùn Èistean: the historical background, c. 1493–c.1700.*

fires on a mountain as one of the central images of the Macleod of Lewis coat of arms, together with variations on the phrase 'I burn while I see' as the accompanying motto, which taken together suggest that this might have been a feature of Macleod lordship.³⁴ This burning mountain motif may have been the emblem of the MacNicol or Nicolsons of Trotternish in Skye, from whom the Macleods of Lewis may have obtained their estates during the thirteenth or fourteenth century. According to George Mackenzie of Tarbat (c.1680), the device represented a system of navigation beacons on opposing coasts of the Siol Torcaill lands dating back to Norse times.³⁵ This is depicted on the heraldry from the Workman's Manuscript. While this might be dismissed as fanciful due to the lack of any other corroborating material evidence from the lordship of Lewis, there is other evidence from the southern Hebrides which may support such a claim. The Macleods had long-lasting, if intermittent, communication with the Macdonalds of Islay both in the early period and during the latter sixteenth century en route to the wars in Ireland (see below). The Macdonalds, who held lands in Islay and Kintyre in Scotland and also in the north of Ireland, were noted by English cartographers for the way in which they maintained a system of signal fires in Antrim on hilltops which they used to summon reinforcements from Kintyre. English estimates of the Glens of Antrim in the 1570s and 1580s were 'uncertain' due to this, for the Macdonnells of Antrim were in the words of an English writer, 'supplied as need requireth from Scotland with what number they list to call [on], from making of fires upon certain steep rocks hanging over the sea.'³⁶ In the Isle of Man, too, which had been linked closely to Lewis in the Viking era, a system of 'watch and ward' associated with beacons and dating back to Norse times is well known.³⁷

34 This Macleod motto (in a Latin form, 'Luceo non uro') together with the burning mountain device was later, in the seventeenth century, appropriated by the Mackenzies of Cromartie as was the title 'Lord Macleod,' as the first earl of Cromartie was descended from the Macleods in the maternal line. Reproductions of these earlier fifteenth and sixteenth century coats of arms can be seen in, R.R. Stoddart, *Scottish Arms, being a collection of armorial bearings, a.d. 1370-1678. Reproduced in facsimile from contemporary manuscripts* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1881), vol. 1, plates 3, 23, 37. vol. 2, 41. See also W.D.H. Sellar, 'The ancestry of the Macleods reconsidered.'

35 W.D.H. Sellar & A. Maclean, *The Highland Clan MacNeacail (MacNicol). A History of the Nicolsons of Scorrybreac* (Waternish, 1999), 11.

36 CSP, Carew, 1575-1588, 438. G. Hill, *An Historical Account of the MacDonnells of Antrim* (Belfast, 1873), 132-133 & n. I am grateful to Dr Alison Cathcart for bringing this to my attention.

37 Sellar & Maclean, *The Highland Clan MacNeacail*, 11.

Siol Torcaill, as the Macleods of Lewis were known by their seventeenth century neighbours, had been one of a number of powerful clan groups within the Macdonald Lordship of the Isles between the later fourteenth century and the disintegration of this lordship in the two decades following 1475. The Macdonald lordship collapsed due to a mixture of internal disunity and considerable external pressure applied successively by James III and James IV, culminating in the final forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493.³⁸ James IV attempted to extend his control in the area and by so doing maximise his revenues, an approach continued by his successors with varying degrees of success. James IV essentially promoted divide and rule by offering a mixed bag of threat and reward to the clans on the western seaboard to accept him as a direct superior in place of the Macdonalds. Former vassals of the Macdonalds (including Macdonald cadets such as MacIain of Ardnamurchan) were granted new charters, holding their lands as tenants in chief of the Crown rather than as vassals of the Macdonald Lords of the Isles.³⁹ However, for reasons which are not always clear, and families such as the Macleods of Lewis (and others, including various septs of the Macdonalds themselves) were extremely unhappy with the new order and continued to try and rebel to reinstate the former Macdonald Lordship of the Isles, particularly in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁴⁰ Although the last 'serious' pro-Macdonald lordship rising is usually thought to have been that of 1545, it remained a live issue, at least in the minds of many Macdonald septs, for another century. As late as 1622 the chief of Glengarry, one of the major cadets of Clan Donald, reserved the right to the lordship of the isles to his heirs, and in the 1660s, a successor attempted to revive the earldom of Ross. These pretensions were echoed by Clan Donald poets throughout the course of the seventeenth century.⁴¹

38 J. & R.W. Munro (eds.), *The Acts of the Lords of the Isles* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1986), lxvii–lxxiv.

39 J.E.A. Dawson, *Scotland Re-formed, 1488–1587* (Edinburgh, 2007), 43–46. N. MacDougall, 'Achilles Heel? The Earldom of Ross, the Lordship of the Isles and the Stewart kings, 1449–1507,' in E. Cowan & R.A. Macdonald (eds.), *Alba. Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era* (East Linton, 2000), 248–276.

40 Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles*, 95–180. Cathcart, 'The Forgotten'45: Donald Dubh's Rebellion in an Archipelagic Context,' 239–264.

41 A. MacCoinnich, 'His Spirit was only given to Warre.' Conflict and identity in the Scottish Gaidhealtachd, c.1580–c.1630,' in S. Murdoch & A. Mackillop (eds.), *Fighting for identity. Scottish military experience, c. 1550–1900* (Brill, Leiden, 2002), 133–166, at 147–149. A.I. Mackenzie (ed.), *Òrain Iain Luim* (Scottish Gaelic Text Society, Edinburgh), 18, 124. P. Hopkins, *Glencoe and the end of the Highland war* (Edinburgh, 1986), 22–23.

Rebellion, 1502–1538

Yet, while rebellion seemed to be the leitmotif of crown-Hebridean relations throughout the sixteenth century, this was probably not a position that had been sought by either party. An attempt had been made to integrate Torcall Macleod into King James's new order by offering him a crown charter in 1498, strengthening, in theory, the ties between Macleod and the crown. Another link to the Stewart court was in the marriage of Torcall to the daughter of the Earl of Argyll, master of the King's household. By 1502, however, Torcall was declared a rebel for harbouring and aiding and abetting the rebellion of his wife's nephew, Dòmhnall Dubh.⁴² While James might not, as Norman Macdougall has pointed out, have felt the need to attend to this rebellion in person, neither was it something he could afford to ignore.⁴³ Torcall had been married to Catriona Campbell, a daughter of the Earl of Argyll, sometime around 1498–c.1508 and, previously, or perhaps even concurrently, to a daughter of Macdonald of Islay who was a widow of Macdonald of Sleat although details of this latter match are sketchy. These marital alliances with two of the premier noble houses in the Gaidhealtachd give an indication of Macleod's standing.⁴⁴ His Campbell wife's nephew, the teenage Dòmhnall Dubh (Macdonald) the grandson and heir of John, the last Lord of the Isles, escaped

42 See N. MacDougall, *James IV* (East Linton, 1997), 176–190.

43 N. Macdougall, 'Achilles Heel? The Earldom of Ross, the Lordship of the Isles, and the Stewart Kings,' in E.J. Cowan & R.A. Macdonald (eds.), *Alba. Celtic Scotland in the Medieval Era* (East Linton, 2000), 248–275, at 275.

44 For a discussion of the marriages see A. Morrison & D. Mackinnon, *The Macleods- The Genealogy of a Clan* (5 vols. Edinburgh, 1968–1976), iv, 32–35. S. Boardman, *The Campbells, 1250–1513* (Edinburgh, 2006), 273, 283; Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 120–123. Morrison & Mackinnon follow Mackenzie in stating (p. 4) that Catriona Campbell, sister of Gilleasbuig was the second wife of Torcall, (married 1498). However, Torcall was probably dead by 1511 if not earlier, and in a document dated 27 July 1508, Catriona Campbell still styled herself 'Lady Lewis,' and used her husband's seal for a document. AT, iii, 85. This suggests that Torcall was married first to the unnamed Macdonald woman. She may have predeceased Catriona Campbell, who was thus probably his second wife. Another possibility is that Macleod's Macdonald partner may simply have been put away on Torcall's marriage to Catriona Campbell. Marriage arrangements in the Gaidhealtachd at this time were frequently more informal and irregular than those practiced by subsequent generations. A Gaelic praise poem to Macleod was still circulating in Campbell country and written down some years after his death. W.J. Watson (ed.), *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh, 1978), 100–104, 281–2. Sellar, 'Marriage, divorce and concubinage in Gaelic Scotland,' 479–483. See also D.H. Caldwell, *The Land of the Lordship* (Birlinn, Edinburgh, 2008), 68–71, 77–80.

from custody in Argyll and fled to Macleod's castle in Stornoway in the autumn of 1501.⁴⁵

Torcall Macleod's support of the attempt by the Macdonalds to reinstate the Lordship of the Isles in the person of Dòmhnall Dubh was something the king was not prepared to countenance.⁴⁶ This drew widespread support through much of the Highlands. Many of Dòmhnall's supporters, however, especially on the mainland, were forced to succumb to pro-crown forces. Even in the Isles pressure was brought to bear on chiefs such as Maclean of Duart and Macneil of Barra who had both submitted to the crown by 1504, leaving Torcall alone to face building royal pressure. James IV ordered a fleet up to the Isles to reduce the rebellion. The Earl of Huntly led the force against Lewis with a contingent of ships, including the *Raven* which, with cannon, helped reduce Stornoway Castle in 1506. This underlines a point made by Steve Boardman, that the stone fortresses of the isles were, due to the advances in artillery by the time of James IV's reign, no longer impregnable, and that no part of the kingdom could defy the monarch with impunity.⁴⁷ After this Torcall disappeared from the record, probably killed in the aftermath of the siege. His conquered lordship was administered by Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, James's man of business in Ross and the north, who, together with Alasdair Crotach Macleod of Dunvegan and Harris, from the neighbouring Sìol Tormoid, administered the Sìol Torcaill lands between 1506 and 1511.⁴⁸

Torcall Macleod of Lewis died sometime between 1508 and 1511 (see family tree, appendix B1), leaving a son and heir, Iain. However, Iain's inheritance was seized, probably with Crown connivance by his uncle, Gille-Calum Mòr (or Malcolm). This arrangement was endorsed by the Crown in 1511. This might suggest that Gille-Calum had made a deal with the James's forces at the expense of his brother and that he was rewarded with his late brother's title. This lasted until Gille-Calum's death in 1528 at which time his nephew, Iain mac Thorcaill with backing from his mother's kin, the Macdonalds of Sleat, was powerful enough to seize the chiefship to the exclusion of Gille-Calum's son and heir, Ruairidh. This coincided with wider Crown attempts to assert royal authority in

45 Boardman has suggested that this might have been a fosterage arrangement that went sour from the point of view of the crown. Boardman, *The Campbells*, 273, 283.

46 Forfeiture of 'Torcule Makloid of the Lewis' (24 December 1505). *APS*, ii, 263–4; Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 110–123.

47 *TA*, iii, 340. Boardman, *The Campbells*, 268. MacDougall, *James IV*, 176–190.

48 MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 139–140. Torcall may still have been alive in 1508 as his wife was using his seal in Dunoon, resigning lands to her brother, the Earl of Argyll. *AT*, iii, 85. Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i, 107–08. *TA*, iii, 383–4.

the Isles in this period.⁴⁹ Iain mac Thorcaill, the son of a chief whose last recorded attitude to the Crown, in 1506, had been defiance was unlikely to have been viewed with particular favour by officials at the Stewart court and it is likely (even if a little ironic given his career over the subsequent decades) that the crown may have sanctioned the seizure of the Macleod of Lewis chiefship by Ruairidh mac Gille-Caluum after Iain mac Thorcaill's death sometime around 1538.

The date of Ruairidh's accession to the chiefship, however, coincided closely with a serious rebellion in the Western Isles in 1539. The Mackenzies, who had been exercising the crown's power in the region, and in the process extending their own power and influence, acted as the lightning rod for the rebels. The rebels in question were the perennially disaffected Macdonalds, led at this time by Dòmhnall Gorm (Macdonald) of Sleat who died besieging the Mackenzie stronghold, Eilean Donnan castle, 1539–40.⁵⁰ Siol Torcaill played a prominent role in this rebellion which also included Alasdair Crotach (Macleod) of Dunvegan, Cameron of Lochiel and Macneil of Barra. Although the siege was unsuccessful, the surrounding Mackenzie lands of Wester Ross were targeted and wasted as the 'rebellious' Highlanders and Islesmen, Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis foremost among them, retaliated against those wielding crown authority.⁵¹

The Extension of Royal Control and its Consequences

This rebellion failed and the consequences of this failure must have been felt keenly in the isles. Although King James V's visit to, and the supposed naming of, Port Rìgh or the King's port (Portree) in Skye is better remembered in tradition, both Kintail, the Mackenzie stronghold, and Stornoway were key stopping places in his voyage of May–June 1540.⁵² James, like his father, followed

49 Gilleasbuig Ruadh Òg ('Roy Oig') Campbell, 4th Earl of Argyll, was to spearhead the Crown offensive south of Ardnamurchan (south isles) and James Stewart, earl of Moray, was to orchestrate government pressure in the north isles (the Hebrides north and west of Ardnamurchan), using Eilean Donnan as a mustering point. Hannay (ed.), *Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs*, 358. J. Cameron, *James V*, 228–248. For the 'north Isles' see W.F. Skene (ed.), *Celtic Scotland, A History of Ancient Alban* (Edinburgh, 1880), iii, 428. *Highland Papers*, ii, 100. *RMS*, ii, no. 3578.

50 *Highland Papers*, i, 215–216. *TA*, vi, 371. *RSS*, ii, no. 2514. *ER*, 17, 758–9.

51 *RSS*, ii, no. 3943, p. 597–8. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands*, 145. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 130–131.

52 A.B. Taylor, I.H. Adams & G. Fortune (eds.), *Alexander Lindsay: A Rutter of the Scottish Seas circa 1540* (Greenwich, 1980), 14–15. J. Cameron, *James V*, 338; A. Nicolson, *History of Skye*

the tried and trusted route of coercion leavened with some reward. James v's coercion was more proactive than his father's. Whereas James iv had used nobles such as Argyll and Huntly to do his bidding against Torcall Macleod in 1505, James v was present in person and already had his own well-established clients in the area. The diversion that James took to Kintail was no accident. James v rewarded the Mackenzies of Kintail, already crown favourites (several of them served him at court during the 1530s); by giving them increased powers and responsibilities in the west. Iain Mackenzie of Kintail was given the superiority of Glengarry's lands at Laggan Achindrome in the Great Glen, and custody of Macdonald castles in Skye such as Duntulm and Dunscaith to facilitate his role as royal baillie and enforcer.⁵³ It is also probable that this period of royal pressure coincided with the ill-fated marriage of Mackenzie's daughter, Seònaid, to Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis, in an attempt to bring the Macleods into the Mackenzie (and thus the royal) fold (discussed at more length, below).⁵⁴ A note in the records of the Royal Treasurer, clearly unfamiliar with the placenames from the north, illustrates the effect the Mackenzie presence was having on behalf of the crown. When a clerk in the treasury inserted the name 'Skye,' the scribe felt the need to qualify this by noting in the marginalia that this place was in the 'North Isles,' Skye clearly being a name royal accountants had been unfamiliar with.⁵⁵

Steve Boardman has made a compelling case linking the intrusion of novel taxes and exactions by the crown with rebellion at the end of the fifteenth century. He highlighted in particular the pressure put on Niall Stewart of Forthingall for his custodianship of the royal lordship of Rannoch and the Appanage of Dull by Sir Raibeart Menzies of Weem in 1502. Stewart of Forthingall lost his rights of custodianship, being outmanoeuvred in this case by Sir Raibeart Menzies, who offered to extract a much higher rental for the crown than his predecessors. In their anxiety to impose new exactions, and, by doing so, overturning long established customary practices, the Menzies family threatened the position of the existing landholders in Dull and Rannoch who promptly threw their support behind the Stewarts of Forthingall, sacked

(2nd ed., 1994), 36. However, the etymology of Port Rìgh was challenged by W.J. Watson, *The Celtic Placenames of Scotland* (1926. Birlinn ed., Edinburgh, 1993), 158, note 1.

53 A.L. Murray (ed.), 'Accounts of the King's Pursemaster 1539–1540,' in *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, vol. x (Edinburgh, 1965), 13–51, at 40, 44, 46. *TA*, vi, 92–93, 126. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 35, 161–162, 189–190, 407.

54 Torcall was named as the 'oy,' or grandson, of Iain Mackenzie of Kintail in 1554. *NRS*, CS 7/10, fol. 201.

55 'The North Isles' were the name for the Hebrides north and west of Ardnamurchan in this period. *ER*, xvii, 556. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, iii, 428.

Menzies castle and captured the owner.⁵⁶ This has clear parallels with events in the Hebrides in the decades after 1493 with the reactions of local lairds and communities to the rise of nobles like MacLain of Ardnamurchan and the earl of Huntly at the expense of the Lords of the Isles.⁵⁷ Attempts made by Stewart monarchs and their apparatchiks to extract taxation and revenue from Hebridean clans from 1493 onwards would have, similarly, undermined local customary privileges and customary rights. Local kindreds could be disadvantaged to the benefit of a favoured neighbour in the name of the crown. Such a scenario, the extension of power by proxy through agents such as MacLain, Huntly, the Campbells and, latterly, the Mackenzies, might partially explain, as Alison Cathcart has suggested, the persistent recourse to rebellion and continuing support for Macdonald pretenders on the western seaboard throughout the mid sixteenth century.⁵⁸

The hiatus in royal pressure after the death of James IV in 1513 lasted until the end of his son's minority around 1528. James V's celebrated daunting of the isles was broadly similar to his father's approach: more stick than carrot. The crown's emphasis was on a redoubled collection of revenue from the area notorious for its reluctance to pay taxes together with the implicit and explicit threat of royally sanctioned violence to back this up. It is not clear what those in the isles were to get in return: less 'justice,' perhaps, than they could have expected from their monarch and more avaricious placemen.⁵⁹ In the north and for the Macleods of Lewis this meant, in practice, that neighbouring clans who had remained in royal favour were given a free hand in administering the lordship of Lewis in the wake of Torcall's failed rebellion of 1506.⁶⁰ By the 1530s, despite the lordship of Lewis being re-established under Siol Torcaill control, crown pressure meant their acquisitive neighbours, the Mackenzies of Kintail, were licenced to come to their lands and collect revenue on behalf of the exchequer.⁶¹ While the crown was quick to demand revenue, licensing the

56 Boardman, *The Campbells*, 275–278.

57 MacDougall, *James IV*, 102–105, 116, 176, 183, 186–7.

58 A. Cathcart, 'The Forgotten'45: Donald Dubh's Rebellion in an Archipalegic Context,' 239–264, at, 248–9, 257, 259–261.

59 Cameron, *James V*, 239–240, 243, 245–246, 247–248.

60 Macdougall, *James IV*, 177–178.

61 Cameron, *James V*, 248. The Mackenzie clan more than doubled the land under their direct control between 1508 and 1611. They did not make themselves popular with their neighbours by doing so. Some 75 cases involving either violence or law (or both) can be traced in published sources where the Mackenzies came into dispute with a variety of neighbouring clans and families between 1565 and 1623. A. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 117–190, 542–548. A. MacCoinnich, 'Strathconon, Scatwell and the Mackenzies in the written

collection and administration of this to ambitious rival clans or magnates probably exacerbated rather than alleviated unrest.

The Stewart effort to extend their control over the isles in the wake of Torcall Macleod's rebellion in 1504–11, was not confined to military campaigning and the extraction of revenue. Parliamentary legislation enacted in March 1504 makes this clear:

...it is statute and ordain that all oure soverane lord liegis beande under his obeysance, and in speciale the Ilis, be reulit be oure soverane lordis aune lawis and the commoun lawis of the realme ande be nain uther lawis⁶²

Clearly, the islesmen were disregarding James IV's laws: they had their own. Moreover, Torcall Macleod's rising had been crushed by the end of 1506, giving James's regime an opportunity to remedy matters and impose more agreeable legal practices as a corollary to the extension of their physical control of the Lewis estate through the crown's agents. The forfeited estates of the Macleods of Lewis were administered initially by Andrew Stewart the Bishop of Caithness, Alasdair 'Crotach' Macleod of Harris, Mackay of Strathnaver and Clanranald on behalf of the crown (1507–12) and attempts were made to harmonise the legal system in the isles with practice elsewhere in Scotland.⁶³ Dòmhnall Monro, rector of Eaglais na h-Aoidhe near Stornoway, the chapel and burial place of the Macleod chiefs, wrote a description of the Isles in 1549.⁶⁴ Monro's account was written less than five years after the last serious

record, c. 1463–c.1700,' in *A Project to Identify, Survey and Record Archaeological Remains in Strathconon, Ross-shire. Report of Phase Three: Loch Meig to Dalbreac, Feb 2008 to June 2008, Aug 2009* (North of Scotland Archaeological Society, Conon Bridge, 2010), 11–31, at, 30.

62 Translated from Scots to English as: 'Item, it is decreed and ordained that all our sovereign lord's lieges who are under his rule, and in particular the Isles, [are to] be governed by our sovereign lord's own laws and the common laws of the realm and by no other laws.' This text and the translation, *RPS*, A1504/3/124. I am grateful to Mr W.D.H. Sellar for bringing this to my attention.

63 Pitcairn, *Trials*, i, 107–108. H.L. MacQueen, 'Scots Law and National Identity,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 74 (1995), 1–25, at, 13. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 121–123.

64 Sir Dòmhnall Monro or Munro (c. 1505–c.1580), was priest in Snizort, Trotternish in 1524, and a 'rector of Y' presumably Braigh na h-Aoidhe near Stornoway in 1549, he was Archdeacon of the Isles by 1553, and he became minister at Kiltarn and then Superintendent in Ross following the Reformation of 1560. He wrote the first surviving detailed description of the Isles, circa 1549, which was later used by George Buchanan in his history of 1582. Monro, *Description*, 291, 310. C.T. McInnes (ed.), *Calendar of Writs of*

attempt to reinstate the Lordship of the Isles in which Lewismen, among others, were prominent. This stated that the 'lawis of Renald McSomharkle,' presumably dating from the twelfth century, had been practiced in the Lordship of the Isles.⁶⁵ These laws are long lost, presumably they may have been Gaelic or Norse or even Norman influenced, but they were seemingly still very attractive to west coast clans in 1545, including the Macleods of Lewis and their followers, the 'brief,' brievie or britheamh kindred of hereditary judges, who raised two major rebellions, 1539–40 and 1545–6, in an attempt at reinstating the Lordship of the Isles in preference to the rule of law being imposed by Edinburgh.⁶⁶ Monro gave a much quoted description of the system of government of the 'old' Lordship of the Isles. This mentioned a council of the isles, composed of the leading nobles in the isles, where there were 'rulings' following the discussion of 'debaitable' matters. This council 'decernit and gave suits forth,' and crucially the account stressed that this system had brought 'great peace and welth in the isles throw the ministration of justice.'⁶⁷ All of these positive attributes associated by Monro with the Macdonald lordship of the isles had been conspicuously absent in the isles since its abolition in 1493. James V may have wished this away by reserving the title of 'Lord of the Isles' to the monarch in 1540, backing this up with a circumnavigation of his realm and a show of force, but it is clear, given the unrest in the area, that his approach to government was not particularly appealing to islesmen.⁶⁸ Monro's account seems to have been less a glowing account of the fifteenth century heyday of the Lordship of the Isles than a telling comment on the unpopularity of Stewart measures in the isles by the 1540s and a clue as to the continuing appeal of Dòmhnall Dubh as a figurehead for pro Macdonald rebellion into his own day.

The nature of the law praised by Monro is not clear. A late source (c.1680) tells us that under the Lordship of the Isles the hereditary judges or *britheamhan*

Munros of Foulis, 1299–1823 (Edinburgh, 1940), no. 61, p. 18. R.W. Munro, & J. Munro, 'Monro, Donald (*d. in or after 1575*),' *ODNB*, entry, no. 18968.

65 This seemingly refers to laws made by Ragnall mac Somhairle, fl. c.1140–1192, one of the progenitors of the Macdonald clan. Such laws should in theory have been abolished under the terms of the treaty by which Scotland acquired the western Isles at Perth in 1266. In practice, however, they seem to have continued following the annexation of the Hebrides by the Scottish crown. Monro, *Description*, 310. R.A. McDonald, *The Kingdom of the Isles. Scotland's Western Seaboard, c.1100–c.1336* (East Linton, 1997) 73–79. MacQueen, 'Scots law and national identity,' 10.

66 Gregory, *History of the western Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 168–177.

67 Monro, 'Description,' 310.

68 Cameron, *James V*, 239–242, 245–248. P.E. Ritchie, *Mary of Guise in Scotland, 1548–1560: a political career* (East Linton, 2002), 157–162. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 127–143.

had been entitled to a cut or fee of one eleventh of the value of the cases they considered which sounds similar to fifteenth and sixteenth century descriptions of Brehon law as it was practiced in Ireland. While there is plentiful evidence both for the practitioners and the nature of their laws in Gaelic Ireland, there is no good evidence to shed light on the law as it was practiced in Gaelic Scotland.⁶⁹ On the evidence of the name 'brithreamh' used by the family themselves, and by which they were known by others, it would seem clear that the brithreamh family was fairly prominent within Lewis whatever the nature of their legal practice.⁷⁰ According to Sir Robert Gordon, writing around 1630, who had probably consulted exiled remnants of Siol Torcaill, the role of the brieve in Lewis was as follows:

The Breive is a kind of judge amongst the islanders, who hath an absolute judicatorie, unto whose authoritie and censure they willinglie submit themselves, when he determineth any debatable question betuain partie and partie.⁷¹

It is clear that this was already a thing of the past by 1630, when Sir Robert wrote his manuscript.⁷² Such an institution had been swept away by the plantations in Lewis after 1598. The implementation of these laws and the role

69 This is according to a late seventeenth century Macdonald clan historian. *Highland Papers*, i, 24–25. Contemporary Irish 'brithem tuaithe' took one twelfth of the amount at stake in the case as their fee. F. Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), 53. Fynes Moryson, an English observer and planter in Ireland, 1599–1601, concurred with the one twelfth fee but was critical (as might be expected) of Gaelic Irish practice. G. Kew (ed.), 'The Irish sections of Fynes Moryson's unpublished itinerary' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 37 (1998), 1–137 at 59. Poetry seems to have important to these Irish lawmen. See K. Simms, 'The poetic brehon lawyers of early sixteenth century Ireland,' in *Ériu*, 57 (2007), 121–132; and also, K. Simms, 'The brehons of later medieval Ireland,' (51–76), in D. Hogan & W.N. Osborough (eds.), *Studies in the history of the Irish legal profession* (Dublin, 1990), at 62. Later representatives of the brithreamh kindred, c. 1660–1720, such as an Clàrsair Dall (the Blind Harper) and his brother, 'Aonghas Dubh' Morrison, and their father, Iain Morrison of Bragair, were skilled in composing Gaelic verse if not law. See W. Matheson (ed.), *An Clàrsair Dall. Orain Ruaidhri Mhic Mhuirich agus a chuid ciùil. The Blind Harper. The Songs of Roderick Morison and his Music* (Edinburgh, 1970).

70 MacCoinnich, 'Dùn Èistean: the historical background, c. 1493 – c.1700' (forthcoming, 2015).

71 Gordon, *Sutherland*, 268. *Highland Papers*, ii, 266. MacCoinnich, 'Mar phòr san t-Uisge,' 221–222.

72 L. Yeoman (ed.), 'Witchcraft Cases from the Register of Commissions of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1630–1642,' in *Miscellany 111 of the Scottish History Society* (Edinburgh, 2004), 223–265, at 241–3.

of *britheamhan* in this was suggested by William Matheson (following Cameron) to be quite different from our understanding of a judge's role:

not to pronounce judgement and sentence, but to state what the law was in its bearing on any particular case – not so much a judge, more of a juriconsult and arbiter.⁷³

Little evidence survives on the role of *britheamhan* in this. Arbitration, however, and dispute resolution involving kinship drawn from both sides of the dispute seems to have been the means of settling serious controversies and disputes between parties in Gaelic Scotland.⁷⁴ Stewart kings such as James IV and James V seemed keen to standardise law and legal practice throughout their realm and the Highlands were not exempt. One document survives which may give us a glimpse of the way in which Scottish kings tried to influence the practice of law in the area from 1493 onwards: a grant by James IV to a Highland student of law, Coinneach mac Uilleim (Kanoche Wilyameson). Coinneach mac Uilleim in Trotternish was granted the income from the lands of 'Baramosmor' and 'Kilmartine' in Trotternish by the king in 1508 to support his education:

...at the skolis, and for to lern the kingis lawis of Scotland and to exercyse the samin within the boundis of the ilis...⁷⁵

Trotternish, in North Skye, was a contested land for much of the sixteenth century between the Macleods of Harris, the Macleods of Lewis and the Macdonalds of Sleat, the latter dominating it for much of the period. The Macdonalds of Sleat had close ties of kinship and affinity with the lordship of the Macleods of Lewis during much of the sixteenth century and certainly kept

73 Matheson, 'The Morrisons of Ness,' 61. J. Cameron, *Celtic Law. The Senchus Mór and the Book of Aicill and the traces of an early Gaelic System of Law in Scotland* (London, 1937), 194–195.

74 Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 6–8. For some instances of arbitration as an instrument for dispute resolution in the early modern Highlands see, Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*, 109, 126–128, 155–156, 207. For a study of arbitration in a wider Scottish context see, M. Godfrey, 'Arbitration and dispute resolution in sixteenth-century Scotland,' in, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis: legal history review*, 70 (2002), 109–135.

75 'Gift, King James IV to a Highland Student of Law,' in *Collectanea*, 22. See also J. Bannerman, 'The Scots language and kin based society,' in D.S. Thomson (ed.), *Gaelic and Scots in Harmony. Proceedings of the second international conference on the languages of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1988), 1–19, at 13–14.

company with the tenants of the lordship of Lewis on occasion, such as the britheamhan.⁷⁶ The britheamh kindred had, as followers of the Macleods of Lewis, a clear, if little understood, connection with the lands of Trotternish at this time, and several of the britheamh kindred were specifically associated with the area.⁷⁷

The location of 'Baramosmor' in Trotternish is something of a conundrum but Kilmartin in Trotternish, within the sphere of influence of the Macdonalds of Sleat in this period, is readily identifiable.⁷⁸ It is possible that the king, keen to win supporters in the region following the suppression of a serious rising designed to reinstate the Lordship of the Isles, wanted to train the next generation of hereditary lawmen in the isles along the lines followed elsewhere in his kingdom, and the 'skolis' that James had in mind were almost certainly in the Lowlands. This Coinneach, of whom we otherwise have no record may well have been the son of Uilleam (William) 'lawman' in Trotternish. Uilleam 'Lowman' (lawman/britheamh?), possibly one and the same as Uilleam *archiudex* in 1485, is himself on record as a tenant of Trotternish in 1507.⁷⁹ Uilleam, significantly, was one of those tenants in the area granted a protection necessary, perhaps, due to his cooperation with Royal forces during Torcall Macleod's

⁷⁶ MacCoinnich, 'Siol Torcail and their lordship in the sixteenth century,' 18.

⁷⁷ The parallel naming of Eilean Chaluim Chille, occupied by Ruairidh MacLeod of Lewis's gardener in 1549 in Loch Eireasort, Lewis (OS NB 385 285), and 'Sanct Colmes Kirk in Sneesfurd in Trotternish' (OS NG 377 688) may be coincidental, as may the dedications to Saint Moluag in both Lewis and Skye. It may, however, also point to older, forgotten, ecclesiastical and secular links, given the clear, if little understood, links between both areas in the sixteenth century *RCAHMS*, 1928, no. 37, 535. Bannerman, 'The Scots language and kin based society,' 13. Martin, *A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland* (Birlinn, 1999), 28, 94. Monro, 'Description,' 335. cf. *RSS*, i, 675, p. 98. *RSS*, ii, 2045, p. 301. W.D.H. Sellar, 'The Ancestry of the Macleods reconsidered,' *TGSI*, 55 (1997–98), 233–258, at 237. For the nature of the connections of the Macleod of Lewis estate and the Macdonalds of Sleat in the early to mid sixteenth century, see Gregory, *History of the western Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 130–131, 144–145, and Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 126–127, 130–131, 149–150. The presence of both the brieve and the minister of Barabhas in a 'confession,' probably manufactured to support Macdonald of Sleat's claim to the Lewis estate in 1566, also underlines this connection. *Highland Papers*, ii, 280–281.

⁷⁸ It is tempting to link 'Baramosmor' with Barabhas/Barvas (mòr or great?) in North Lewis another area associated with the britheamhan although the source indicates Trotternish in Skye. 'Kilmartin,' although not now a settlement name, survives as a river-name, in Staffin, Trotternish, in the north of the Isle of Skye.

⁷⁹ 'Hullialmo archiuiudice' or Uilleam the high-judge (?) witnessed a deed of Aonghas Macdonald, master of the Isles, 14 November 1485 Munro, & Munro (eds.), *Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336–1493*, 186. Bannerman, 'The Scots language and kin based society,' 13.

rebellion, and if Kanoeh Wilyameson (or Coinneach mac Uilleim, the student mentioned above), was his son, the two events, Uilleam's protection and the schooling, may well be connected. The sponsoring of the son of a native legal kindred may have been an additional means of strengthening royal influence in the area in parallel with more obvious political and military interventions of the period.⁸⁰

James IV may thus have been attempting to reform native institutions along mainstream Lowland Scottish lines, by stipulating that this law student was to study 'at the skolis' or schools – doubtless in the south (anticipating the better known Statutes of Iona by 100 years).⁸¹ This coincided with a major re-shuffling in landholding patterns by James between 1493 and 1509, which placed a series of magnates such as the Mackenzies, Macleans and others within former Macdonald lands, thus giving them a vested interest in preventing a Macdonald return.⁸² William Matheson also spotted a 'Eugenius Mackbrehin' as a student matriculating at St Andrews in 1525.⁸³ If this person was one and the same as the person known to historians as Ùisdean mac a' Bhritheimh, or Hucheson the brieve, who died around 1566, then a pattern may have been established of the education of Highland 'learned families' in Lowland universities from the more 'remote' parts of Gaelic Scotland somewhat earlier than is usually assumed.⁸⁴ The implication of this, as noted by Matheson, was that while this family of 'brieves' seem to have retained their reputation and standing well into the seventeenth century, the old Gaelic legal mores of 'Renald mc Sorle' were likely to have declined following the collapse of the Lordship of the Isles.⁸⁵ The abrupt death of James IV at Flodden in 1513 followed by a succession of short personal reigns and royal minorities (until James VI's initiatives from 1587 onwards) robbed these plans of momentum.⁸⁶

80 *RSS*, ii, no 1522, p. 218.

81 J. Goodare, 'The Statutes of Iona in context,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 77 (1998), 31–57. J. Dawson, 'The Gaidhealtachd and the emergence of the Scottish Highlands,' in B. Bradshaw & P. Roberts (eds.), *British Identity and British Consciousness* (Cambridge, 1998), 259–300, at, 269.

82 MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 130, 133–135, 147–148.

83 Matheson, 'The Morrisons of Ness,' 71. J.M. Anderson (ed.), *Records of the University of St Andrews, 1413–1579* (Edinburgh, 1926), 220.

84 Matheson, 'The Morrisons of Ness,' 71. This pattern of extant writings from the area in this period, largely in Latin and in Scots rather than Gaelic, with growing Scots literacy among the elites in the Highlands and Islands from the end of the fifteenth century might reflect this. MacCoinnich, 'Where was Gaelic written,' 319–320.

85 Matheson, 'The Morrisons of Ness,' 71, 73.

86 For James VI (& I) and his campaign to curb the Highlands in 1587 and 1609 see A.I. Macinnes 'Crown, Clans and Fine: The 'Civilising' of Scottish Gaeldom, 1587–1638,' in,

Although there is little we know about their activities, there is no doubt that 'lawmen' (whatever the nature of the law) survived and flourished during the sixteenth century in Lewis.

The most direct royal intervention in the early to mid sixteenth century, James V's 'daunting,' seems to have generated disaffection with the Stewart regime, which gathered apace following the king's death in 1542. Although various regents during the subsequent royal minority attempted to continue the late king's attempts to glean revenue from the area they lacked authority which was further undermined by the onset of the Rough Wooing. Henry VIII of England's attempts to de-stabilise Scotland, break the Franco-Scottish alliance and marry his son, Edward Tudor, to the infant Queen Mary of Scotland are well known.⁸⁷ In the west Highlands and Islands, Henry's schemes concentrated on the promotion of a party to support the political pretensions of the anglophile earl of Lennox. Lennox's biggest coup was possibly to engineer but certainly to benefit from the escape of the captive Dòmhnall Dubh Macdonald, the disinherited claimant for the Lordship of the Isles, in 1545.⁸⁸ Such was the discontent in the Isles that Dòmhnall Dubh was able to mobilise widespread support from the west Highlands in support of the Macdonald clan if not Lennox and Henry VIII. Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis was again involved in the rising in support of the unfortunate Dòmhnall Dubh in 1545 in the final, unsuccessful, attempt to re-instate the Lordship of the Isles. The Macleods of Lewis, indeed, were prime movers in this as in every other serious attempt to resuscitate that lordship.⁸⁹

Despite being pardoned shortly afterwards, it took less than a decade before Ruairidh Macleod's treasonable activities again exercised the minds of the regents in Edinburgh. After much deliberation, an expedition was despatched under the earls of Argyll and Atholl to bring him to heel in 1555.⁹⁰ A clue as to why Ruairidh's rebellion was being taken so seriously may lie in an earlier note of a commission, 25 April 1551, from the regent James Duke of Châtellerauld to the Earl of Argyll. In this Argyll was tasked with proceeding against Lewis with

Northern Scotland, 13 (1993), 31–55. Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*, 201–208.

87 M. Merriman, *The Rough Wooings, Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551* (East Linton, 2000).

88 Cathcart, 'The Forgotten' 45.

89 A summons of treason and lese-majestie (9 September 1545) named 'Rodorik McCloid,' and his colleagues, who included Alasdair 'Crotach' Macleod of Harris, and Iain 'Muideirteach' Macdonald chief of Clanranald. *APS*, ii, 453, 455, 459, 465. It was probably no accident, as Mackenzie noted, that Macleod of Lewis was given pre-eminence in these processes of treason. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 143.

90 *TA*, x, 268, 277–278, 286; *RPCS*, xiv, 14. P.E. Ritchie, *Mary of Guise in Scotland, 1548–1560: A Political Career* (East Linton, 2002), 166.

all force necessary as Macleod had taken a 'pupill' who he meant to use as a figurehead for a fresh pro-Macdonald/Lordship of the Isles focused rebellion. The implication of this is clearly that the regent feared that an un-named son of the late Dòmhnall Dubh was being raised as a foster son by Macleod. Such ties whether real or imagined (see above at the start of this chapter) were of great importance in building social and political links within clan society, a fact of which the regent was well aware. Although the government had clearly been alarmed by this report, nothing more seems to have been heard of this 'pupill' and by 1555 Ruairidh had made his peace with the government.⁹¹

A Dysfunctional Family? Three Torcaills, 1566 and all that

The pattern of Ruairidh Macleod's marriages between c. 1535–1541, even if the dates and order of marriages is unclear, may be significant in indicating crown and royal intent. Ruairidh seemingly married firstly Seònaid Mackenzie, the daughter of Iain Mackenzie of Kintail. Ruairidh came to the lordship of Lewis through royal intervention, which favoured his claim over that of his cousins, the Macdonalds of Sleat. Ruairidh's father in law, Mackenzie of Kintail, was the crown Baillie in the region in the 1530s and 1540s. The marriage between Iain's daughter Seònaid and Ruairidh of Lewis produced a son Torcaill Conanach (c. 1535 x 1540?–c. 1624). He was raised by his maternal uncle Iain Mackenzie of Ord in Strathconon.⁹² By December 1541, however, Ruairidh's first marriage to

91 Gregory, *History of the Western Islands and Highlands* (1881), 169–185; Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides* (1903) 139–147; '[...] Macleod of the Lews hes laitie takin ane pupill barne callit (blank) son to (blank) and haldis him in nurissing and maintenance of purposs and mynd to mak and set him forwert at the uttirmost of his power to be Lord of the Isles and to using that name and draw sa mony as he may git of opinioun to that effect quhair of the samen be sufferit it wilbe the occasion of gret troubles and inconvenientis to us [...]' From abstract commission, dated 25 April 1551, to Argyll signed by the governor, James Hamilton, Duke of Chatelherault. AT, v, 5. Respite to Macleod, dated 28 September 1555. RSS, iv, no. 3047, p. 536. Cathcart, 'The Forgotten'45, 253–258 & n. 118.

92 Torcall's first appearance in public records was the leader of a plundering raid into Assynt, probably as a teenager in 1554, where his grandfather, Iain Mackenzie of Kintail took burden for him, suggesting, perhaps, that Torcall had not attained his majority. Torcall was still alive in 1612 when he resigned all his rights to Lewis over to Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail. Torcall had son named Iain who was an adult by 1580 (Iain mac Thorcaill was killed c. 1585), again suggesting that Torcall himself had been born in the late 1530s. He was referred to as the 'umquhill' (late) Torcall in 1624. NRS, CS 7/10, fol. 201. AUL, MS 3470/15/1/8. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 148. NRS, CC 19/1/1, fol. 22. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 152–156.

Seònaid Mackenzie had broken down, no doubt mirroring his relationship with her powerful Mackenzie kinsmen and he remarried Barbara Stewart, daughter of Lord Avondale. Barbara was well-connected. Her brother, himself a cousin of the king, had remarried Margaret Tudor, James V's widowed mother.⁹³ In a nobility obsessed with bloodlines and royal connections a Stewart link, even if a little indirect, was something of a prize. This indicates that the Crown (who had an influence if not the gift of such marriages) may have been making a strenuous effort, post rebellion, to bring Ruairidh into the fold, albeit that it did little to curb Ruairidh's rebellious tendencies, in the later 1540s and 1550s.⁹⁴ The couple, Ruairidh and Barbara Stewart, had one son, also called Torcall, known as Torcall Oighre (the heir). The throwing over of Torcall Conanach, the eldest son from the Mackenzie marriage, as heir in favour of a second son with Stewart blood did much to provide the animus which sustained the intense mutual dislike between Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis and Torcall Conanach, his firstborn son from his estranged Mackenzie wife for the rest of the sixteenth century.⁹⁵ The slight on their kinsman, Torcall Conanach, also provided the powerful Mackenzies of Kintail with an excuse to interfere in the affairs of Siol Torcaill for the rest of the sixteenth century.

Despite Ruairidh's marriage to a member of the Stewart family, a period of prolonged Macleod rebellion ensued, not only around the time of Dòmhnall Dubh's final rebellion (1545–6) but in much of the following decade. In addition to this the Stewart marriage produced a violent response from Torcall Conanach, the disinherited eldest son from the 1550s onwards. Torcall's claims to Lewis were amply encouraged and supported by his Mackenzie kin. Torcall had probably been installed into the Macleod of Lewis lands in Coigeach in the mid sixteenth century, almost certainly through the force of Mackenzie arms. It is probably from this base in Coigeach, or from the adjacent Mackenzie lands in Wester Ross, that Torcall launched a large scale raid on the Assynt portion of

93 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 135. Morrison & Mackinnon, *The Macleods- The Genealogy of a Clan*, iv, p. 32–56. *RSS*, ii, no. 4371, p. 663–664. *SP*, vi, 166–8, 510–11.

94 Ruairidh was involved in the Donald Dubh rebellion (1545–6), a continuing rebellion against the regent (1551–5), and the wasting of Orkney (1559). *RSS*, iii, no. 2210, p. 356. *RSS*, iv, no 3307, p. 589; J. Kirk (ed.), *The Books of Assumption of the thirds of benefices: Scottish Ecclesiastical Rentals at the Reformation* (Oxford, 1995), 666–667.

95 This has parallels with the abandonment by Eoin Macdonald, 1st Lord of the Isles of his first wife, Amie NicRuairidh, and their children in the mid fourteenth century. Eoin 'put away' Amie and married a daughter of Robert Stewart, future king of Scots. Dòmhnall, the eldest child from the second marriage succeeded his father as Lord of the Isles, rather than his elder half-brother, by virtue of his Stewart blood. Thanks to Dr Iain Macdonald for discussing this with me.

the Siol Torcaill lands from which he had been disinherited by his father sometime around 1546.⁹⁶ This may well have been Torcall's 'creach mhacain,' or initiation into manhood, where he proved himself by taking part in a predatory expedition, in this case against Niall 'Angusson' Macleod of Assynt, Niall's brother Ùisdean and the 'indwellaris' of Assynt. A decret arbitral, the legal mechanism for dispute resolution, survives from 1554 giving details of this raid which involved the plunder of 200 cattle, 30 horses and 100 merks from the people of Assynt. Being bound by the findings of the arbitration committee, Torcall Conanach and his Mackenzie backers were obliged to repay this. The same process made it clear that the head of the Assynt family was bound to follow 'Rory McCleude of the Lewis his chief': the implication of this being that while the parties could go through the process of arbitration, Niall of Assynt was not a completely free agent, being bound to follow Ruairidh of Lewis, and that Niall wanted this recognised at law.⁹⁷

Despite this continuing pressure from Torcall Conanach and the Mackenzies, Ruairidh maintained connections with the Stewart court through the connections of his second wife, Barbara Stewart. Indeed, Queen Mary made a direct intervention in the matter of their son's marriage in 1563. The Queen stated that Torcall 'Oighre' Macleod was not to marry without her consent as he was of royal Stewart blood. The letter, dated at Inveraray, 24 July 1563, no doubt with the advice of the fifth earl of Argyll, clearly indicated that the Queen and her councillors still considered the Macleods of Lewis a viable family and were prepared to work with them.⁹⁸ Queen Mary, indeed, showed an interest in the

96 Torcall Conanach was confined to Coigeach in 1593 by the pressure brought to bear on him by his 'usurping' half-brother, Torcall Dubh of Lewis. *CSP, Scot*, xi, 253–255. Torcall is remembered in a Gaelic placename in the Coigeach and Lochbroom district, 'Glaic an Rìgh Chonanach' (the hollow of the Conan-man king or chief). W.J. Watson, *Place Names of Ross and Cromarty* (Inverness, 1904), 249–250.

97 NRS, CS, 7/10, fol. 201. For descriptions of 'creach vachtin' – (creach mhacain) roughly translated as "the youth's plundering spree" (English) or "lad's herschip" (Scots). See W. Fraser (ed.), *The Earls of Cromartie*, 468; M. Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (Birlinn, 1999), 71. For the process of arbitration, see, A.I. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788* (East Linton, 1996), 7–8. P. Gouldsbrough, *Formulary of Old Scots Legal Documents* (Stair Society, Edinburgh, 1985), 13–14. W. Coutts, *The Business of the College of Justice in 1600* (Stair Society, Edinburgh, 2003), 36–42. Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*, 109, 126–128, 155–156, 207.

98 Letter, 1563, Queen Mary to Torcall Macleod of Lewis. NRS, GD 103/2/3/1, fol. 12. A facsimile reproduction and transcription of this letter in Fraser, *Cromartie*, i, xxxiv. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 149. AT, vi, 16. 'Torqll Yre,' in, *Highland Papers*, ii, 50. Dawson, *The Politics of Religion in the age of Mary Queen of Scots*, 119.

Highlands during her brief reign, appearing in person at Inverness in 1562, favouring the Macintosh clan in the central Highlands against the rebellious Gordons.⁹⁹ Similarly, Queen Mary intervened in a crisis concerning the Macleods of Dunvegan, again probably drawing on Campbell advice. There, the chief, Uilleam Macleod, had died in 1551 leaving his daughter, a child, as the sole heiress. Màiri Macleod of Dunvegan was captured by Coinneach 'na Cuilc' Mackenzie of Kintail around 1560. Mackenzie probably planned to marry young Màiri Macleod to one of his sons with a view to dynastic expansion in much the same way as he was to pressurise the Lordship of Lewis through Torcall Conanach's claims.

However, the Queen forced Mackenzie to hand the Sìol Tormoid heiress over to the crown and Màiri Macleod had a presence in the Queen's chamber, 1562–65.¹⁰⁰ This personal connection between the Queen and the Dunvegan heiress may also have influenced Royal policy together with a desire to check Mackenzie aggrandisement. Unfortunately for the Macleods of Lewis, Torcall Oighre drowned off the coast of Trotternish sometime in the summer of 1566 having neither married nor produced an heir.¹⁰¹ Queen Mary was also deposed shortly afterwards negating any continuity in the Crown's Highland policy and Torcall Oighre's death was followed in Lewis by a half century of dynastic wrangling between various claimants for his position as heir among various relatives. These included Macdonald of Sleat, whose maternal grandfather was Iain Macleod of Lewis, as well as Torcall's half-brothers, legitimate as well as illegitimate: all of whom were backed to various degrees by external sponsors.¹⁰²

99 A. Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots* (1969: Panther, London 1970), 234–241. Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage*, 190, 217.

100 Màiri Macleod eventually married Donnchadh Campbell of Auchinbreck, 1572, a kinsman of the Earl of Argyll. Argyll, installed Màiri's uncle, Tormod, as chief of Dunvegan and Harris. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 91. A. Nicolson, *The History of Skye*, 38–40, 43.

101 Torcall died without a male heir and it is not known if he married but he may have fathered a daughter. A Jonet 'McLud' (MacLeod ? possibly a daughter of either Torcall Oighre or Torcall Conanach ?) who died in c.1624. Jonet was married to James Stewart in Burray in Orkney. Jonet was possibly the mother of Barbara Stewart spous to 'William Stewart of Mainss and oy and air of Umqle Torquel Mc Claud of the Lewis hir guid[fathe]r' who tried to make a claim on the Lewis estate in 1630, on the grounds that Jonet was Torcall Oighre's grand-daughter. Orkney Library and Archive, SC 11/5/1630/5. NRS, CC 17/2/1. NRS, GD 1/212/50. H.L. Norton-Smith, *A Collection of the Armorial of the County of Orkney* (1902), 142.

102 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 149–160, 163–166. Fraser, *Mary Queen of Scots*, 342–437.

The first of the contenders to react to Torcall Oighre's death was Dòmhnall 'Gormson' of Sleat. He caused a notarial deed to be drawn up, 22 August 1566, probably written in Skye, in which it was stated that the brithemh, or hereditary lawman, of Lewis had confessed paternity of Torcall Conanach to his priest. Dòmhnall Gormson's rival, Torcall Conanach MacLeod, thus could not, it was alleged, inherit as he was not even Ruairidh MacLeod's son. This notarial deed, a deposition by Pàdraig mac Mhaighistir Mhàrtainn, Protestant minister and pre-Reformation priest of Barabhas in Lewis, was witnessed by Bishop of the Isles, Eoin Carswell (suggesting the involvement of the Bishop's patron, the Earl of Argyll). Ruairidh MacLeod of Lewis does not seem to have been involved with this intrigue. It appears to have been a blatant attempt by the Dòmhnall 'Gormson' Macdonald of Sleat to advance his own claim as 'apperand and acclaimand ryt to be air of Lewess' by discrediting his rival.¹⁰³ The fact that Ruairidh MacLeod of Lewis referred to Torcall Conanach as his son in subsequent deeds of 1572 and 1576 also suggest that the earlier aspersion cast on Torcaill Conanach's paternity had been spurious.¹⁰⁴ Both the Sleat claimant, however, and his rival Torcall Conanach appear to have had partisans within the lordship of Lewis, with some of Ruairidh's numerous illegitimate children favouring the cause of each side.¹⁰⁵ It was recognised by contemporaries that unity was essential to successful clanship and, on these grounds alone; failure to present a united front fatally weakened the Macleods of Lewis.¹⁰⁶

The crisis of 1566 was followed by thirty years of internecine strife as Ruairidh's remaining sons jockeyed for position. Much of the conflict was generated by the dispossessed Torcall Conanach, in the words of the MacLeod observer, 'the fountain of all their miseries and troubles,' with the fulsome backing of the Mackenzies, who were inexorably tightening their grip on the

¹⁰³ *Highland Papers*, ii, 280–281.

¹⁰⁴ *Highland Papers*, ii, 281–283.

¹⁰⁵ For a full account of the fissiparous relationships within Siol Torcaill at this time see W.C. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 148–164.

¹⁰⁶ This seemed to one of the ways in which neighbours of the Macleods in the Highlands such as the Frasers and the Gordons of Sutherland viewed the matter. A. MacCoinnich, 'Mar Phòr san t-Uisge: Ìomhaigh Siol Torcaill an Eachdraidh,' in M. Byrne, T.O. Clancy & S. Kidd (eds.), *Litreachas & Eachdraidh: Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2, Glaschu 2002* (Oilthigh Ghlaschu, 2006), 214–231, at 222. *Highland Papers*, ii, 282. Contrast this dissension among the Macleods of Lewis with the kin solidarity displayed by the Rosses of Balnagown who rallied to defend their common interest which was threatened by a spendthrift chief in 1565. R.J. Adam (ed.), *The Calendar of Fearn: text and additions, 1471–1667* (Edinburgh, 1991), 158, 243–244.

western seaboard in the final quarter of the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁷ From the Mackenzie point of view not only was this treatment of their kinsman an affront to Torcall but to them as well. The fact that continued support for Torcall Conanach's claims sat well with strategic Mackenzie aims of territorial expansion was all to the good.¹⁰⁸ In the immediate years following 1566, Ruairidh of Lewis was in turn captured by Torcall Conanach, released, and then forced to acknowledge Torcall Conanach as his heir (hence the sasine of 1572 discussed above in this chapter). Ruairidh subsequently repudiated Torcall Conanach once he regained his freedom. This sasine of 1572 was part of an attempt at papering over the cracks in the fractured relationship between Ruairidh and his estranged son Torcall Conanach. Unfortunately it failed, for Ruairidh does not seem to have had any intention of favouring Torcall Conanach and by 1574, if not earlier, the relationship had broken down.¹⁰⁹

Despite these two powerful contenders and their sponsors, Torcall Conanach with Mackenzie and Huntly support; and Dòmhnall Gormson of Sleat with Campbell of Argyll support; vying for the Lewis chiefship between 1566 and 1574, old Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis was not cowed. At some time in the early to mid 1580s, Ruairidh a sprightly septuagenarian, surprised everybody (not least the pretenders to his succession) by marrying for a third time a lady named Seònaid, possibly a half-sister of Lachlann Mòr MacLean of Duart (or possibly Lachlann's stepmother), and begetting a further two legitimate sons, Torcall Dubh and Tormod, the eldest of whom, Torcall Dubh, he favoured as his heir, again throwing off Torcall Conanach's right to succeed as heir of Lewis. By doing so, Ruairidh effectively thwarted both Mackenzie (with Gordon-Huntly backing) and Macdonald of Sleat attempts to secure the future direction of the Lewis inheritance. By making such a marriage Ruairidh may have secured Campbell and Maclean support. The age of both parties at marriage, the groom in his seventies and the bride, perhaps, in her forties possibly meant that for outsiders, if not for Ruairidh, the birth of two legitimate sons, Torcall Dubh and Tormod, was an unforeseen consequence of the marriage.¹¹⁰

107 *Highland Papers*, ii, 272.

108 MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 150–153, 182–5, 234–236, 542–558.

109 Ruairidh complained in 1574 that Torcall Conanach had kidnapped him. However, while Ruairidh repudiated Torcall's claim citing force and violence he did not deny paternity. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, the Macleod of Lewis partisan who wrote the 'Ewill Trowbles' of Lewis in the 1620s questioned Torcall's paternity although a little unconvincingly. *Highland Papers*, ii, 266, 280–2. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 152–153.

110 *TA*, xii, 129; Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 150. N. Maclean-Bristol, *Murder under trust. The crimes and death of Sir Lachlan Mòr Maclean of Duart, 1558–1598* (East Linton, 1999), 134–135, 147, 162, 231. If the Macleod genealogist is correct, moreover, the

It may have been the birth of Torcall Dubh, a legitimate heir, that caused the next cycle of violence. Old Ruairidh probably felt that he could again disinherit Torcall Conanach now that he had, again, an alternative legitimate heir. If there had ever been a rapprochement between father and son it had broken down by May 1583 when Torcall Conanach had been forced to flee by his aging father. This drew the equally turbulent Assynt branch of Siol Torcall into the affairs of Lewis. A force from Assynt led by Ruairidh mac Ùisdein landed at Càrlabhagh, west Lewis, and were put to flight, with heavy casualties on both sides, by Tormod Ùigeach Macleod, a bastard son of the Lewis chief, but a supporter of Torcall Conanach's claim. Some of Torcall Conanach's followers were not so fortunate and Ruairidh Macleod, by now perhaps, aged over 70, was put to the horn for the 'crewall slauchteris of umqle Murdo mc Ane Keir vc Thomas and dyvers utheris slauchteris.' Another of Torcall Conanach's supporters, Tormod Ùigeach, the victor of an earlier fight at Càrlabhagh, was killed around the same time, by one of his bastard half-brothers, Dòmhnall, as old Ruairidh consolidated his grip of Lewis and swept out Torcall Conanach's men. Torcall Conanach's son, Iain, was awarded an escheat of his grandfather's lands and estates in September 1585, perhaps in recognition of the fact that the relationship between his father and grandfather had become irretrievable but also to underline Torcall Conanach's continuing assertion of his (and his line's) right to the succession rather than the young Torcall Dubh.¹¹¹

Some evidence survives showing how the troubles in Lewis affected the region more widely. The relationship between the Macdonalds of Sleat and

identity of Ruairidh Macleod's third wife connected him directly to Clan Campbell. It is unclear what sources Alick Morrison used but he claimed that Ruairidh's wife, Seònaid, was a daughter of Archibald, fourth earl of Argyll and a half sister of the fifth earl of Argyll. Further she had already been married, firstly to Eachann Òg Maclean of Duart (d. 1574) and then to Tormod Macleod of Harris & Dunvegan (d. 1585). Lady Seònaid Campbell had made her first marriage in 1557, no younger, presumably than 12–15. This would make her well over forty at the time of her third marriage to Ruairidh of Lewis, c. 1584–5. Morrison & Mackinnon, *The Macleods: The Genealogy of a Clan*, i, 93–94 & n. 7. If this is correct then Torcall Dubh may have been in his early 20s at the time of his execution in 1597 and would account for the youngest son, Tormod still being at school around 1597–98. *Highland Papers*, ii, 57, 59, 269.

111 NRS, PS 1/53, fol. 40r. Gordon, *Sutherland*, 264–5, 267–268. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 154–157. It is not clear who the named casualty, Murchadh mac Iain Ciar mhic Thòmais was. However, Thomas (Tòmas) may have been a distinctive personal name in this area at the time. The deceased may have been a relative of a Dòmhnall mac Thòmais Dhuibh from Loch Broom, Coigeach, who witnessed a Macleod charter in 1572. MacCoinnich, 'Siol Torcail and their Lordship in the sixteenth century,' 20–21, 30, 31.

Macleods of Lewis had become rocky, not least through the thwarting of the Sleat chief's designs on Lewis. The bigger magnates were being drawn more directly into the conflict too. It was reported by an English agent in Scotland that at a conference of chiefs hosted by Gilleasbuig 'Donn' Campbell, the fifth earl of Argyll, in February 1568 that the Macdonalds of Sleat withdrew following a disagreement and that Macleod 'spoiled him of his goods and men.' Cailean 'Teadhach' Campbell, the sixth earl of Argyll, had also been trying to get Mackenzie and Torcall Conanach to do his bidding in Lewis, 24 August 1584, and bring Ruairidh Macleod to heel, encouraging Mackenzie and Argyll's own kinsman, Campbell of Cawdor, to attack Lewis.¹¹²

There is no evidence that such an attack was carried out and the untimely death of the sixth earl of Argyll on 10 September 1584, leaving an eight year old as his heir and successor resulted in a vacuum of power not only within Clan Campbell itself, but more widely within the Highlands.¹¹³ Another magnate, however, seems to have quickly stepped in to try and assert some influence on the destiny of the lordship of Lewis. Young Iain, the son and heir of Torcall Conanach, pretender to the lordship of Lewis, was present with his father at Aberdeen, 4 November 1585, together with Cailean Cam Mackenzie of Kintail, where all of them gave a bond of manrent, a bond of mutual support and obedience, to George Gordon, sixth Earl of Huntly.¹¹⁴ Iain mac Thorcaill may even have been fostered with Huntly or if not, certainly spent time at his household acquiring an education.¹¹⁵ Around much the same time Torcall Conanach seems to have surprised his father in Stornoway castle and managed to capture him in a successful coup. One of Torcall's actions was to take away all of 'the evidents, writts, chartors and old infeftments of Lewes,' which he gave to Mackenzie for 'safe-keeping.'¹¹⁶

¹¹² CSP, Scot, ii, 453–454. CSP, Scot, vii, 289. *Highland Papers*, ii, 101–102.

¹¹³ Two biographical entries by J.E.A. Dawson, 'Campbell, Archibald, fifth earl of Argyll (1538–1573),' and 'Campbell, Colin, sixth earl of Argyll (c.1542–1584)' in the *ODNB*, entry nos., 4470, 4483.

¹¹⁴ J. Stuart (ed.), *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, iv (Aberdeen, 1849), 231–2. For a discussion of bonds of manrent see, J. Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland. Bonds of manrent, 1442–1603* (Edinburgh, 1985), 2, 56–75, 290. The sixth earl (d. 1636) was known as the Marquess of Huntly and Earl of Enzie from April 1599. B. Robertson, *Lordship and Power in the North of Scotland. The Noble House of Huntly, 1603–1690* (Edinburgh), 34.

¹¹⁵ Iain Macleod, son of Torcall Conanach, was 'bred' with the earl of Huntly, suggesting fosterage, although this might have been a less formal 'placement' to get useful experience at a great lord's court. *Highland Papers*, ii, 267.

¹¹⁶ These papers, kept by Mackenzie, were, according to a tradition recounted by the Earl of Cromartie, kept in Langwell House, Coigeach, and lost there when this house was burnt

Old Ruairidh's worries were more immediately pressing than the loss of his charter chest. He seems to have been conveyed down by Torcall Conanach's Gordon associates to face the Privy Council in Edinburgh.¹¹⁷ If Ruairidh went to Edinburgh, sometime around 1585–86, he must have then been released into the care of Torcall Conanach. Torcall left his son Iain as a constable of the castle at Stornoway and as warden of old Ruairidh his captive grandfather, and returned to the mainland. Iain, however, did not last long. He was lured out of Stornoway castle shortly afterwards by a local kindred, on the pretext of hunting swans to the north of the castle, ambushed and killed. His death left Torcall Conanach without a male heir.¹¹⁸ The Mackenzies, ever alert to dynastic opportunism, made sure that Torcall's eldest daughter, Mairead NicLeòid, was married off to Ruairidh Mackenzie, presumably as soon as she was of age, in 1605. Once married, Ruairidh MacCoinnich, brother of Lord Kintail, lost no time in adopting the designation 'of Coigeach,' a core part of the Sìol Torcaill territories, in right of his wife.¹¹⁹

The Wars of the 'Bastards'? The 'Ewill Trowbles' of Lewis

To further complicate matters, there was an upsurge in the fishing effort from the burghs of south eastern Scotland in the Minch area at this time (discussed in Chapter 1, above). These merchants and fishermen from the Lowlands were, increasingly, from the 1570s onwards, coming into conflict with the islanders who wanted payments of shore dues (to which they were entitled) from them, an exaction resented by the Lowlanders who complained that these rates were

during government reprisals following the Jacobite rising of 1746. According to the Earl of Cromartie the Lewis papers were in Gaelic. However, some of the Lewis papers, dating from 1432 to 1572, albeit probably only those relevant in terms of land rights, were inventoried by a Mackenzie clerk in or around 1627 and survived in an obscure corner of the Cromartie family muniments. Those mentioned in the inventory seem to have been charters from the Lords of the Isles and Stewart monarchs in Latin and Scots. There may well have been some Gaelic papers too but these were not mentioned. *Highland Papers*, ii, 267. Mackenzie, Roderick, Earl of Cromartie, *A Highland History* (Berkhamstead, 1979), 199. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 421–422.

117 John Gordon of Petlurg found caution (surety) for 5000 merks, pledging to deliver Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis to George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, 20 September 1585. *RPCS*, iv, 20.

118 Morrison & Mackinnon, *The Macleods- The Genealogy of a Clan*, iv, 11–12.

119 *Highland Papers*, ii, 268. Ruairidh and his wife Mairead were infefted in the lands of Coigeach, 3 February 1606. NRS, RS 36/2, fol. 2, 4.

too high. The fishermen also alleged, probably with some justification, that islanders tended to help themselves to provisions and fish from the visiting boats and used violence against them, providing further cause for complaint by the Lowland burgesses and fishers.¹²⁰ The burgesses and merchants of the Lowlands were well aware of the dynastic squabbling and the vulnerability of the Lewis lordship and watched with interest as the unrest deepened in the 1590s. By this time much of the mainland possessions of Siol Torcaill were already under serious threat.

The Mackenzie backed heir, Torcall Conanach, had, as discussed above, been able to occupy Coigeach with Mackenzie support. The Mackenzies themselves obtained a feudal superiority over Assynt in 1592 although not possession of the lands (trouble between the Macleods and the Mackenzies in Assynt was to flare up periodically until the 1670s). A branch of the Mackenzies had long occupied a slice of the Macleod lands of Gairloch, and there too they kept up the pressure on the Macleods, thus consolidating the Mackenzie pressure on the Macleods' mainland possessions over a broad front.¹²¹ Such pressure

120 MacCoinnich, 'His Spirit was Given Only to Warre,' 143–145.

121 *Gairloch*. Siol Torcaill had long occupied, without charter, the four dabhach lands of Gairloch. Eachann Ruadh Mackenzie obtained title to this land in 1494, establishing a branch of the Mackenzies there. The Gairloch and Raasay families seem to have worked closely together and representatives from both families were witness to a Macleod of Lewis sasine of 1572. A number of them are also named in letters of horning together with the Macleods of Raasay, 1599, raised against them by Alasdair Bayne, fiar of Logie. The persons named in this were 'MacGillechallum of Rasay of that ilk and MacGillechallum Rasay apparent thereof, Murdo mcAne Cheill in Torridon, Alexr Geir mc Rore wc Ane, Ewir mc Connill wc keill thair, Donald mc Tormat wc Ane Roy in Rasay, Alester mc Tormod his brother thair [Raasay], John Mc miller skreuche (?), there, Donald mc Tormod there, Donald Bane mc Neill their, Angus mc Donald wic Pherson there, his brother Gillichallum Neill thair, Donald and John mc Neills his brothers thair, Angus Pyper there, Murche mc Ane Dowe, Androwe Le, and Alexr Ley his brother, Donald Bane mc Ane vc rore, Alexr mc Ane vc Rore, Jon Baloché and Wa[iter] Roay, Kennoch Roy in Torridon, Jon Keill mc Ane wic Thomas mc Angus vc rioche, Dod Dow mc Rore in Garloche and John Helmoche his brother thair, daylie leftis, trowblis and oppresses the said complenar his tennants and servands and others in Gairloch and Torridon.' *Coigeach*. Torcall Conanach resigned lands in Coigeach in favour of the Mackenzie chief, Cailean Cam of Kintail at least as early as 1576 and probably earlier. *Assynt*. Torcall Conanach resigned his right to the Siol Torcaill lands of Assynt over to Mackenzie in 1588, and Mackenzie managed to get a great seal charter for the superiority of Assynt in 1591. *Eddrachilles*. Sir Robert Gordon warned his son about Mackenzie territorial designs on Eddrachilles in western Sutherland in 1630. NLS, MS 19308, fol. 4. NRS, RH 1/2/696. MacCoinnich, 'Siol Torcaill and their Lordship,' 20–21, 31. NRS, DI 62/1. (29 June 1599 & 29 July 1599). 'Inhibition, 21 May 1614, Alexander

applied from the outside accentuated the cracks within Sìol Torcaill over the disputed succession. These pressures were intensified after the death of the old chief Ruairidh sometime around 1595. Ruairidh of Lewis's five illegitimate sons and all others within the lordship were forced to take different sides in a prolonged, bitter and bloody struggle. The story was told from a Macleod of Lewis vantage point in 'Ewill Trowbles,' as discussed above. The Mackenzie point of view was expressed in histories ascribed to Iain 'Molach' Mackenzie of Applecross, c.1660, and Seòras Mackenzie of Tarbet, c. 1680. Tarbet, a great-grandson of Torcall Conanach, and later ennobled as first earl of Cromartie, adopted the title Lord Macleod, and as an upwardly mobile aristocrat was keen to emphasize the antiquity of his line through the Macleod connection. He, like other Mackenzie historians, had every motive to discredit his ancestor's rivals. He labelled the internecine Sìol Torcaill conflict, over eighty years earlier, as the wars of the 'bastards'.¹²²

The Mackenzies were not the only people from the outside who were interested in Lewis. Lewis sat in the middle of what at the time were regarded as one of the richest fishing grounds in Europe, frequented by Dutch, English, and Lowland Scots fishermen, merchants and pirates.¹²³ King James, to the dismay of both the Mackenzies and the Macleods of Lewis, took advantage of the discord between the clans and granted the island to a group of nobles and merchants called the Fife adventurers who hoped to take over, colonise and 'civilise' Lewis (Chapter 3, below).¹²⁴ The reaction from the natives to this development, not only in Lewis but in neighbouring islands was one of hostility and

Mackenzie, fiar of Gairloch against the intronettaris and possessoris of the lands of Gairloch,' Unpainted Deed Box, writs of the teinds of Gairloch, 14/69, Gairloch Muniments, Conon House. A. Mackenzie, *History of the Mackenzies*, 407–415. NRS, GD 305/1/1/2-3. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 417–418. W. Fraser (ed.), *The Sutherland Book* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1892), ii, 136–7. Gordon, *Sutherland*, 484.

122 Seòras (George) Mackenzie (the first Earl of Cromartie & Lord Macleod, 1630–1740), a grandson of Torcall Conanach's daughter Mairead, and his family assumed the arms of the Macleods of Lewis. Seòras emphasized the status of these various other Macleods as 'bastards,' with 'dissolute adherents.' No less than four usages of this word occur in half of one page. Seòras thus laid stress on his own family's legitimacy in contrast to this and their right to displace the Macleods. 'History of the Family of Mackenzie' by Sir Seòras Mackenzie, First Earl of Cromartie in Fraser, *Cromartie*, ii, 462–513, at 513. cf. *Highland Papers*, ii, 57, 62. For a more critical view of the Mackenzies and their motives, see the 'Ewill Trowbles of the Lewes,' printed in the same volume, *Highland Papers*, ii, 262–279, at, 269–70, 276–279. MacCoinnich, 'Mar Phòr san t-Uisge,' 223–224.

123 MacCoinnich, 'His spirit was given only to warre,' 138, 143–146.

124 See Chapter three, below.

resistance, both overt and covert. The 'civilisation' involved armed invasion, taking lands off the natives who had been forfeited by the king and granting these lands to the incoming planters, who it was hoped would not only 'civilise' the islands but also boost the royal coffers by exploiting the lucrative fishery.

The Macleod response to the invasion seems to have involved tactical co-operation and resistance whenever an opportune moment presented itself. Murchadh Macleod of 'Sebuste,' probably Siabost in west Lewis, (1598–99), an illegitimate brother of the late Torcall Dubh, captured one of these adventurers, James Learmonth of Balcomie, at sea, off Coigeach, 7 December 1598. Learmonth was forced to sign a bond three weeks later, paying ransom for Thomas Cunningham, burgess of Crail and John Mure of Cotland who had been captured with him. Macleod successfully managed to negotiate a ransom for Learmonth too, but the laird of Balcomie died, 22 March 1598–9, shortly after his release at Orkney on the way back to Fife. Murchadh Macleod's accomplices were named by the Scottish Privy Council as Aonghas mac Iain a' Bhritheimh, Iain Dubh mac a' Bhritheimh and Aonghas mac a' Bhritheimh, showing that he had the support of this prominent native family from North Lewis.¹²⁵ Murchadh, again seized and robbed a Fife boat belonging to Thomas Cunningham, burgess of Crail around 22 May 1599. Murchadh had, seemingly, been working covertly with Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail. Cunningham attempted to get restitution for his losses by pursuing Kintail through the courts and also, by linking this to a broader charge, he sought to demonstrate that Kintail had intended to undermine the whole plantation project. Mackenzie, slippery, streetwise, and politically well-connected, was a different proposition from the Macleods and he was able, despite spending several months in prison in the summer of 1599, to come to an agreement with the planters by April 1600.¹²⁶

Despite his successes, however, against both Learmonth of Balcomie and Cunningham, in successfully negotiating a ransom, time was running out for Murchadh Macleod of Siabost. His half-brother, Niall Odhar, had been unable to forgive the treachery of the britheamhan or his brother Murchadh

125 'Angus mKeane Bref, Jhone Dow mcBreif, Angus mcBreif.' *RPCS*, xiv, cxxiii. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 183–4, 189. *CSP, Scot*, xiii, 446–447. *NRS*, CC 8/8/34, fol. 486–489.

126 *NRS*, JC 26/3. Mackenzie of Kintail was subsequently imprisoned for a time, April–August 1599, due to these charges and allegations of conspiracy with the rebels of Lewis, but was released probably through his connections with Alexander Seton, later chancellor of Scotland. *CSP, Scot*, xiii, 446–7, 452, 497. *RPCS*, vi, 617. *RPCS*, xiv, . cxxviii–cxxix. *Highland Papers*, ii, 271–272.

for joining up with them. Niall Odhar, after, some encouragement from the settlers, ambushed Murchadh and his associates, captured them and handed them over to the Fife Adventurers who executed Murchadh's followers, sending a dozen heads (presumably of leading members of the brithreamh kindred) 'in a poke' to Edinburgh. Murchadh himself was taken for a 'trial' to St Andrews and executed sometime in February 1600.¹²⁷ Niall's motive, ostensibly, was revenge for the earlier betrayal by Murchadh and his associates of their late chief, Torcall Dubh Macleod in 1597. However, it probably helped that Niall was able to buy a remission for himself from punishment for all his crimes in exchange for betraying Murchadh.¹²⁸ The way in which Murchadh Macleod had captured James Learmonth of Balcomie demonstrates one of the main difficulties facing the planters, the long sea road between Fife and Lewis, being difficult for shipping in adverse weather conditions and vulnerable to attack on the open sea. The maritime situation of the island is worthy of further consideration.

Lewis was ideally placed at the entrance to the North Minch as a location from which to monitor and perhaps even intercept shipping. The North Atlantic was a busy place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Its rich fishing grounds were a prized and a disputed resource. It sat beside the main sea road used by the Baltic States and the Netherlands to reach the outside world whenever the English were hostile and closed what they called the 'narrow seas' (the English Channel and the Straits of Dover) to continental traffic.¹²⁹ Lowland Scots fishers were frequent visitors to the North Minch or the 'North Yllis' (as the Outer Hebrides were known) from the 1570s onwards, in increasingly large numbers. It is significant that the number of complaints from these fishermen increased exponentially as they gave vent to their displeasure at their treatment at the hands of locals who sought to exploit them. From the point of view of the local chiefs (and probably the community) these fishermen were coming to their seas and sea lochs and exploiting their

127 NRS, RH 6/3673. *RPCS*, xiv, cxxvi – cxxvii. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 190–191.

128 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 190–191. The reference to heads of Lewismen being sent to Edinburgh in a 'poke' turns up in two independent contemporary accounts from Fife, that of David Calderwood (c.1575–1650), and that of David Moysie (fl. 1570 x 1614). Calderwood, *History*, v, 736. J. Dennistoun (ed.), *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland by David Moysie, from the year MDLXXVII–MDCIII* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1830), 165.

129 MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 334; MacCoinnich, 'His spirit was given only to warre,' 143. See also the discussion, below, in Chapter six.

resources. Clearly, local chiefs (in much the same way as Ó Drisceoil and others did in Ireland) saw this as an opportunity to raise revenue.¹³⁰ The problem was that whereas the chiefs did have a right in law to charge fishers for coming ashore ('ground leave') and for packing and curing their fish, they were increasingly in dispute with Lowland fishers who resented these exactions. Furthermore it was claimed (probably with some truth) that the locals in the isles often resorted to force or intimidation to extract these dues. This was one of the underlying causes of tension that occasionally exploded into violence and which helped build the pressure among the Fife fishermen (and their noble patrons) for plantation in the island.¹³¹

The presence of such shipping, international as well as Scottish, on the sea lanes around Lewis was not ignored by the islanders. The rhetoric emanating from Edinburgh and London concerned with protecting and enforcing their trading monopolies in Lewis during the period showed a great deal of concern with the presence of foreigners, particularly Dutch merchants and fishermen in the area. Several of the writings from burgh sources for the period demonstrate the worry felt by burgesses that locals would trade directly with the Dutch, implying that the burgess' fears were well founded.¹³² There were no burghs in similarly 'uncivil,' Ulster, where Ó Dómhnaill was the 'second best' magnate in the 1560s. Yet there, English observers noted that Ó Dómhnaill was 'the best lord of fish in Ireland and he exchangeth fish always with foreign merchants for wine for which [he] is called in other countries the king of fish.'¹³³ One of the prizes of plantation would be this fishery and an English description of fisheries which dates from around 1609–1610, noted that:

130 C. Breen, 'The Maritime Cultural Landscape of Medieval Gaelic Ireland,' in P.J. Duffy, D. Edwards, & E. Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland c.1250-c.1650, Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin, 2001), 418–436, at 424, 429. P. Naessens, 'Gaelic Lords of the Sea: the Coastal Tower Houses of south Connemara,' in L. Doran & J. Lyttleton (eds.), *Lordship in Medieval Ireland. Image and Reality* (Dublin, 2007), 217–235, at 220–226. C. Kelleher, 'The Gaelic O' Driscoll Lords of Baltimore, Co. Cork: settlement, economy and conflict in a maritime cultural landscape,' also in Doran & Lyttleton, *Lordship in Medieval Ireland: Image and Reality*, 130–159.

131 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 153–4.

132 M. Wood (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1626 to 1641* (Edinburgh, 1936), 55, 66, 77, 264. *RCRBS*, ii, 323, 350, 354, 405. *RCRBS*, iii, 142, 257–323. MacCoinnich, 'His Spirit was given only to warre,' 135, 146.

133 *CSP, Carew, 1515–1574*, 308. D. McGettigan, *The Donegal Plantation and the Tír Chonaill Irish, 1610–1710* (Dublin, 2010), 10.

In the north of Ireland, not farr from Dunagall [*Donegal*] ther are such multitude of herring as is hardly to be believed, soe large that 3 herring make a yard in length...¹³⁴

Similarly, Lowland Scottish fishermen and burgesses, if not tax officials and the king were well aware of the potential (if not actual) fishery around the coast of the Scottish Gaidhealtachd.¹³⁵ Commercial transactions and contacts probably went on all the time, usually not leaving a paper trail (thus no 'history') and only making historical 'headlines' when matters went wrong. The real and ready availability of wine in the household of island chiefs and Edinburgh's attempts to control (and thus tax) the flow of wine (of Spanish or French origin) to the isles in 1609, whether via Dutch, English, or Scots middlemen underlines this.¹³⁶

The Macleods of Lewis and the Wider World

While the islands were visited by various external groups, as can be seen in the other chapters in this book, the islanders themselves had a considerable geographic reach, by birlinn, galley and lymfad, as far north as Shetland and as far south as Ireland.¹³⁷ While they must have had peaceful contact, much of the scant remaining evidence alludes, unfortunately, to raiding or warfare. If the Fife colonists had thought that they would easily root out and replace the islanders in Lewis in November 1598 they were to learn the hard way that while they could consider them 'uncivilised' and call them 'barbarous,' that as W.C. Mackenzie put it: 'the primitive instinct of self-defence still flourished in

¹³⁴ Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, MS Euing, 19 (30).

¹³⁵ See the discussion of Dòmhnall Monro's survey in the introduction.

¹³⁶ MacGregor, 'The Statutes of Iona, text and context,' 141–144. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles*, 332. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 110. Reference to wine can be found in surviving late medieval and early modern Gaelic poetry from the area. See McLeod, & Bateman (eds.), *Duanaire na Sracaire*, 366, 370, 388. Ó Baoill & Bateman (ed., & transl.), *Gàir nan Clàrsach*, 64–6, 72. C. MacPhàrlain (deas.), *Dòrlach Laoighean do Sgrìobhadh le Donnchadh MacRath*, 1688: *Làmh-sgrìobhainn MhicRath* (Dùn Deagh, 1923), 143–148. T.O. Clancy, 'A fond farewell to last night's literary criticism: Reading Niall Mór Macmhuirich,' in G. Munro & R.A.V. Cox (eds.), *Cànan & Cultur/Language & Culture. Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* (Edinburgh, 2010), 109–126, at 111–112. See also, B. Kay & C. Maclean, *Knee Deep in Claret. A celebration of wine and Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), 127–140.

¹³⁷ D. Rixon, *The West Highland Galley* (Edinburgh, 1998), 39–42.

Lewis with undiminished vigour...'¹³⁸ Niall 'Odhar' Macleod together with tenants (including the 'McBriefs') drawn from all of the Lewis estate were steeped in a culture of raiding and fighting and ranged far and wide. There had been heavy raiding on Orkney in 1461–1462 by men of Eoin Lord of the Isles, almost certainly including a Lewis contingent.¹³⁹ By the 1540s and 1550s there seems to have been a long running and murderous dispute between the 'foud' of Shetland' (a Shetlandic law officer) and the men of Lewis. Ola Sinclair, sometime foud of Shetland, was given a respite (a reprieve or a royal pardon) in October 1555 for killing an Uilleam 'Lewis' and others, perhaps members of the brieve's family, who were in Shetland in 1543.¹⁴⁰ The following year Ùisdean mac a' Bhrithheimh ('Hugo McBreif' or Hucheon), from 'Trouterne's' (and also possibly also linked with the parish of Barabhas/Ness) was given a pardon by the king for killings and plunder in Shetland and Orkney and feuding with and killing Sinclairs there in 1556, burning houses, provisions and goods only four years after Ùisdean had been summoned to see the regent at Inverness. In the absence of good evidence it is impossible to ascertain why these raids might have taken place.

Clearly, plunder was always an attractive prospect, but it is unlikely to have been the main or the sole reason, and it is difficult to see, given the nature of the evidence, why such a risk might have been taken, knowing what penalties might be applied.¹⁴¹ It is unlikely that all the violence was one way and it would be surprising indeed if reciprocal raids had not been undertaken by Shetlanders and Orcadians who were far from soft targets, whether for marauding English forces or raiding Lewismen.¹⁴² It seems too that the killing of the son of the *foud* by a Lewisman, mentioned above, was not an isolated event. When Ùisdean the brieve gained his remission for the murder of Henry Sinclair (30 August 1556), his kinsman Iain 'Breif' managed to obtain a royal protection

138 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 179.

139 J. Storer-Clouston (ed.), *Records of the Earldom of Orkney, 1299–1614* (Edinburgh, 1914), xlv, xlvii, xlviii, 54.

140 RSS, iv, 3071. This Remission to Sinclair was re-issued in 17 October 1564. RSS, v, 1794.

141 RSS, iv, no 3307, p. 589. TA, x, 99.

142 English raiding in the North and on Orkney was not, apparently, uncommon during the sixteenth century. However, a party of Orcadians led by Edward Sinclair routed a 500-strong English raiding party, led by Sir John Clare, at Papdale in Orkney in 1557. P.D. Anderson, *Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney, Lord of Shetland, 1533–1593* (Edinburgh, 1982), 32. Gordon, *Sutherland*, 136–7. Traditions from Orkney and Shetland point to other occasions when the locals in both island groups saw off Lewismen. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 104–106.

for himself and his kin the very next day.¹⁴³ Again although there is no explicit surviving evidence to support any hostile activity from Orkney or Shetland in a Lewis context, the difficult relations that the Macleods occasionally had with the islands to the north – and the implication of the timing of the remission and the protection, 1566, means that Lewis was probably in the front line of any retaliatory action from the north.

Although there is no record of a raid from the north targeting Lewis, it seems clear that the *Leòdhasaich* (Lewis folk) continued to make plundering raids on the Northern Isles. In 1559 the parish of Westray in Orkney said they were unable to pay tax as their lands had been ‘wastit be Lewis men.’¹⁴⁴ There might have been more to this than random raiding; the Macleods of Lewis were connected to Orcadian politics through the marriage of the chief, Ruairidh to Barbara Stewart (probably at some time in the 1540s). Barbara Stewart, a daughter of Andrew Lord Avondale (d. 1513), had been a wealthy widow of the late Sir James Sinclair of Sanday prior to her marriage to Ruairidh in 1541 and had property in Orkney in her own right.¹⁴⁵ Barbara’s subsequent marriage to Ruairidh also probably drew the Macleods of Lewis into affairs in Orkney and Shetland.

A Stewart kinsman of Barbara, Robert Stewart, Lord of Orkney and Shetland, was accused of encouraging the raiding of ‘hieland men and broken men,’ who were ‘auld enemies and oppressoris’ of the Orkney people to ‘sorn, oppress and spuilzie’ (live off, oppress and spoil) the country, especially the Isle of Graemsay.¹⁴⁶ At face value Robert Stewart, a Scots speaking Orcadian lord (d. 1593), and illegitimate son of James V seems an unlikely candidate to associate with Gaelic speaking Highlanders such as the Macleods of Lewis. However, he had his son and heir, Patrick Stewart, raised as a fosterling, a practice often associated with Gaelic clanship, with Sir Patrick Vans of Barnbarroch (d. 1597) in Wigtownshire, an area which while undoubtedly Scots speaking may have

143 RSS, iv, no 3308, p. 589.

144 Kirk (ed.), *The Books of Assumption of the thirds of benefices*, 666–7.

145 In 1568 Barbara Stewart, Lady Lewis, and her daughter from her previous marriage to James Sinclair of Sanday, Margaret Sinclair, had the feu lands of Barrie (Burray) in Orkney. TA, xii, 129. Margaret Sinclair was a half sister of Torcall ‘Oighre’ Macleod of Lewis who died without issue in 1566. For details of this Orkney family, albeit, a little unsure of the details of the Lewis connection see. H.L. Norton-Smith, *A Collection of the Armorial of the County of Orkney* (1902), 142.

146 Anderson, *Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney*, 32, 94. D. Balfour (ed.), *Oppressions of the sixteenth century in the islands of Orkney and Zetland* (Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1859), 9. ‘Irish’ was the Scots and English word used for ‘Gaelic’ in this period. See, Horsburgh, ‘When was Gaelic Scottish?’ 234–239.

still been partly Gaelic in speech at this time. There is no better than this circumstantial evidence that these 'hieland' and 'brokin' men in brought by Robert Stewart Lord into Orkney were connected the Macleods of Lewis but it is, given the known connections of this clan to Orkney through marriage, a reasonable possibility.¹⁴⁷

Trained for War? The Irish Dimension

Evidence from later decades, the 1570s to the 1590s, shows the clan taking an interest in the Irish wars to the south rather than the north. Niall Odhar Macleod (illegitimate son of Ruairidh, chief of Lewis) a generation later than the Orkney raiders of 1550, emerged as the leader of Macleods of Lewis following the execution of Torcall Dubh in 1597. Niall, referred to in 1598 by Macdonald of Sleat as 'tutor of Lewis,' was a formidable warrior and was one of the main leaders of the resistance to Lowland plantation (1598–1607) and Mackenzie plantation (1607–1613). His indictment when the authorities in Edinburgh finally caught up with him in 1613 stated that he had been bred and trained and

147 Patrick Stewart wrote to Vans (or Vaus) in 1587, addressing him as his 'foster father.' Anderson, *Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney, Lord of Shetland, 1533–1593*, 115. For fosterage in Gaelic Scotland at this time see MacCoinnich, 'Daltachas, Fineachan agus Alba,' 37–53. Vans of Barnbarroch, a pillar of the establishment who sat on the Privy Council also seems like an odd person to associate with Gaelic or 'Highland' practices. Yet, he was married twice, each time to members of the Kennedys of Girvanmains and Cassilis, areas where Gaelic was spoken. Gilbert Kennedy, the fourth Earl of Cassilis (d. 1576), was known in Scots as the 'king of Carrick' which suggests a common translation of the Gaelic word, rìgh, meaning king. The term 'rìgh' in Gaelic, although usually given the narrower semantic definition of 'king' when translated into English, can also denote a less defined level of leadership, Wentworth's, *Faclan is Abairtean à Ros an Iar*, translated this as 'leader' as well as 'king.' See also W. McLeod, 'Rì Innsi Gall, Rì Fionnghall, Ceannas nan Gaidheal: Sovereignty and rhetoric in the late medieval Hebrides,' in *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 43 (2002), 25–48 & at 46. Barbara Stewart, Lady Lewis, also had a connection to the same Kennedy family: her mother, Margaret, was a daughter of John, second Lord Kennedy (d. c. 1508–09) and she was thus a first cousin of Gilbert, the second Earl of Cassilis. *SP*, ii, 456–460, 471–473. *SP*, vi, 510–511. See also, H.S.V. Agnew, *Short account of the families of De Vaux, Vaus, or Vans (Latin De Vallibus) of Barnballoch* (1832), 10. *Historical account of the noble family of Kennedy and principal cadets thereof* (Edinburgh, 1849), 40. W.L. Lorimer, 'The Persistence of Gaelic in Galloway and Carrick,' in *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, vol. 6 (1949), 114–136, and vol. 7 (1953), 26–46. D. Horsburgh, 'Vaus [Vans], Sir Patrick, Lord Barnbarroch (d. 1597), diplomat and judge,' *ODNB* entry, no 28101. R. Pitcairn (ed.), *Historical and genealogical account of the name of Kennedy* (Edinburgh, 1830), 166.

raised in 'wickedness.'¹⁴⁸ The reference to 'trained' was probably not loose usage of language. We know that other contemporary clans, such as the Frasers and Gordons kept their men trained for war during the sixteenth century, drilled by veterans of continental warfare, and certainly Niall Macleod of Lewis fits this pattern.¹⁴⁹ Niall seems to have been armed to the teeth and will have known how to handle his weapons. The description of the charges brought against him at his trial in March 1613 states that he and his accomplices had boarded a vessel in Loch Broom 13 years earlier in warlike manner with 'bowis, durloches, tua-handit sword[i]s, hagbuttis, pistolettis & utheris wappones invasive.'¹⁵⁰ Niall certainly was no stranger to conflict and, as one of the leading members of the Macleod of Lewis family, he may well have had a hand in Macleod participation in the Irish wars in the 1580s and 1590s. One of the sites traditionally thought to have been besieged and taken by Niall from the britheamh kindred of Ness around 1600, Dùn Èistean, a sea-stack at the north of Lewis, has been excavated recently showing evidence of the usage of these early firearms. Musket or pistol balls have been recovered from the site which are dated, broadly, to this period. This material evidence may, or may not, indicate the historically attested conflict. It does, however, show that the defenders of this sea-stack, presumably natives of Lewis, had been engaged in the production of gunflint – some 25 whole gunflints and a further 404 flint artefacts were recovered in total. These were fashioned using distinctive local techniques, indicating long familiarity with this type of process.¹⁵¹

A report on the potential threat posed by Hebridean soldiery, or Redshanks, to the English conquest of Ireland by Dioness Campbell, Dean of Limerick, for the English intelligence network, was concerned to play up the importance of his own family at the expense of any competitors. He must, however, have been aware that he was being more than a little disingenuous when, in 1596, he stated that the 'out islanders had not come into Ireland to my knowledge and remembrance and hearing these past thirty years.' Campbell was also, surely, being a little misleading when he disparaged the military capacity of Hebrideans saying they did not travel well, and were better at sea than on

148 NRS, JC 2/5/81.

149 Chron. *Frasers*, xxxix, 129, 150, 165, 171, 255, 257. MacCoinnich, 'His Spirit was given only to warre,' 155. Martin, *Description of the Western Isles*, 72.

150 NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 81r. also in, NLS, Adv MS, 33. 1.2, Vol. 14, no. 12, and Pitcairn, *Trials*, iii, 244–7.

151 R. Barrowman (ed.), *The excavation of a late medieval clan stronghold* (Acair Press, Stornoway, forthcoming). T. Bjarke Ballin, 'State of the art' of British Gunflint research with special focus on the early gunflint workshop at Dun Eistean, Lewis,' *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 46/1 (2012), 116–142.

land.¹⁵² Moreover, Campbell's assertions do not seem to be borne out by the evidence in the English state papers. Hebrideans abound in the English reportage of the conflict in Ulster from the 1580s onwards. Individual clans are not singled out too often, reports often using 'Macdonald' as a catchall. There is a suggestion in English sources that the chief of the Macdonalds of Islay, who also held, of course, land in the north east of Ulster, was one of the main conduits for Hebridean mercenary traffic. Macdonald used his connections and status as the senior cadet of his family, bolstered by panegyric praise poetry and, perhaps, his pretensions towards being Rìgh Innse Gall, or Lord of the Isles, together, no doubt, with the promise of silver, to bring men down from other Hebridean clans and introduce them into Ireland.¹⁵³

In April 1581 nervous English observers watched as Scots forces under the command of Sir Seumas Macdonald of Islay, Macleod of Harris and MacLeod of Lewis descended on the Ards and Lecale in eastern Ulster. They had been hired by Turlough Luineach Ó Néill & Somhairle Buidhe MacDómhnaill to help support the Viscount Baltinglass rebellion. The estimated numbers of 4000 Macdonalds and 2000 Macleods of Lewis and 2000 Macleods of Harris given by the English may have been exaggerated, possibly doubled, in order to try and marshal support for the defenders, but nevertheless it is clear that this would have been a substantial number of men and a threat to English military expectations. As it was, this turned out to be short lived, as Turlough

152 Dioness Campbell, pandering to his audience's prejudices (the document was endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil, English secretary of State), and with tribal partiality, also stated that Hebrideans, like Maclean of Duart, while clearly not as capable or trustworthy as Campbells, were, nevertheless, capable of performing good service for the English against Gaelic Irishmen: but only, naturally, if they were led by the Clan Campbell chief, the Earl of Argyll. *CSP, Scot*, xii, 207–208.

153 Macinnes 'Crown, Clans and Fine: The 'Civilising' of Scottish Gaeldom, 1587–1638,' 33. In 1560 an English description referred to 'MackDonnell' as the 'consul' of the Scots and Galloglass forces in the pay of Ó Néill. *CSP, Carew*, 1515–1574, 308. A report of John Crawford, Burgess of Ayr, to Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex in 1575, told of a band made by Clanranald, Macleod of Harris and Macleod of Lewis to come with Macdonald to Ireland. M.O' Dowd (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland. Tudor period, 1571–1575* (2004), 781. For a late sixteenth century panegyric poem that could fit this context, addressed to Aonghas Macdonald of Islay, praising him for his ability to command warbands as far north as Lewis and to lay tracts of Ireland waste, see, 'An Síth do Rogh, a Rìgh Fionnghall?' in, McLeod & Bateman, eds., *Duanaire nan Sracaire*, 154–161, 506. cf. J.L. Campbell & F. Collinson, (eds.), *Hebridean Folksongs: waulking songs from Barra, South Uist, Eriskay and Benbecula*, iii, 98–99.

Luineach made his peace with the English authorities by August of that year.¹⁵⁴

While the Northern Hebrideans certainly used such Macdonald connections they also acted independently. The Macleods, it is not certain exactly which branch, certainly made an impact on the Burkes of Mayo in 1591. Some 700 islesmen arrived in 13 birlinns and had a pitched battle with the locals at Erris in County Mayo. A sons of the chiefs of the Macneil of Barra and a son of the chief of Macleod were among the slain. Gráinne Ní Mháille, the pirate chief went in pursuit of the Macleods and Macneils with a fleet of 20 of her ships although it is unknown if she caught up with them.¹⁵⁵ While the exact identity of the Scots involved in that incident is not specified, it is clear that Hebrideans, including the Macleods of Lewis, were involved in the Irish wars in the final decades of the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁶ By 1594 and 1595, however, the English, shaken by the successes that Aodh Ó Néill (the Earl of Tyrone) and Aodh Ruadh Ó Dómhnaill (of Tyrconnell) were having against them in the Nine Years war, 1594–1603, due in part to the assistance they were able to draw on from Hebridean redshanks, had set up an espionage network in the west of Scotland with the result that more detailed reports survive from this period of the activities of Hebrideans in Ireland.¹⁵⁷

Although individuals are seldom named in reports of Hebrideans active in Ireland, it is probably that Niall Odhar Macleod, like many of his followers, will have had experience fighting in the Irish wars. It may be no coincidence that one of the earliest surviving genealogies for the Macleods of Lewis turned up in an Irish context, their pedigree, perhaps, having formed part of the public relations exercise in Ireland to enhance their fame and make them more

154 *CSP, Ireland*, 1574–1585, 58, 301. H.A. Jefferies, 'O'Neill, Sir Turlough Luineach (c.1530–1595),' *ODNB*, entry no. 20786.

155 *CSP, Ireland*, iv, 396–397. For Gráinne Ní Mháille (alias Grany or Grace O' Malley), see M. O' Dowd, 'O'Malley, Gráinne (*fl.* 1577–1597),' *ODNB*, entry no. 20753.

156 The umbrella terms 'Macdonald' and 'MacLeod of Harris' appear more frequently, and one suspects that Gaels from all around the western seaboard tended to be lumped together in the English sources. The Macleods of Lewis are specifically mentioned in relation to their participation in Ireland and Irish warfare on several occasions: in February 1575, April 1581 and in July and August 1595. M. O' Dowd (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1571–1575*, 781. *CSP, Ireland*, ii: 301. *CSP, Scot*, xi, 629, 636, 638, 644–645, 650, 654–655, 684–685.

157 English informants included John Cunningham, an Edinburgh burgess, the Earl of Argyll, Lachlan Mòr Maclean of Duart and Maclean's clerk, John Auchinross. Maclean attempted to take credit for the early return of Macleod of Lewis from Ulster in mid August 1595. *CSP, Scot*, xi, 684–685. Maclean-Bristol, *Murder under trust*, 156–159, 182–183.

employable as mercenaries or redshanks during the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁸ The neighbouring Macleods of Harris had considerable experience of Irish warfare in the successful siege of Enniskillen as allies of the Irish chiefs Ó Dómhnaill and Mág Uidhir in June to August 1594 and they arrived again at Lough Foyle the following year.¹⁵⁹ In addition to this, Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Harris stayed behind in Ireland August 1595 with a force of about 600 men, while the rest of the Scots went home: the reason for this being a desire to avenge a defeat Ruairidh Mòr and his men had suffered. Although less is known for certain of the activities of the Lewis branch, they too were active in Ireland in July and August 1595.¹⁶⁰ It is possible (although not certain) that Ruairidh Mòr of Harris's campaign might have included some of their namesakes from Lewis in Ireland under his leadership. Relations between the two branches of Clan Leod certainly seem to have been warm under Torcall Dubh's chiefship, c.1593–97. Torcall Dubh was married to a sister of Ruairidh Mòr of Harris and when conflict emerged in the later 1590s between the Macdonalds of Sleat and the Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan, Sìol Torcaill seem to have sent some men to aid their namesakes.¹⁶¹ These links persisted through into the plantation era when Ruairidh Mòr had strong links with both the Macaulays of Ùig, for whom

158 The shared common culture of the Gaelic learned orders in Ireland with some of those in the south western Scottish Gaidhealtachd, is, at first glance, the most plausible and logical context for the survival of early Hebridean genealogies in Ireland. For contrasting interpretations of this shared common culture see, See M. Ó Mainín 'The Same in origin and blood.' Bardic windows on the relationship between Irish and Scottish Gaels, c.1200–1650,' *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, 38 (1999), 1–51. W. McLeod, *Divided Gaels. Gaelic cultural identities in Scotland and Ireland, c.1200–c.1650* (Oxford, 2004), 46–54. MacCoinnich, 'Where was Gaelic written.' However, military adventuring in the sixteenth century is, arguably, a likely explanation for the appearance of some, notably Hebridean, Scottish clan genealogies in Ireland such as that of the Macleods. For a discussion of these and other genealogies and the origins of the Macleod of Lewis clan see W. Matheson, 'The Macleods of Lewis,' *TGSI*, 51 (1980), 320–337, at 324. W.D.H. Sellar, 'The Ancestry of the Macleods reconsidered,' *TGSI*, 60 (1998), 233–258, at 244–246.

159 J. O' Donovan (ed.), *Annala Ríoghachta Éireann. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the four masters from the earliest period to 1616* (2nd ed., Dublin, 1856), vol. vi, 1950–1953, 1974–5. H. Morgan, *Tyrone's Rebellion. The Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* (Woodbridge, 1993), 172–191.

160 *CSP, Scot*, xi, 629–30, 636, 643, 647, 650, 655, 676, 683–685, 690.

161 Macdonald of Sleat seems to have been an enemy of both branches of Clann Macleod in the summer of 1597 through into early 1598, publicly decrying the execution of Torcall Dubh by Mackenzie, yet cynically and opportunistically raiding Lewis. Some of the Sìol Torcaill branch of the Macleods seem to have taken a break from resisting the Fife Adventurers and to have joined their Harris and Dunvegan namesakes in making war on

he had to stand caution in 1605, and later with Niall Odhar, 1609–13, when the latter was a fugitive.¹⁶²

Gaelic oral tradition, as it was recorded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, had the *britheamh*, associated with Ness in Lewis, taking a wife home from Ireland to Ness. Another tale in the same vein placed Dòmhnall Cam Macaulay from Ùig, Lewis, in a ‘crown’ army at ‘Londonderry,’ taking on a champion from the other side in combat. This tale, while unverifiable, fits very well with the circumstantial evidence of island participation in the Nine Years War, 1594–1603, albeit with a judicious bit of recasting in later oral tradition to suit the contemporary, Whiggish, realities of eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain. This retelling is a little misleading. Had Macaulay been in Ireland accompanying his chief, MacLeod of Lewis, which seems likely, he would almost certainly have been on Ó Néill or Ó Dómhnaill’s side rather than the English crown’s in Ulster given the Macleods’ known association with Ó Dómhnaill.¹⁶³ Although they were not to know it, the return voyage home by

Macdonald in or around 1601. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 168–169, 180, 207. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles*, 270–271.

- 162 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 253–257. See also discussion in Chapter three, below. Ruairidh Mòr Macleod also took care of his nephews, his sister’s sons with Torcall Dubh Macleod of Lewis, Uilleam and Torcall. Ruairidh Mòr sheltered them in the aftermath of plantation, 1613. NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 13v–14r. NRS, RD 1/207, fol. 159v–161r.
- 163 The tradition of am britheamh (the brieve) of Lewis taking an Irish wife appears in Matheson (ed.), *An Clàrsair Dall*, 187. Dòmhnall Cam Macaulay is on contemporaneous record in the first decades of the seventeenth century. *RPCS*, ix, 16–19. The story of Dòmhnall Cam MacAulay from Ùig, Lewis, and of his exploit at a bridge in Derry in the north of Ireland (c.1595?) was taken from a seanchaidh in Lewis around 1810, over 210 years after the episode must have taken place. The story, a little garbled, perhaps, accompanied what the seanchaidh called the ‘song composed in the honour of this victory. It is called ‘Ceann na drochaid’ or head of the bridge...’ Unfortunately, although the seanchaidh’s anecdote survived because it was written down around 1810, together with the song title, the song itself has been forgotten. N. Macdonald (ed.), *The Morrison Manuscript. Traditions of the Western Isles by Donald Morison, cooper, Stornoway* (Stornoway, 1975), 24–26. A pipe tune or piobaireachd, ‘Kiaunma Drochid a Beig alias the head of the little bridge played by M’Leod’s piper, during skirmishes in Ireland,’ was recorded around the same time in Skye, clearly referring to the same incident. This supports the Lewis tradition although here too the details of the accompanying story have been lost. H. Cheape, ‘Patron as Performer: Lament for the Gentleman Piper’ in W. McLeod (et al. eds.), *Bile ós Chrannaibh. A Festschrift for William Gillies* (Ceann Drochaid, 2010), 57–78 at 69–70. Capt. Niel Macleod of Gesto, *A Collection of Piobaireachd or Pipe Tunes as verbally taught by the McCrummen pipers in the Isle of Skye to their apprentices now published, as taken from John McCrummen, Piper to the old Laird of Macleod and his grandson, the late General Macleod of Macleod* (Edinburgh, 1880), 28–30.

the Macleods of Lewis and other clans in August 1595 effectively marked the end of the 'redshank' traffic to Ireland due, in large part, to the increasing cooperation between Edinburgh and London. It had suited James VI to have a contingent of Hebrideans descend regularly on Ireland to the discomfiture of the English. The perceived barbarity of his Gaelic subjects gave him plausible deniability of any involvement. In late December 1593, with a view, perhaps, to mollifying the English ambassador in Edinburgh, James wrote to the Earl of Argyll and asked him to withdraw his men from Ireland and try to curtail the 'unlawful' service of the islesmen there in the armies of Ó Dómhnaill and others.¹⁶⁴ There was a lack of urgency in James's letter of December 1593, which did little to 'restrain thair further resort thair' and did not, in any case, stop the by continuing Hebridean participation in the wars of Ireland. Yet by 1595, with an eye on the English crown, it was not in James VI's interest to stoke further fires in Ulster. The following year James sent his enforcer, Colonel William Stewart, the Commendator of Pittenweem, to summon the southern Hebridean West Highland clans to a meeting at Kintyre.¹⁶⁵ It is instructive, when the king of Scots wished it, how quickly the redshank traffic stopped.

Within three years the Scots crown would sponsor a plantation in Lewis selling this enterprise to the English resident at Edinburgh as a 'platt' in their common front in the war against Gaelic barbarism.¹⁶⁶ The Macleods of Lewis, however, had acquired knowledge and experience of war in Ireland together with extensive experience in more localised skirmishes and conflicts. This may have implications for our understanding not only in terms of weaponry, tactics and the nature of the defensive structures like the dùin in Lewis, but also in terms how they were able to mount an intermittent but sustained and effective resistance to the Scots forces which were to occupy their island at the end of October 1598.

Forfeiture and Plantation

Between 1596–8, hostility between the Mackenzies-backed Torcall Conanach on the one hand and Torcall Dubh Macleod of Lewis on the other reached a state of what amounted to sporadic open warfare. Torcall Dubh Macleod of Lewis, the eldest son from the late Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis's third marriage,

164 Copy, letter, James VI to the Earl of Argyll, 22nd December 1593. NRS, GD 149/265/parti/14-15.

165 *CSP, Scot*, xii, 270, 291. NLS, Adv. MS. 29.2.6, no. 71, 75, 76, 78, 79.

166 *CSP, Scot*, xiii, 271, 301.

not only managed to impose a semblance of unity on his clan but posed a significant military threat to the Mackenzies. He responded to Mackenzie expansionism in Assynt, Coigeach and Gairloch by launching a devastating raid in early 1597 with a force of over 700 men on Coigeach and Loch Broom, lands which were, after all, from his point of view, key parts of his clan's territory, occupied by usurpers. The Mackenzies retaliated initially by using the mechanisms of law, processes outwith the reach of Torcall Dubh who had not been legally served heir.¹⁶⁷ Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail, however, frustrated by the continuing truculence of the Lewismen, took a more direct approach to solve the problem posed by Torcall Dubh. He persuaded Iain Dubh MacGilleMhoire, the hereditary *britheamh* or judge on Lewis and follower of Torcall Dubh, to betray his chief. Iain Dubh and his men captured a Dutch ship in May 1597 and invited Torcall Dubh on board to sample the wine which was part of the cargo. Once on board, Torcall Dubh and his men were seized by the *britheamh* and conveyed to Wester Ross, where they were executed by Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail.¹⁶⁸ A 'Dutch' ship, and the timing suggests it must have been the same vessel, the *Eger id est the Hunter* of Emden, was then sold on by Mackenzie to a burgess from Perth in June 1597.¹⁶⁹

Mackenzie's (or his proxy, Torcall Conanach's) impulsive quasi-judicial murder of Torcall Dubh not only infuriated neighbouring clans but provided a pretext for direct external intervention. Pressure had been mounting in the south for a solution to this conflict, accompanied by a ratcheting up of anti-islander rhetoric, the chorus led by James VI and orchestrated by the burghs.¹⁷⁰ Not only were these lands in the hands of barbarians who defied the edicts of their

167 'Torquel Dow, usurper of the Lewis, accompaneit wt the force of brokin hielandmen to the number of seven of aucht hundrethe persons or thrby al bodin in feir of weir cam in heistil & veirlyk maner to the boundis of Coygach and Lochbrume q[uhai]r thay commitit sic barbarous & monstrous crewalteis as the lyke of has not bene haird of, spairing no man qyf nor bairne quha thay myt apprehend sua that ane gryt number of our trewe subiectis ar cruellie murthereit and slaine, the haill groundis forsaid displenischit and laid west and the haill bestiall & guidis....' NRS, D1 62/1 (20 May 1597). Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 165–6.

168 *Highland Papers*, ii, 268–269. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 166–170.

169 The ship, between 46 to 55 tons burthen with around six cannon, had been 'bought' by the Mackenzies from Omne Denrikson, skipper, and Tobias Boull and Stais Orene, merchants of Emden. This was sold to James Crambie, burgess of Perth, 18 June 1597. NRS, RD 1/64, fol. 216. There are unlikely to have been many other such vessels coming into Mackenzie hands at this time.

170 MacCoinnich, 'Mar Phòr san t-Uisge,' 217–219. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, 271–272.

monarch, more importantly these same barbarians placed an impediment on the trade of 'civilised' burgesses and merchants from Lowland Scotland in the Isles. From barbarism, it was a short step to being outside the protection of the law, which in turn made the expropriation of Macleod lands that much easier.¹⁷¹ James VI had hoped, as early as 1589–90, to replace the Macleods with more civilised tenants (see Chapter 3, below). Mackenzie of Kintail, the chief of a clan who had a long – and tempestuous – relationship with the Macleods of Lewis, also hoped to benefit from this.

Indeed, Mackenzie managed to obtain a title to the office of constable of Stornoway castle in December 1597, apparently on the authority of his 'soverane lord with avise of his majestieis comptroller and lords auditouris of his hienes chekker.' Mackenzie was to hold the castle and an adjacent 20 merk land (or 20,000 acres) together with Colonel William Stewart, Commendator of Pittenweem. Mackenzie was granted the lands in the Stornoway area 'with avise and consent of merchandis of guid skill, travellerris thair,' the latter were going to develop a free burgh, and the scheme would be under Mackenzie and Stewart's direction. This situation may have held, at least in the mind of Mackenzie and his allies, until the following March when this deed was registered in the Books of Council and Session in Edinburgh.¹⁷² This may show that the king had, as suggested by the wording of the letter quoted above, been prepared to countenance Mackenzie's involvement in the plantation scheme from its inception. Something had changed in the interim, or perhaps, the constabularyship sought by Mackenzie had simply been an attempt engineered by himself and his friends to give him a stronger hand in Lewis, in the knowledge that a plantation scheme was afoot. In any case, Mackenzie had been levered out of the Plantation of Lewis by the summer of 1598 by the consortium of nobles and merchants and burgesses from the south and east of Scotland, known as the 'Fife adventurers.' Mackenzie's attempts to further his interest in Lewis in 1597–98, show that his ambitions for control of the island from 1607 onwards (Chapters 3 & 4 below) were not borne of expediency following the collapse of the Fife Adventurers' plantation but were long held. This, Mackenzie's loss of his foothold in Lewis in 1598, provides a strong additional motive for his subsequent interference in the schemes of the Fife Adventurers.

171 For the ways in which this could be rationalised see A.H. Williamson, 'Scots, Indians and Empire: The Scottish Politics of Civilisation 1519–1609,' *Past & Present: A Journal of Historical Studies*, 150 (1996), 46–83, at 57–65.

172 NRS, RD 11, Box 23, reg. 7 March 1597–8. I owe this reference to Mr John Ballantyne.

Both the king and the planters or settlers from the south hoped to gain from Lewis in different ways, the king by extending his control and maximising his revenues, and the new settlers by more fully exploiting the riches of the surrounding seas from their new colony in Stornoway.¹⁷³ The writer of the 'Ewill Trowbles of the Lewes,' writing some years later, from a Macleod point of view, challenged the legitimacy of this approach. He had no doubts that the colonists (or planters) arrived 'under pretence' of 'civilizing' and that the real agenda was a land grab with the aim of dispossessing the natives. This pro Macleod writer emphasized that those being expropriated were 'ancients inhabitants' and stressed the continuity of possession by which the Lewismen had rights, in law, of kindly tenure or dùthchas, which were nullified by the royal grant to the planters of Lewis in 1598. The writer even questioned the legitimacy of James's action of stripping the Macleods of their lands and issuing such a grant, stating that it was 'aledged to be at his ma[jes]ties disposition.'¹⁷⁴ This, however, really was a voice in the wilderness, written by an exiled Lewisman around the end of the 1620s, by which time not only had the Fife Adventurers' plantation failed but the island was securely under Mackenzie control. The remaining two sections of this chapter briefly consider the impact of these plantations on Sìol Torcaill lands and people.

Niall Odhar, the Brieves, Forts and Dùin

It was clear, though, that the Fife Adventurers planning the initial plantation of Lewis expected that there would be opposition from the locals who stood to lose their lands. The initial force of 500–600 men for the 'conquessing of the Lewis' at the start of November 1598 was led by Colonel William Stewart of Houston, the Commendator of Pittenweem, an experienced soldier who had fought in the Dutch Brigades against the Spanish in the 1570s and risen up through the ranks on the basis of his ability. He was a favourite of King James who tended to despatch him to various trouble spots and had led several expeditions to the Highlands and Islands in the previous decade.¹⁷⁵ While they

173 CSP, Scot, x, 331–332. M. Lynch, 'James VI and the Highland Problem,' in J. Goodare & M. Lynch (eds.), *The Reign of James VI* (East Linton, 2000), 208–227, at 217–9 223–225. J. Goodare, *The Government of Scotland, 1560–1625* (Oxford, 2004), 225–6.

174 *Highland Papers*, ii, 270.

175 Calderwood, *History*, iv, 448. R. Pitcairn (ed.), *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melville, minister of Kilrenny in Fife and Professor of Theology in the University of St Andrews. With a Continuation of the Diary* (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh. 1862), 233 & 143.

quickly captured Lewis in November 1598, the speed of their apparent victory was deceptive and they experienced considerable resistance over the months and years that followed, losing many men from guerrilla attacks. Although based in Stornoway, these forces also pursued and slew those natives who resisted them in the surrounding area. An account of the colony written by a minister who accompanied the Fife Adventurers survives. Some excerpts from this follow, below, which give a description of the type of violence which accompanied the foundation of the colony:¹⁷⁶

[in 1599] ‘...and out of that [*i.e., the base in Stornoway*] they [*the colonists’ soldiers*] had many out breaks upon the hieland men, persewit them, until the maist pairt of the countrie people wer movit to yeild thamselvis unto them to be ther servantis & tennents, vowing unto tham obedience...’

The colonists (1605) tried to remove the ‘country people’ and replace them with their own tenants. Some refused to move, and:

[...] 2 companies at Starnewall goes fowrth to persew them, and first apprehends twel[f] of the principalls of them, and brings them into the campe... ...and slew them all except thrie, whom they broght w^t them to Craill And being put to ane assiss[e] into Craill they ar condemit & hangit [...] ¹⁷⁷

The minister who wrote this account, (possibly Mr John Ross), wrote that when he arrived in Stornoway in 1605:

Colonel Stewart led a company of a company of hagbutters up to Aberdeen and the North in 1589, and he led expeditions on behalf of James to Kintyre and the southern Isles, 1596, Hugh Dunthorne, ‘Stewart, Sir William (*d.* 1602x4), *soldier and diplomat*’ in the *ODNB*, entry no. 26518. J.D. Marwick (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, A.D. 1573–1642* (Scottish Burgh Records Society, Glasgow, 1876), 134–5, 182. Birrel’s *Diary*, 38.

¹⁷⁶ I am grateful to Dr Thomas Brochard for initially bringing this manuscript to my attention. The original manuscript is in the National Library of Scotland. NLS, Wod. Qu., Vol. xx, fol. 352–357. Transcribed in full in MacCoinnich, ‘Tùs gu Iarlachd,’ 447–455 and in Appendix C2. It is written in the third person by the chaplain to the colonists. The minister accompanying the Fife colonists on at least on their first two expeditions, and the writer of this account was probably Mr John Ross. See the discussion in Chapter three, below.

¹⁷⁷ ...Two companies from Stornoway went forth and pursued them, and firstly apprehended twelve of the principal men and brought them back into their camp... ...and they slew all of them except three, who they brought with them back to Craill in Fife, where they were given a trial and condemned and hanged...

[...] the companies ther had not bene idill but went foorth of the camp and had persewit the men that had refusit to remove themselves out of the countrie and had slaine some of them [...]

For those not initially killed the prospects were equally grim, incarceration and execution. In the words of the minister:

[...] And that thei had many of them in fast prisone who after the arywall of the laird of A[i]rdr[i]e wer all put to ane assyss & wer condemit & execut[ed]. Thir Lewes men, then, that refusit to goe out of the countrie being put out of the warld for the maist part [...]¹⁷⁸

The trigger for conflict in these cases seems clear. The Lewismen clearly wanted to remain on their traditional lands, in which many held by right of kindly tenancies or *dùthchas*. The incoming colonists who had, after all, title to these lands, wanted to take it from the Lewismen, eject them, and clearly resorted to force and violence to achieve their ends. The Macleods of Lewis were experienced, as we have seen, above, in various levels of conflict and responded to attempts to remove them with violence. After a sustained attack by the Macleods on Stornoway, lasting three weeks in 1605, when according to the colonists' minister they set 'all owr peitstacks in fyre' (thus depriving the colonists of winter fuel), the siege placed on the colonists was raised by forces led by Ruairidh Mackenzie (brother of Kintail) and Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Harris.

[...] heirupon, the Lewes men flees. And, ther companie persewes them, sets fyr in some of ther houses, & burnes ther cornes and spoiles ther goods [...]

Unfortunately, while this source is more detailed for the Stornoway settlement, it is vague in terms of the rest of the island. However, it is clear from this that the natives practised guerrilla warfare against the settlers and that the settlers' soldiers attempted to chase these natives back to their home communities.

A commission granted to the Fife adventurers in 1605 gave them permission to carry hagbuts and pistols and kill anyone who defied them without fear of

¹⁷⁸ And they had many of them (i.e. Lewis men) in a secure prison. And, after the arrival of the laird of Airdrie (Robert Lumsden, one of the principal planters), all of them (the imprisoned Lewismen) were given a trial, and condemned and executed. These Lewis men, then, that refused to leave their country were, mostly, eliminated.

legal retribution. The colonists were also reinforced, periodically, by neighbouring clans (who were not well trusted by the colonists) and by levies from Lowland Scotland. By 1607, however, Niall Odhar Macleod had proved a match for the colonists. He had expelled them and occupied and fortified their 'new town' of Stornoway, holding it against them. The Privy Council granted a commission of fire and sword to the Mackenzies in September 1607. This gave them power to pursue anyone who ran to 'any strenths and housses' (or forts) in Lewis and surrounding islands and permitting them to:

asseidge the said strenths and housses, raise fyre and all other kinds of force and warlike ingyne [*siege engines*] that can be had for the wyning [*capturing*] therof...

and

imploy and bestow his majesties ordinance, powlder and bullet to that effect.¹⁷⁹

The Mackenzies, who took over Lewis following the failure of the Fife Adventurers' schemes, were themselves no strangers to the use of force. They had fought in conflicts of intermittent intensity against the Macdonnells of Glengarry and the Munro of Foulis together with ongoing skirmishes against Siol Torcaill on their western marches over recent decades. Resistance in Lewis seems to have subsided soon after their arrival in 1609, with the exception of some elements of the Macleods who held out for several years.¹⁸⁰ There might be some truth to the assertion made by Mackenzie chroniclers that the people of Lewis, sick of conflict, welcomed the prospect of settled conditions that the advent of the Mackenzie occupation promised in 1610. Ruairidh, the younger brother of Coinneach Òg Mackenzie of Kintail was forced to act as tutor for the clan interest following his brother's untimely death in 1611. In addition to this, Ruairidh Mòr Mackenzie of Coigeach had a viable claim in right of his wife, Mairead 'Nic Leoid' the daughter of Torcall Conanach. The reluctance that the Fife Adventurers had earlier, in 1600, displayed in letting 'Margaret nein Alasdair vc Angus,' Mairead's mother and Torcall's wife, go out among the country people in rural Lewis, hints at the legitimacy and support that such a claim might have brought.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless a significant hard-core minority of

¹⁷⁹ *RPCS*, vii, 84–87, 435.

¹⁸⁰ Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 246, 248–252, 254–255.

¹⁸¹ *NRS*, RH 15/45/45/2. Discussed below in Chapter three.

the Macleods and their supporters remained unreconciled to the incoming Mackenzie regime (for reasons explored in Chapter 4, below), witnessed by the doggedness with which Ruairidh Mòr Mackenzie was forced to pursue them to bring them to bay. Ruairidh Mòr's ruthlessness became proverbial in Lewis folklore. Although disaffected elements continued to haunt the island periodically for some years after this, by 1613, Mackenzie control of the island seemed secure.¹⁸²

Dùin – Contexts

The structures used by the Macleods in their attempts to defend themselves during the periods of the Fife Adventurers and then the Mackenzies may yet (as seen in the excavation of Dùn Èistean) hold material evidence which can augment the fragmentary documentary record. Stornoway castle (discussed in Chapter 3, below) is the most obvious defensive structure in historical sources. The un-named fortalices mentioned in the Privy Council Register cannot be identified. However, there are also scores of ruinous sites in Lewis which use the name 'dùn': fortified sea-stacks, barred promontory forts, and fortified structures in lochs all over Lewis that may have been used as such ' fortalices.'¹⁸³

182 Ruairidh Mòr Mackenzie, the Tutor of Kintail, put pressure on the Macleods of Harris, who it was alleged, were harbouring fugitives from Lewis. Some of the ringleaders of the Lewismen's opposition to the Mackenzies, in support of Niall 'Odhar' Macleod were named, 4 March 1613, as the '...outlawis & rebels of the Lewis and in speciall Malcolme McRory McCloyde, Wm McRory McCloyd his brother, Gillicallim mcEny vc InTagart, Murdo mcAngus vc Eane vic an Tagart, Donald mc Angus vc Gillimichell, Johnne Dow mc Angus vc Gillimichell, Johnne mc Eane iuht (?), Donald mcCoull vc Gillicallum vcAngus, Gillicallum mc Eane Reoche vc Eane vc Rory, Rory and Murdo sones to Neill McCloyd traitor of the Lewis, Angus mcEvir, Angus Dom mcHorle vc Conquhy, Angus mcGillicallum vc Eane vic inTagart, Angus Dow vc Eane vc Gillicallum vic Allaster, Donald McEane Duy Breve, Neill McCoull vc Angus vc Gillemichell or ony uthir that sall happin to be rebell...' Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Harris was prohibited under stringent financial penalties from assisting or abetting these people and further bound to give full assistance to the Mackenzies *against* them. NRS, RD 1/207, fol. 159v–161r. cf. NRS, D1 62/4, fol. 134. *Highland Papers*, ii, 277–9.

183 *RPCS*, vii, 84–92, 430. The royal commission monuments report of 1928 named some 25 structures of a defensive nature in Lewis but clearly there are many more, albeit some of the surviving structures are slight. A report on Dùin and sea stacks named some 80 structures but this number could be greatly increased if other structures on islets in lochs, brochs and crannogs were added. (*RCAHMS*, 1928), 1–30. I. McHardy, C. Barrowman, M. MacLeod, A. MacSween, J. McKenzie, S. Ramsay, C. Smith & B. Ballin-Smith, *STAC: the*

The purpose of these ruins on the lands of the Macleods of Lewis, are little understood. Many, including Dùn Èistean in Ness in the north of Lewis, have tended to be regarded by archaeologists as dating to the Iron Age.¹⁸⁴ Dùn Èistean, a fortified island, has been shown in a recent excavation led by Rachel Barrowman to belong firmly in the 1500–1700 date range.¹⁸⁵ While many of these other structures in Lewis undoubtedly date to prehistoric times, an environment and circumstances such as those described above, with bands of soldiers periodically marauding over the countryside for several years, would make it politic for the population in rural Lewis to seek temporary shelter. It seems plausible that at least some places and structures in the Ness area, adjacent to settlements or shielings such as Dun Eòradail, Dùn Othail, Dùn Slèibhe (and others across Lewis) may, like Dùn Èistean, may have been used in a native response in various settlements to the troubled conditions of colonisation: temporary fortified shelters where the local population might wait out a marauding band for short periods of time.¹⁸⁶ Certainly Màrtann Martin who wrote a description of the isles in 1695 (and whose informants in Lewis

Severe Terrain Archaeological Campaign – investigations of Stack sites of the Isle of Lewis, 2003–2005. Scottish Archaeological Internet Reports, 36 (2009). Available on the Internet at: <http://www.sair.org.uk/sair36/>.

- 184 RCAHMS, 1928: xxiii–xxv. I. Armit, *The Archaeology of Skye and the Western Isles* (Edinburgh, 1996), 11–13.
- 185 R. Barrowman (ed.), *Dùn Èistean, Ness, Isle of Lewis: The excavation of a late medieval clan stronghold* (Acair Press, Stornoway, forthcoming).
- 186 Other such structures in the Ness area, some of them of great antiquity by the time considered in this paper and possibly used (or re-used) include Dùn Mara, Dùn Barabhat, Dùn Àrnaistein, Dun Bhiliscleir and Cnoc a' Chaisteil (see Barrowman 2012). Other structures and sites in Ness, which would appear to be much older than this period but which show no sign of re-usage in this period are Dunasbroc, Dùn Smirvig and Dùn Shiabhat. C. Barrowman, *Ness Archaeological Landscape Survey, Field Survey* (GUARD, Glasgow, 2007). McHardy, Barrowman, MacLeod, et al., *STAC: the Severe Terrain Archaeological Campaign–SAIR 36* (2009). These type of structures and placenames 'Dùin,' are abundant throughout the rest of Lewis, and similar structures can also be found in Harris, the Uists and Barra, and the Inner Hebrides and proliferate also on the adjacent coasts of Sutherland, Ross, Inverness-shire and Argyll-shire (search under 'Dun' on the 'Canmore' website). Mackenzie, *The History of the Outer Hebrides*, 246–252, 254. See, for example, Dùn Ringill in Skye, associated with the Mackinnon clan (Canmore, no 114321), Dùn Raghnaill in South Uist, associated with Clanranald clan (Canmore, 9879), and An Dùn, Clashnessie, Assynt, probably associated with Siol Torcaill, the Macleods of Lewis & Assynt (Canmore 4517). Many of these sites may would have been used in the late medieval/early modern period. I am grateful to Rachel Barrowman and Mr David Sellar for discussion on this point.

included Mr Dòmhnall Morrison and Iain Morrison – descendants of the ‘brief’ kindred) specified Dùn Èistean, Dùn Eòradail and Dùn Othail as forts (see Chapter 3 below). It is also worth reiterating, that Niall Odhar held out against the invading Mackenzies in the fortified sea stack of Dùn Bearasaigh for up to three years, 1609–1612, although this was probably exceptional.¹⁸⁷ The merchants and fishermen planning a plantation in the mid 1590s must have been aware of such structures and should have had a good knowledge of the potential of the Macleods of Lewis to resist a conquest by Lowland soldiers: even if they seem to have underestimated what they saw. They would have been confident that a determined professional force such as that mustered by the planters would easily overwhelm the rebel, barbarous and ‘incivil’ Macleods.

While sources such as the Privy Council Register record, in ample form, the exasperation of the Crown at the intransigence of the Macleods of Lewis, this does little to tell us about why the Macleods continued to resist. For the remaining Macleods of Lewis and many of the other clans in the north west seaboard this settlement at Stornoway was the thin end of the wedge. The colonists had a clear agenda of monopolisation of the islands resources to the exclusion of the prior inhabitants.¹⁸⁸ What was enacted in Lewis could well be replicated in Dunvegan, Sleat, Clanranald or Macneil lands. Even the habitually pro-crown Mackenzies saw their own interest undermined by the establishment of a new colony in the region. The Mackenzies had no problem with a plantation: provided they benefitted from it. By the summer of 1598, it was clear that they too, pro-crown or not, were to be excluded from the venture. Neighbouring clans all, at various times, either covertly or overtly joined factions of the Macleods of Lewis in opposing this Lowland settlement. The repeated failure of the colony at Stornoway, despite three serious sustained attempts at plantation (1598–1609), was something that caused James VI & I a great deal of embarrassment.¹⁸⁹ Although elements of Sìol Torcaill successfully saw off the attempt at colonisation the survivors were, after 10 years of sporadic conflict, no match for the Mackenzies who bought out the settlers’ rights and mopped up lingering resistance from Sìol Torcaill, 1609–13, securing the lands of Sìol Torcaill, in the words of a contemporary their ‘long wished for and expected prey.’¹⁹⁰

187 Martin, *Description of the Western Isles*, 17. *Highland Papers*, ii, 277–278.

188 *RPCS*, v, 467–468. *RPCS*, xiv, cxxviii–cxxix, *APS*, iv, 160–164.

189 *CSP, Scot*, xiii, 1026. Goodare, *The Government of Scotland*, 228–9.

190 *Highland Papers*, ii, 277; Lynch, ‘James VI and the Highland Problem,’ 217–219, 223–225. MacCoinnich, ‘Mar Phòr san t-Uisge,’ 221.

Conclusion

While the Macleods of Lewis are often dismissed as being irredeemably barbarous any consideration of them tends to take their elimination in the decade after 1598 as a starting point and project this backward in time. It is undeniable that they were fratricidal, violent and the antithesis of 'civil,' particularly in the final quarter of the sixteenth century. Yet it seems clear that at times in the mid-sixteenth century their stock had been higher. Their rebellions may have had an implicit economic dimension – as suggested by the survey conducted in 1549 by Donald Monro, noted in this chapter and in the previous chapter, which paid special attention to the marine resources of the area. Dynastic considerations mattered greatly in an age of personal lordship and their connections to the wider Scottish nobility; not least Dòmhnall Dubh Macdonald of the Isles to the south, the turbulent earldom of Orkney to the north east, and the Mackenzies and others closer to home, drew Sìol Torcaill, like many other families of the period, into conflict. Nevertheless, the chief of Lewis's heraldry appears in national collections of arms dating to the sixteenth century and Queen Mary took a personal interest in the fate of the Lordship in 1563. It was not inevitable that the Macleod Lordship should end in such a conflagration. Dynastic accident and and, above all, pressure from the powerful Mackenzie clan did little to help and, indeed, fuelled internecine strife. The violent and prolonged demise of the remnants of Sìol Torcaill leadership, 1598–1613, can only be half-glimpsed through fragmentary, surviving, records. However, a consideration of the conflicts in which Sìol Torcaill had been engaged in the preceding decades, whether in Ireland, Orkney, Shetland, the adjacent mainland or in Lewis itself, together with an appraisal of what is known of the structures on the Macleod of Lewis lands such as *dùin*, and how these were utilised by the natives during the plantation period when they came into conflict with the incoming planters, 1598–1607, may help in developing an understanding of why the Fife Adventurers found it so difficult to dislodge Sìol Torcaill and establish themselves in Lewis.

The Fife Adventurers and the Plantation of Lewis, 1598–1609

Introduction

In October 1598 a consortium of twelve gentlemen from the south east of Scotland known as the Fife Adventurers left Leith and the Fife ports with a force of 500–600 soldiers and an unknown number of employees and followers and sailed north to take possession of the forfeited Macleod lordship of Lewis. This, the first of three attempts at realising plantation, lasted until April or May 1602 when they were over-run and ejected by the Macleods of Lewis. A fresh attempt was made in the autumn of 1605 which lasted until early 1607 again resulting in the defeat and ejection of the planters by the natives. One final brief abortive attempt was made in 1609. One historian went so far as to call the Plantation of Lewis a ‘fantasy’ on the part of James VI and even suggested that the Scottish king and his advisers failed to carry out any detailed planning for the venture, contrasting this with the well-planned English schemes in Ireland.¹ Certainly all three campaigns by the Fife Adventurers ended in ignominious failure; part of the reason, perhaps, why this episode tends to get overlooked by historians.² Yet this was the first substantial Scottish effort at plantation or colonisation, anticipating the better known plantation in Ulster by several years, the attempted settlement in Nova Scotia by decades, and the

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- 1 J. Wormald, ‘The British crown, the earls and the plantation of Ulster,’ in E.Ó Ciardha & M.Ó Siochrú (eds.), *The Plantation of Ulster. Ideology and Practice* (Manchester, 2012), 18–32 at 22.
 - 2 This episode warranted one to two brief sentences, for example, in recent general histories. G. Donaldson, *Scotland, James V–James VII*, 228. T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560–1830* (1969), 105. Lynch, *Scotland: a New History* (2nd edition, 1992), 241. J. Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community* (Edinburgh, 1981), 164. A little more detail on this can be found in: W.C. Dickinson, *Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603* (3rd ed., rev. & ed by A.A.M. Duncan, 1977), 388–389; and also in M. Lynch & J. Goodare (eds.), *The Reign of James VI* (East Linton, 2000), 217, 219, 223–225 and Goodare, *The Government of Scotland, 1560–1625*, 228–9. While this has been largely overlooked by ‘national’ histories, it has fared little better from a ‘British’ perspective. See for example J.H. Ohlmeyer, ‘Civilising of those Rude Partes’: Colonisation within Britain and Ireland, 1580s–1640s,’ in N. Canny (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume 1. The Origins of Empire. British Overseas Enterprise to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1998), 124–147, at 135.

plantation or colony at Darien by nearly a century and it is deserving of more attention.³ And, as Julian Goodare has pointed out, contemporaries had no reason to suspect that the Lewis scheme would not succeed. They were exasperated at the failures of the planters, but this was a serious venture and it was not inevitable that it would fail.⁴ Scottish communities abroad in the seventeenth century, on a spectrum that ranges from *tabula rasa* plantations to Scottish enclaves as residents in pre-existing host settlements (such as Scots communities in European cities) have benefitted from a great deal of recent scholarly attention.⁵ While most historians mention the Lewis episode in passing, only the only recent study to consider this in detail was Dennison & Coleman's volume in the Scottish burgh survey. For any more detail one has to consult the nineteenth century works of Donald Gregory, whose pioneering history touches on this, but W.C. Mackenzie's *History of the Outer Hebrides* (1903) is the only serious study of this episode.⁶ Mackenzie devoted the largest

3 These two concepts, plantation and colonisation, are not necessarily always the same thing. However, they can be difficult to differentiate in practice – particularly from the perspective of the dispossessed. See A.I. Macinnes, 'Making the plantations British, 1603–1638,' 97–98.

4 Goodare, 'The Statutes of Iona in context,' 55.

5 M. Horton, 'To transmit to Posterity the virtue, Lustre and Glory of their ancestors: Scottish Pioneers in Darien, Panama,' in C.A. Williams (ed.), *Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World. People, Products and Practices on the Move* (Ashgate, Farnham, 2009), 131–150. J.G. Reid, 'The Scots Crown and the restitution of Port Royal, 1629–1632,' in *Acadiensis, Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region*, 6 (1977), 39–64. A.D. Nicholls, '"The purpois is honorabill, and may conduce to the good of our service": Lord Ochiltree and the Cape Breton colony, 1629–1631' *Acadiensis*, 34 (2005), 109–123. N.C. Landsman, 'Nation, Migration and Province in the first British empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600–1800,' *the American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), 463–475. For an overview and discussion of the range of types of settlement of Scots from the 'near abroad' to further afield on a spectrum ranging from plantation in a 'wilderness' or colonisation to Scots in stranger communities in European settings see the editors' introduction in, Grosjean & Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, 1–24. J.G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine and New Scotland. Marginal colonies in the seventeenth century* (Toronto, 1976), 13–21. A.I. Macinnes, 'Making the plantations British, 1603–38,' 111–118.

6 E.P. Dennison & R. Coleman, *Historic Stornoway: the Scottish Burgh Survey* (Edinburgh, 1997), 19–22, 47–49. Gregory, *The History of the Western Highlands and Islands* (1881), 278–80, 290–292, 297–299, 309–310, 315–316, 334–338. A succinct summary of Mackenzie's, or perhaps, Gregory's account is offered by A. Calder, *Revolutionary Empire: The Rise of the English Speaking Empires from the fifteenth century to the 1780s* (London, 1981), 79–82. For the treatment of the plantation by modern historians in studies of the period see for example, Macinnes *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788*, 60–61, and Goodare, *The Government of Scotland*, 224–6, 228–229. Lynch, 'James VI and the 'Highland Problem,' 217, 223–225. For a recent non-academic treatment of the plantation see Helen Cook's article, 'The Fife Adventurers' in *The Scots Magazine*, vol. 134, no. 6 (March 1991), 640–649. A short

part of three chapters of his history to the plantation of Lewis, in a strong narrative based on primary source materials. Much of the narrative focuses largely on the heroic, though flawed and bloodstained figure of Niall Odhar Macleod of Lewis, who was to the fore in resisting three successive waves of Lowland plantation.⁷ Mackenzie's pioneering research and gripping narrative remains essential reading for anyone with an interest in the topic. A more thematic approach is offered here hoping to build on Mackenzie's work, by examining aspects of this plantation in light of fresh evidence.⁸

The immediate trigger which seemed to precipitate the first plantation or colonisation by the Fife Adventurers was the dramatic kidnap and execution of Torcall Dubh the chief of the Macleods of Lewis engineered by Coinneach

novel, in Gaelic, aimed at the teenage market is set against the backdrop of the plantation of Lewis. C. MacMhaoilein, *Na Fìobhaich* (Acair, Steòrnabhagh, 1993). The only full length history of Scotland published in Gaelic, to date, contains a short account of this episode. A. MacCoinnich, *Eachdraidh na h-Alba* (Glascho, 1867), 267–271. Tradition-based accounts from Lewis, first written down from the nineteenth century onwards, concentrate on inter-clan feuding within Lewis with little to no mention of the planters. N. Macdonald (ed.), *The Morrison Manuscript: Traditions of the Western Isles, by Donald Morison, Cooper, Stornoway* (Stornoway 1975). C. MacLeòid, 'Tachairtean an Eachdraidh: toirt a-mach Leòdhais le Clann Choinnich,' TGS1, 31 (1922–1924), 1–14. Sgoil Bhaltois, *Dòmhnall Càrn MacDhùghaill* (Sgoil Bhaltois/Valto School, 1965). D. MacDhomhnuill, *Bàrd Bharabhais. Dain, Orain is Sgeulachdan le Domhnall MacDhomhnuill, gobha ann am Barabhas* (Glaschu, 1920), 44–60.

7 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 171–265.

8 This includes materials not seen by Mackenzie in 1903, such as the eyewitness account of one of the chaplains to the adventurers (NLS, Wod Qu. xx, ff. 352–357, transcribed here as appendix C2), and also some material relating to Learmonth (NRS, RH 15/45) and Anstruther (NRS, GD 147/45/2, transcribed here as appendix C3). Mackenzie does not seem to have had access to the manuscript entitled the 'Ewill Trowbles of the Lewes,' an important primary source written from a Macleod point of view around 1620, which was not published until 1916. *Highland Papers*, ii, 262–279. For the authorship of this see MacCoinnich, 'Mar Phòr san t-Uisge ? Ìomhaigh Siol Torcail an Eachdraidh,' 216–228. The papers of some of the principal planters remain lost. None of the papers of James Spens of Wormiston or Robert Lumsden of Airdrie or Sir George Hay of Nether Liff, later first Earl of Kinnoull, relating to the plantation seem to survive although some material has been discovered in the Register of Deeds and Register House papers (NRS, RD1, and RH series) and is incorporated here. The family archive of the Earls of Kinnoull does survive although a fire in Dupplin castle in 1827 may have destroyed the papers relating to the plantation era. Neither the Kinnoull family archive nor the National Register of Archives (Scotland) survey of these papers is currently open to researchers (NRAS, 232/NRAS, 1489). A brief overview of the contents of this family's archive appears in *HMC Appendix to the 4th report* (1874), 514–515.

Mackenzie of Kintail in the early summer of 1597.⁹ Mackenzie harboured his own ambitions to replace Torcall Dubh with his own cousin, Torcall Conanach Macleod, a stalking horse for Mackenzie domination of Macleod lands.¹⁰ Torcall Dubh's cause was not helped by the clan's capacity for internecine strife, long fomented and encouraged by the Mackenzies. Indeed the Gordons and the Frasers, two of the more successful dynasties or clans in the North of Scotland, used the Macleods of Lewis as the archetypal example of a dysfunctional clan and as a cautionary tale to others of the price that could be paid for the failure to present a united front to the outside world.¹¹ The loss of Torcall Dubh, however, who had, briefly, been a capable leader (1595–97) behind whom most of the Macleod clan could rally, set in motion what was for the Mackenzies and the Macleods alike an unwelcome and unforeseen intervention from the south.

As was seen in the previous chapter, Coinneach Mackenzie, not content with furthering the claim of his cousin, Torcall Conanach, to Lewis had secured the office of constable of the castle of Stornoway in December 1597 and hoped, together with Colonel William Stewart, that he would be centrally involved with the development of a burgh at Stornoway.¹² Coinneach's ambitions as a planter were overthrown in late March 1598, when the king formed a council to formulate policy in the isles. Shortly afterwards a group of nobles, headed by Ludovick Stewart, Duke of Lennox and encouraged by the king, met in a convention at Edinburgh and thrashed out the terms for a plantation in Lewis. By June 1598 this had been ratified in Parliament and a group of adventurers identified who would take forward King James's civility agenda in the Highlands.¹³ A note of caution, however, was sounded by the council of Edinburgh. The gentlemen adventurers who planned to go to Lewis and were 'to plant thame

9 'Ewill Trowbles of the Lewes' in *Highland Papers*, ii, 269. This was referred to nearly a year later in a letter from Dòmhnall Gorm Macdonald to Queen Elizabeth of England, 1 April 1598. A.&A. Macdonald (eds.), *The Clan Donald Vol. ii* (Inverness, 1900), 757–758. *CSP, Scot*, xiii, 182.

10 The 'Ewill Trowbles of the Lewis' written by a source hostile to Torcall Conanach and his Mackenzie patrons, suggest that Torcall was manipulated by the Mackenzies. This image of Torcall as malleable is supported by a letter from William Learmonth in Stornoway to his brother the laird of Balcomie in 1601, which commented that Torcall's wife, Mairead nighean Alasdair mhic Aonghais, was his 'commander.' *Highland Papers*, ii, 268. *NRS, RH* 15/45/45/2.

11 A. MacCoinnich, 'Mar Phòr san t-uisge: Siol Torcail an Eachdraidh,' 216–217, 228. A. MacCoinnich, 'Daltachas, Fineachan agus Alba anns an t-siathamh agus san t-seachdamh linn deug' 41, 51 & n. 21.

12 *NRS, RD* 11, Box 23, reg. 7 March 1597–8. Thanks to Mr John Ballantyne for this reference.

13 *CSP, Scot*, xiii, 182, 191. *RPCS*, v, 455, 462–463. *RPS*, 1598/6/5.

selffis thairin be force' had approached the city council in June 1598 and asked them to participate in the expedition and take a share of the lands of Lewis. The Edinburgh council considered their offer but then 'refuseit the same absolute,' a decision which proved, with the benefit of hindsight, to have been a good one.¹⁴

The Lead-up to Plantation: From 1587 to 1598

James VI, however, had been considering the idea of plantation in the isles for some time, possibly as early as 1587, when he first signalled his intentions regarding his Highland policy. The king, newly ruling in his own right, dusted off a traditional Stewart approach to the Highlands, albeit with considerable more vigour than many of his predecessors, by seeking to make the main landholders answerable for upholding the law on their lands. Stiff fiscal penalties would be set and enforced on miscreants.¹⁵ While James had the wider Highlands and Islands in his sights, the issue of the isles must have been on his mind following the complaints of the fishermen of the burgh of Crail in 1586 to the king and his Council of the 'greitt extortioun usit upoun thame' by the truculent inhabitants in the Northern Hebrides. The high-handed nature in which the Hebridean chiefs mistreated visiting fishermen is a theme that comes through clearly in several documents from the period. Violence or the implicit threat of violence accompanied the demands placed on fishermen to supply the chiefs with the whole catch taken on a Saturday together with hefty

14 M. Wood (ed.), *Extracts from the records of the burgh of Edinburgh, 1589–1603* (Edinburgh, 1927), 221.

15 Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603–1788*, 51. Macinnes, 'Crown, Clans and Fine and the 'civilising' of Scottish Gaeldom, 1587–1603,' 31–55. *RPCS*, iv, 781–782. Banding, or a contractual obligation by lords 'to regulate the activities of men within their own lordships and to police the movement of others through them,' has been identified by Steve Boardman as being a feature of royal policy vis-a-vis the Highlands as early as 1368 during the reign of David II. Boardman, *The Campbells, 1250–1513* (Edinburgh, 2006), 79. While there was a precedent for this it clearly had not been applied effectively. Indeed the sixteenth century is known in Gaelic as 'Linn nan Creach' (the age of predations). Goodare has, due to this perennial disorder, dismissed the earlier efforts of James IV, James V and Mary in the Highlands in the sixteenth century and suggests that there was no discernible royal policy for the area before the advent of James VI. While Goodare, perhaps, overstates the case for royal disengagement with the Highlands, he rightly stresses the novelty of James VI's 'active and interventionist' approach. J. Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999), 255–257.

ground leave charges. The chiefs thought they had a right to lift exactions from visitors. The visitors thought the demands extortionate and, moreover, they paid taxes to the crown unlike the chiefs. The visiting fishermen were also, unlike the Macleods of Lewis, politically well-connected and represented at the court and Privy Council through the representation of the burgh commissioners and the Fife nobility.¹⁶ This difference of opinion between the Highlands chiefs with visiting fishermen over ground duties, together with the cavalier attitudes of Hebrideans to diktats from Edinburgh, such as the band of 1587, may have focussed James's mind on plantation as a solution for his Hebridean problem.¹⁷ The chaos that engulfed the Macleods of Lewis, not least in the wake of Torcall Dubh's execution, 1597, helped to remove a potential obstacle to Plantation. However, the Plantation of Lewis was not simply a short measure borne of expediency, or mere opportunism, but a logical step following on from a gradual ramping up of pressure exerted by James VI and his council on the Highlands and Islands since 1587.¹⁸ The study of James VI's policies relating to the area is dominated by the Statutes of Iona with little consideration of plantation. Yet, plantation was to be a feature of James's Highland policy (at least in terms of Lewis) that he clung to consistently for over twenty years, still demanding a re-conquest of Lewis as late as 1607, castigating those planters who showed reluctance to proceed, and only relinquishing this Lowland-led plantation with great reluctance following the failure of the final attempt at plantation in 1609.¹⁹

16 Deposition of island chiefs: Macdonald of Clanranald, Macdonald of Sleat, Macleod of Dunvegan, Maclean of Duart, Maclean of Lochbuie, and MacNeil of Barra at Edinburgh, 1634: 'it was the ancient custome before the date of the extract efterspecifeit (whiche they thinke to be about fourteeine years syne or thereby) to everie ane of thame in whois bounds the herring fishing fell our to exact off everie shippe and barke resorting theer for ankerage and ground leave ane barrel of aill or meall in the awneris option and for ilke anker layd on shore sax shillings aucht penneis and out of everie last of herring slaine there three pounds mony togidder with the benefit of every Saturdays fishing' NRS, GD 150/3035. This corroborates a complaint by the burgh of Crail as early as 1586. *RCRBS*, i, 213.

17 *RCRBS*, i, 213. *RPCS*, iv, 121–124.

18 A. Cathcart, *Kinship and Clientage. Highland Clanship, 1451–1609* (Brill, Leiden, 2006), 49–56. Goodare, *The Government of Scotland*, 220–225.

19 Letter, 29 July 1607, James VI to David Murray, Lord Scone. James, anticipating a fresh effort by George Hay and James Spens to plant Lewis, blamed the 'ewill concurrence' of Hay and Spens's former partners for the failure of the attempt of 1605–1607. NLS, MS 20775, fol. 34. For the short lived final effort at plantation in Lewis by Spens and Hay in 1609, see Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 243. For the wider British context see A. Cathcart, 'The statutes of Iona: the archipelagic context,' in, *Journal of British Studies*, 49 (2009), 4–27.

The Shetlands and the Orkneys, which had come into the possession of the Scots crown in 1469 but were still not formally part of the kingdom at the beginning of the seventeenth century, had rich fisheries long exploited by Hanseatic and Dutch merchants and fishermen. These too were coveted by successive Stewart monarchs not least James VI who was anxious to consolidate territorial waters as well as to exert more control of the fisheries in the Orkneys and Shetlands. Scots merchants and fishermen mainly from the Moray Firth and Fife had penetrated these islands and settled in increasing numbers through the sixteenth century part, perhaps, of the same impulse that drove their compatriots further north and west into the Faroe Islands and the Hebrides.²⁰ In contrast to the Macleods of Lewis, Patrick Stewart lord of Orkney and Shetland, although a notorious racketeer, was able to reach an agreement with incoming Lowland Scottish fishermen in 1594.²¹ In Lewis though, even if the old chief Ruairidh MacLeod who died in 1595 had wanted or been able to reach an agreement with the Lowland fishermen the uncertainty of the succession to the MacLeod chiefship would have rendered any such agreement meaningless. Ruairidh and almost all of the Macleods of Lewis seem to have wanted Torcall Dubh, his son from his third marriage to succeed the old chief, which is what happened sometime around 1595. The Mackenzies, however, continued to sponsor their own rival candidate, Torcall Conanach whose presence ensured that for the Macleods there could be no easy way out. Royal control of Orkney and Shetland had been hampered by the misrule and rebellion of the Stewart Earl of Orkney, whose capture and eventual execution followed closely on from the annexation of Orkney and Shetland to the Scots crown from Denmark between 1611 and 1614.²² However, the informal plantation that had taken place in the form of migration into the Orkneys and Shetlands over several decades meant that once royal control was established, the society in the area Scots (if not Norn) speaking, was culturally and linguistically similar with that of Lowland Scotland. The area had never, in any case, been part of Gaelic society linguistically or culturally as had Lewis.²³ Two Englishmen who visited the

20 A.I. Macinnes, *The British Revolution, 1629–1660* (Basingstoke, 2005), 61. S. Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603–1660* (Tuckwell, East Linton, 2003), 22, 32–34.

21 A. MacCoinnich, 'His Spirit was only given to Warre'. Conflict and identity in the Scottish Gaidhealtachd, in S. Murdoch & A. Mackillop (eds.), *Fighting for Identity. Scottish Military Experience, c. 1550–1900* (Leiden, 2002), 133–166, at 144.

22 Macinnes, 'Making the plantations British, 1603–1638', 106–107.

23 A.I. Macinnes, *The British Revolution, 1629–1660*, 61. G. Donaldson, *Scotland, James V–James VII, 232–233*, 252. F.J. Shaw, *The Northern and Western Islands of Scotland. Their economy and society in the seventeenth century* (Edinburgh, 1980).

area around 1614, William Monson and Richard James made positive remarks regarding the Orcadians, who (like the Shetlanders) were, for Monson, surprisingly 'civil' in contrast to the people of the Hebrides whose 'brutishness and uncivility... ..exceeds the savages of America.' Richard James, from the safe vantage point of Orkney commented that the men of Lewis were a

[...] strange vncivill people, robbinge and spoilinge such merchant ships and fisshermen as are forct into their partes by storme and crosse windes, these they sett in and spoil killinge the men and taking their goods with gallies which they have [...] ²⁴

Although Richard James was composing his account several years after the Macleods of Lewis had been expropriated his observation would have resonated with Scots fishermen in the late sixteenth century.

The minister accompanying the Fife Adventurers made the connection between the expropriation of the Macleods and the plantation of Lewis with the former harassment of fishermen between the 1570s and the 1590s. The adventurers went to Lewis in 1598 according to him because they had been

greatlie offendit wt the many injures and oppressiones that wer done to ther freindis and to fischermen on the cost syd that yeirlie repairit unto the fisching of the Lewes, be the men of the Lewes in spoiling tham & taking ther barkes & straking and billing some of them... ²⁵

The burghs of the East Neuk of Fife, Crail, Pittenweem and Anstruther, were the most productive centres for fishing in Scotland in the 1580s and 1590s and James VI had to respond to their concerns. While other burghs for whom fisheries were important, such as Leith, Edinburgh, Dundee and Ayr, had a more diversified economy, the coast side burghs of east Fife relied on their income from fishing to a much greater extent. This is reflected in the tax returns from these burghs for the period. Between 1570 and 1580, in particular, there seems to have been something of a boom in fisheries for the east coast burghs of Fife, Anstruther, Pittenweem and Crail. Martin Rorke in his study of the Scottish herring fishery has made the case that their 'expansion in herring exports was due to fish originating in the West Highlands,' waters around Loch Broom and

²⁴ Oppenheim, *Monson*, v, 257–260. E. MacGillivray (ed.), 'Richard James, 1592–1638; Description of Shetland, Orkney and the Highlands of Scotland,' in, *Orkney Miscellany, Being Orkney Record & Antiquarian Papers*, vol. 1 (1953), 48–56, at 51–2.

²⁵ NLS, Wod Qu. XX., fol. 352r (appendix C2).

Lewis, in the Macleod lordship.²⁶ This group of burghs submitted a joint return to the Exchequer showing that some 80–92% of their taxes were paid from the proceeds of fishing in the 1570s. In the returns for the years immediately preceding the plantation, 1591–99, however, taxes (paid by this group) generated by fishing had fallen dramatically to an average proportion of 46% of their total contribution in a series of diminishing tax receipts (appendix C13). This precipitous decline in the fishery returns could have been due to the migration of herring but may, given the subsequent plantation, have been due to levies imposed by Hebridean chiefs, perhaps both in skimming off the profits from the fishery or in deterring the fishers from visiting Hebridean fishing grounds.²⁷ Clearly, great influence was exercised over the fishery by the Macleods of Lewis. The Macleods though, caught up in factional infighting and branded as ‘uncivil,’ were politically marginalised at a national level. This internal disunity and lack of external political support meant that the lordship of Lewis was vulnerable to outside intervention and attractive to the acquisitive and politically well-connected. Parallels can be seen in Ireland, where the rich onshore and offshore fisheries of Innishowen in Ulster formerly enjoyed by Ó Domhnaill and Ó Dochartaigh were seized by the incoming settlers during the plantation of Ulster in 1609.²⁸

The reasons for the interest of the fishermen and merchants of the Fife burghs in the Hebridean fishery seems obvious as does the role of the crown due to tax revenues, but the role of the nobility is, perhaps, less readily apparent. King James VI, however, was not alone in benefitting from the taxation of this fishery. Many of the nobles from the east coast of Fife depended to a greater or lesser extent on the income generated from the taxation they imposed on this work and would have suffered losses due to the impositions levied on the fishermen by the Macleods and neighbouring clans. Some of the nobles in the East Neuk of Fife, including some of those who were to plant

26 M. Rorke, ‘The Scottish herring trade, 1470–1600,’ *Scottish Historical Review*, 84 (2005), 149–165, at 160.

27 In 1576, for example, the East Fife group of burghs, Anstruther, Crail and Pittenweem, declared tax (jointly) on 346 and a half lasts of herring, 47,900 cod (‘peild’ fish) and 13 and a half lasts ‘packit’ fish (cod). Other Scottish burghs were involved in fishing but none to such a great extent as those of East Fife: only Ayr came close. The other burghs, Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Leith had less reliance on fish and greater diversification in their trade, 1570–1599. See appendix C13. See also M. Rorke, ‘The Scottish Herring Trade, 1470–1600,’ *Scottish Historical Review*, 84 (2005), 149–165, at 159–165.

28 G. Hill, *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster at the commencement of the seventeenth century, 1608–1620* (Belfast, 1877), 106. D. McGettigan, *The Donegal Plantation and the Tír Chonaill Irish, 1610–1710* (Dublin, 2010), 10.

Lewis, 1598–1609, had direct or indirect links, to the fishing industry. John Anstruther of that ilk had a charter dating to 1564, which entitled him to extract fees from the catch of each boat working out of Anstruther: rights still retained by his family as late as 1612.²⁹ James Lumsden of Airdrie (whose brother would later be a planter in Stornoway) had a contract with a burgess of Crail in 1595 to supply him with Hebridean herring.³⁰ James Spens of Wormiston held the constabulary of Crail which, similarly, entitled him to a substantial share of the fish of any boats landing their catch in the burgh.³¹ Ludovick, Duke of Lennox, was granted the superiority of the priory of St Andrews in 1593, ratified again in 1597, which included the right to the fishings of the priory, although it is not clear what exactly those ‘fishings’ were.³² The Monastery of Balmerino whose Lord, James Elphinstone, was a planter in Lewis around 1607 also enjoyed rights to the proceeds of the herring fishings although the precise nature of these rights are hard to determine.³³ The lordship of the priory of Pittenweem included rights relating to fishing in the sea with boats and nets and the

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- 29 Sir John Anstruther granted the Cranloch and ‘the Greens’ to the town of Anstruther by charter, 10 May 1564. The reddendo clause stated that each boat fishing out of the town was to pay to Sir John Anstruther and his heirs 200 herring, ling and bannok-fluke (turbot). NRS, GD 147/35/2. These rights continued to be enjoyed by this family well into the seventeenth century. His grandson, Sir William Anstruther, set these rights of ‘the third hering in tyme of draiff of ilk boitt w[i]t[h]in the said bruch togidder w[i]t[h] the fisches addetit in tyme of Lentrane [Lent]’ from the boats in the burgh of Anstruther out in tack, 3 January 1612, to a James Anstruther and Andrew Oliphant for the space of 5 years for the sum of £100. NRS, RD 1/254, fol. 156v.
- 30 John Melville, fisher burgess in Crail, presold four lasts of ‘Illis’ (i.e. Hebridean) herring to James Lumsden of Airdrie for £400 on 10 October 1595. If Melville failed to return from the fishery with the fish by the following Easter he was to return the money (deed registered, 9 Jun 1596). NRS, RD 1/53, fol. 198v.
- 31 James Spens of Wormiston was restored, in 1591, to the office from which his father had been forfeited in 1571, of the ‘constabularie’ of Crail. These privileges of the constabulary included the right ‘to tak from ane bo[a]t in the day tuintie quhyt fisches at the said constabulis his election for ane penny and sua of ewerie bo[a]t round about; devyding the said equallie as lykeas athers yeirlye at tua termes yeirlye at tua tymes of the taking of hering, libertie to take sex thowsand herring for payment, making of moiey therfra according to the kingis maiesties pryce. And siclyke of elevin bo[a]t that slay the keling and comes therw[i]t[h] to the port and heawin of the said burch...’ NRS, RD 1/151, fol. 344–348.
- 32 ‘Ane L[ette]re of tak’ made to Lennox as Commendator of the ‘pryorie and abbacy of Sanctandrous’ 20 November 1588. NRS, PS 1/58, fol. 135v. RPS, 1593/4/74, RPS, 1597/11/96.
- 33 R. Oram, ‘A Fit and ample endowment ? The Balmerino estate, 1228–1603,’ in *Citeaux: Commentarii Cisterceinses*, 59 (2008), 61–79, at 73. S. Taylor & G. Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife. Volume three, St Andrews and the East Neuk* (Shaun Tyas, Donington, 2009), 52.

commendator of this priory was Colonel Sir William Stewart, another of the planters in Lewis.³⁴ The Commendator of Pittenweem had interests in the burgh's fishery as early as 1584. A clause in a contract of the sale of a tenement of the burgh of Pittenweem to Stewart in 1593, which included the income from fishing rights, made it clear that the Commendator of Pittenweem enjoyed the right to tax the income of the fishermen of his burgh for everything they caught irrespective of where they were fishing.³⁵ Many of the merchants and nobles who led the expedition to Lewis in 1598 had a clear and demonstrable personal interest in the successful pursuit of a fishery in the waters around Lewis.

In addition to this interest in fishing on the part of many of the planters, the Priory of Pittenweem had salt pans associated with it in which both William Stewart, the Commendator of Pittenweem, and his fellow planter Sir James Sandilands of Slammano were involved. The association with the fishery, although not made explicit in connection with the references to salt (and coal) in these documents, seems clear.³⁶ Allan Macinnes has made the point that the secularisation of the Kirk lands such as Pittenweem, St Andrews, Balmerino and others following the Reformation of 1560 in Scotland may have provided a

34 This reference relates to the lordship of Pittenweem in 1634. Taylor & Márkus, *The Place Names of Fife. Volume three*, 394–5.

35 Two burgesses of Pittenweem, Nicholas Strang and Mertyne Dischingtoun, signed a bond in February 1584 stating that their burgh would adhere to the standard gauges and sizes for measures of salmon, herring and white fish in common with the burghs of Leith and Crail. The burgesses signed this with the consent of 'our noble lord and superior, William, Commendator of Pittenweem.' Another contract at Edinburgh and Pittenweem 16 February 1593 (reg. 13 May 1595) between William Stewart Commendator of Pittenweem as tutor and guider to Frederick Stewart his son on the one part and Mr Thomas Benston burges of Pittenweeme and Cristiane Wod his spouse. Benston and his spouse sold a tenement of land in the burgh of Pittenweem to Frederick Stewart in heritable feuferme without redemption for 3500 merks. The rights attached to this land included 'all and hail the teinds of quhatsumever fisches pertaining to the vicarage of Pittenweme in quhatsumever place they be tane alsweill furth of the cuntrie as within the wateris thair of be the tenentis, inhabitantis or indwellaris within the baronie of Pitenweme... ..or als the said tenentis and inhabitantis sellis the saidis fischis in ony uther place within or without this realme in quhatsumever place and speciallie of the fisches underwritten, viz., herring, lingis, saythis, skeittis, alsweill fresch or dry and salt and of all uther feschis asweill greit & small, alsweil not neimit as neimit of quhatsumever kynd thei be of pertaining to the said vicarage....' NRS, GD 62/12. NRS, RD 1/53, fol. 61r.

36 Sir James Sandilands of Slammano was, for example, granted a saltpan 'houss, girnell and yaird' in the Barony of Pittenweem under the Privy Seal on the 14th June 1599. NRS, RD 1/53, fol. 61r, 176. RD, 1/75, fol. 227v–228v. NRS, PS 1/71, fol. 3. *RPCS*, iv, 319. *RPCS*, vi, 837.

stimulus to estate management and entrepreneurship among the nobility.³⁷ This is further suggested by the clause in the agreement of 1600 among the planters in Lewis that while they themselves would be free from the exactions of teinds that they would be able to extract teinds from any not of their society.³⁸ It is a striking coincidence that the earliest detailed record of boats from Fife burghs dominated by lords of secularised church lands, such as Pittenweem and Balmerino, appear in the waters of the North Isles dates to the 1560s and 1570s shortly after the Reformation. If this was the case it may be that the secularisation of Kirk lands may have also provided a stimulus to the increased Scottish fishing effort which became apparent in the latter half of the sixteenth century.³⁹

Even if the commercial and financial arguments for plantation had not been enough due to the lost revenue and hindrance to trade in the islands, there was the personal dimension. Ludovick, Duke of Lennox, and Earle Darnley, was King James's cousin and contemporary, son of the former royal favourite Esme Stewart and enjoyed James's favour throughout his reign. A recent study has stressed the importance of networks of personal connections in early modern Scotland both at home and among Scottish communities abroad in influencing policy and decision making.⁴⁰ Many of the adventurers, such as Anstruther, Sandilands, Murray, Lennox, Hume, Patrick Commendator of Lindores and others all personally knew the king and would no doubt have impressed the seriousness of the business on him, if not vice versa.⁴¹

37 I am grateful to Professor Allan Macinnes for discussing this with me. See, A.I. Macinnes, *Making the plantations British, 1603–1638*, 95–126, in S.G. Ellis & R. Eßer (eds.), *Frontiers and the writing of history, 1500–1850* (Verhahn Verlag, Hannover-Lutzen, 2006), 118–120 & n, 57.

38 Appendix C3.

39 NRS, E71/6/5, NRS, E71/6/8–9. *ER*, xx, 147. For the upsurge in Scottish fishing at this time see, M. Rorke, 'The Scottish herring trade.'

40 Murdoch, *Network North*, 1–83.

41 For Lennox, see R. Macpherson, 'Stuart, Ludovick, second duke of Lennox and duke of Richmond (1574–1624),' *ODNB*, entry no. 26724. Sir James Anstruther, *fiar* of that ilk, was master of the king's household in 1600. NRS, GD 147/45/2. Sir William Stewart the Commendator of Pittenweem had been personally known to James since the 1580s. D. Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding. The marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark* (Edinburgh, 1997), 4–6, 14, 16, 107. H. Dunthorne, 'Stewart, Sir William (d. 1602x4), soldier & diplomat,' in the *ODNB*, entry no. 26518. Captain William Murray of Pitcairly and his brother, sons of the laird of Tullibardine, had known the king since childhood and had been brought up with him. George Hume of Wedderburn was the comptroller of Royal accounts, December 1597 to April 1599. Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno, was also a member of King James's bedchamber, 1590. M.D. Young, *The Parliaments of Scotland. Burgh and Shire Commissioners* (Edinburgh, 1993), 357–358, 535, 608–609. *SP*, i,

Highlanders and Gaelic society might be regarded as clannish, but these Lowland communities had similar bonds. Many of the planters involved in Lewis were demonstrably linked by ties of blood and marriage and, probably, many less tangible ties of affinity.⁴² The Plantation of Lewis, therefore, launched in 1598 by these adventurers, and what could be termed their community of interest, was not a spur of the moment endeavour but something which James and, perhaps, the adventurers themselves, had contemplated for up to a decade.

James had planned that an expedition to Lewis would be led by Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell in 1588–9 which would have been intended, at the very least, to crush local defiance. In James's mind, no doubt, this would have the advantage of getting rid of one extremely troublesome subject, Bothwell, and redirecting his disruptive energies against another, Macleod of Lewis. It was mooted that Bothwell would resign Liddesdale and be granted Lewis in its place. A coinage was struck especially for Bothwell in July 1588 to pay for 'poulder, bullett, victuallis' and other provisions requisite for such a task. Bothwell and James though, if contemporary documents including a letter from Bothwell to the king are to be taken at face value, still seem to have been preparing for this as late as July 1590.⁴³

King James, impecunious and canny, also sought financial help from the English in the shape of 'a schip or twa with munition or powder.' This would, James argued through his ambassador, not only help him with the 'expugnation' of 'certane houssis' in the western Highlands and Islands who treated edicts and tax demands from Edinburgh with indifference but would also be in England's own interest.⁴⁴ Hebrideans, including men from Lewis, habitually resorted to the wars in the north of Ireland in great numbers in the sixteenth century much to the discomfiture of Queen Elizabeth of England and English

465–6. For Patrick Lindsay, Commendator of Lindores, see A. Laing, *Lindores Abbey and its burgh of Newburgh. Their history and Annals* (Edinburgh, 1876), 133–134. SP, i, 382–383. Lindores was described in entries in the Register of the Great Seal 1590–1592, as a familiar 'servitor' of the king. RMS, v, 1775, 2213, 2227. He settled a dispute with his neighbour, John Wemyss of that ilk, in July 1598 no doubt mindful of his imminent departure to Lewis. W. Fraser (ed.), *Memorials of the family of Wemyss of Wemyss* (Edinburgh, 1888), ii, 220.

42 Most of these families were connected by kinship ties and marriages. Family trees of the principal adventurers have been compiled which it is hoped will be published elsewhere in the future.

43 CSP, Scot x, 331–2; 348–350.

44 Instructions, James VI to his ambassador in England, Robert Melville of Murdocairny, 4 June 1593. HMC, *Report on the MSS of Lord De L'Isle & Dudley, preserved at Preserved at Penshurst Place volume 2* (HMSO, London, 1934), 138.

colonists in Ireland.⁴⁵ James did little to stop the traffic in west Highland warriors to the Irish wars in the 1580s and early 1590s and may have enjoyed the difficulties their presence in Ulster caused the English while the status of Highlanders as 'uncivil' gave James a cloak of plausible deniability for any involvement. If the English could not control their barbarous Gaeltacht neither could he, even though James's rebellious subjects in the Scottish Gaidhealtachd were not openly contesting crown control unlike their Irish counterparts who were defying the English state.⁴⁶ James disingenuously used this posture to make an appeal for English aid, which would, as James put it, 'make the north partes of Ireland mekle mair obedient and profitable to our said dearest sister...'⁴⁷ This anticipated the spin which was later put on the plantation of Lewis in 1598, portrayed to the English resident at court in Edinburgh as the new Scottish front on the common war against Gaelic barbarism.⁴⁸

Bothwell's expedition of 1588–91 never took place despite being ready to go nor did the Scots receive any English materiel or naval aid. In the opinion of Presbyterian historian Mr David Calderwood (1575–1645), Bothwell's preparations for an assault on Lewis were a feint designed to disguise his real intention to launch a rebellion against the king, although Calderwood's view was probably influenced by Bothwell's subsequent rebellious behaviour from 1591 onwards as much as anything else.⁴⁹ Despite the failure of these first plans for a Lowland intervention in Lewis, the idea was not forgotten by James although it fell off the top of the agenda for several years. Proposals 'for sending ane number to inhabite and duell in the mowth of Lochquhaber and sum uther

45 For reports of the Macleods of Lewis and other islanders in Ireland in July–August 1595 see *CSP, Scot*, xi, 253–255, 629, 637–638, 677, 684–685, 687–688. O' Donovan (ed.), *Annala Ríoghachta Éirean*, vi, 1974–1975. For the broader context of Hebridean involvement in Ireland see G.A. Hayes-McCoy, *Scots Mercenary Forces In Ireland, 1565–1603* (Dublin, 1937). W.C. Mackenzie, *The Highlands and Isles of Scotland. A Historical Survey* (Edinburgh, 1937), 169–213.

46 England used pirates against Spanish forces and Allan Macinnes has drawn a parallel between this and James VI's approach to Ireland. H.G. Koenigsberger & G.L. Mosse, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century* (1968: 1975, Longman, London), 266–7. G. Jenner, 'A Spanish Account of Drake's Voyages,' in the *English Historical Review*, 61 (1901), 46–66, at 62–3. Macinnes, *Crown, Clans and Fine*, 31–34.

47 *CSP, Scot*, ix, 602–603. *CSP, Scot*, x, 331–332; 348–350.

48 George Nicolson, English resident at court in Edinburgh thought the expedition to Lewis was 'no evil precedent for the conquest of Ireland.' *CSP, Scot*, xiii, 271, 301. MacCoinnich, 'His Spirit was given only to warre' 145 and note 59.

49 Calderwood, *Historie*, iv, 695–696. *RPCS*, iv, 748–750. R. Macpherson, 'Stewart, Francis, first earl of Bothwell (1562–1612)' *ODNB*, entry no. 12999.

part of the Iles' were considered by the convention of Royal Burghs when they met at Aberdeen in July 1596.⁵⁰ This was to involve the settling of 'civilised' people in new towns and fortifications in the 'wilderness' in much the same way 'as the Romans did,' or, in a sixteenth century context, as the English did in Ireland or were shortly to do in Virginia.⁵¹ This movement towards settling or planting people in the isles or Highlands gained momentum with an Act of Parliament, 16 December 1597 and two related motions. The first of those called for the production by clan chief of valid title deeds by the fifteenth of May the following year (1598), failing which they were to be forfeit. This was clearly done with the knowledge that the incumbent clans in Lewis, Islay, Kintyre and Lochaber would struggle to produce these deeds. The second motion, the same day, called for the establishment of three burghs to tackle the lack of 'civilitie' in the Highlands. These were to be at Lochaber (Fort William), Kintyre (Campbeltown) and in Lewis (at Stornoway).⁵² Of these only the settlement at Stornoway was initially attempted. The planters, together with a force of around between five and six hundred men, left Leith dated by Robert Birrel, a contemporary diarist, to 28 October 1598.⁵³

James Spens of Wormiston and his son in law Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell were still in Fife by 31 October, but Birrel's dating seems broadly accurate and that the Adventurers arrived in Stornoway in early November 1598 and were well established at their 'campe' of Stornoway by 7 December 1598, when several of them signed a document there.⁵⁴ They had, according to the chaplain's account, taken the 'ruinous' old castle without too much trouble and, from their base camp at Stornoway, had many 'outbreaks' on the natives, and the planters 'persewit thame' forcing the 'men of Lewis' to come and 'yeild thame-selfis unto them to be there tenantis and servandis'.⁵⁵ It is clear that pressure

50 *RCRBS*, i, 482.

51 This, at least, was how an observer, the English resident at court in Edinburgh, interpreted it. *CSP, Scot*, xii, 291. This was expressed some thirteen years later by an English writer describing the way in which plantation would deal with the natives thus: 'The only means to make a savage people become civil is to draw them into cities and towns and make them live together in societies and towns where they may be overlooked by some officer or magistrate that would have the government of them and wherby conversing amongst men of civil education they might learn civility of manner and the use of trade and occupations...' R. Gillespie (ed.), 'Three Tracts on Ireland, c.1613' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 38 (2004), 1–47, at 16.

52 *RPS*, 1597/11 /40 & 41. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 68.

53 Calderwood, *Historie*, v, 736. Birrel's 'Diary', 47.

54 NRS, RD 1/153, fol. 119r. Commission, by his fellow portioners to James Learmonth of Balcomie, dated at Stornoway, 7 December 1598. NRS, RH 15/45/30.

55 NLS, Wod. Qu. Vol. xx., fol. 352v (Appendix C2).

was being applied on the natives of Lewis from sea as well as by land. The planters hired a vessel, *the Blissing*, from two of their fellow planters, John Forret of Fingask and James Spens of Wormiston in a contract dated at Stornoway, 22 February 1599. This was to help patrol the area round about the islands and resupply the castle in Stornoway. The ship's master was expressly forbidden from using the vessel for freighting building materials, but was to patrol as directed by the gentlemen planters of Lewis. The nature of the duty for which the ship was required, armed patrols around the islands, was implicit in the clause which stated that the captain was to be reimbursed by the planters for whatsoever 'powder or bullit the said schip saill happin to spend' in pursuit of her duties.⁵⁶ The presence of a soldier, Captain Patrick Rutherford, as one of witnesses to the contract, underlines the military nature of the charter.⁵⁷ Clearly, faced with an overwhelming force, the natives chose the pragmatic approach and submitted to their new lords. Some, perhaps, such as the dispossessed Macleod leadership, may have been waiting their turn for an opportunity to strike back at the newcomers, but even the most consistent rebel, and leader of each successful attempt to oust the settlers Niall Odhar Macleod, briefly made an accommodation with the incomers, 1600–1601, and again in 1605–1606, although none of these lasted long.⁵⁸ As was to be the case in Ulster very shortly afterwards, the dispossessed in Lewis bided their time and waited for an opportunity to eject the incomers. Others, perhaps, in Lewis, especially the tenants and labourers or those disaffected with the Macleod regime, may even have welcomed the new order as suggested by the chaplain in his account.⁵⁹ They would, in any case, have had little other choice.

'Natives' and their Relations with the Planters

There is little doubt though that there probably were many 'natives' in Lewis who would have had scores to settle with the Macleod elites after the unrest of the previous decade and may have embraced the new order. However, when

⁵⁶ NRS, RD 1/92/2, fol. 230.

⁵⁷ This Captain Patrick Rutherford may very well be the same man who later appeared in Swedish service. A man of the same name, a native of Dunfermline (1577–1618), is on record in Swedish service from 1608, reaching the rank of Colonel. *SSNE*, 6633.

⁵⁸ Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 201–202.

⁵⁹ NLS, Wod Qu. XX, fol. 352v (Appendix C2). J.S. Curl, *The Londonderry plantation, 1609–1914. The History, architecture and planning of the estates of the city of London and its livery companies in Ulster* (Chichester, 1986), 25–26.

Niall Macleod ejected the settlers in 1601 and in 1607, he would have settled his account with any collaborators, most of whom would probably have been lucky to escape with their lives.⁶⁰ Certainly the planters were well aware of the manifold dissensions within the ranks of Siol Torcaill and attempted to manipulate these divisions for their own ends. One of the mainland branches of Siol Torcaill, the Macleods or 'Neilsons' of Assynt were particularly amenable to accommodation with the settlers. The reasons for this were not any great love for the settlers but lay instead in the pressure being brought to bear on them by the neighbouring Mackenzies of Kintail. The Mackenzies, due to their support of their kinsman Torcall Conanach Macleod's claim to the Siol Torcaill inheritance had, as far back as 1553, successfully installed Torcall Conanach in Coigeach, Wester Ross, another of the mainland parts of the Siol Torcaill estates. Torcall Conanach used his base as a springboard from which to launch a sequence of damaging raids against another part of his father's lands: those occupied by the Macleods of Assynt, Wester Sutherland, with a view to gaining possession of these lands. Torcall Conanach and his Mackenzie backers maintained this pressure on the incumbent Macleods of Assynt for the rest of the sixteenth century.⁶¹ By 1590 Cailean Mackenzie of Kintail secured a Crown charter to the lands of Assynt, losing few opportunities to make life uncomfortable for his new 'vassals'.⁶²

Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail inherited his lands from his father in 1594 and by April 1600 it was recorded that Kintail had 'conceived a misliking' for Dòmhnall 'Neilson' Macleod of Assynt.⁶³ Mackenzie was a dangerous opponent to have. On the principle of your enemy's enemy is my friend, Macleod of Assynt, seeking to secure a buffer against Mackenzie pressure, seems to have been generally in favour of the planters and even supported them against other elements of Siol Torcaill. While this might not have been the case for the duration of the plantation, Assynt took the part of James Learmonth of Balcomie and negotiated on Learmonth's behalf to secure his release from his captor, Murchadh Macleod of Siabost, in January–February 1600.⁶⁴ A letter from Colonel William Stewart to John Learmonth of Balcomie, later in that year, indicates that Stewart may have been using money as an inducement to Dòmhnall 'Bane' Macleod of Assynt to further a quarrel with Niall Macleod of

60 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 235.

61 Decreet Arbitral, 14 April 1554. NRS, CS 7/10, fol. 201. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 34–36. CSP, Scot, xi, 253–5.

62 RMS, v, no 2024, p. 686. APS, iv, 38. RPS, 1593/4/73.

63 RPCS, xiv, Appendix to introduction, cxxviii – cxxix. Dòmhnall Macleod of Assynt was known as 'Neilson' in Scots and 'Dòmhnall Bàn mac Nèill mhic Aonghais' in Gaelic.

64 NLS, Wod. Qu. Vol. xx., fol. 352–353 (appendix C2). RPCS, xiv, (appendix to introduction), cxxvi–cxxvii.

Lewis by giving him money with ‘derection to b[u]y bolli[t]s and powder w[i]t[h] ane part th[er]of.’⁶⁵ Macleod of Assynt, though, was exceptional in his full support for the planters: he had less to lose from the Fife Adventurers than he did from the Mackenzies pressurising him from the south and east. Indeed, when Mackenzie successfully pursued Macleod of Assynt through the courts, this was recognised by the planters who arranged that the escheat of Macleod of Assynt’s goods and gear were to be granted, in June 1599, by the Crown to John Learmonth of Balcomie, who had succeeded his late brother James as a portioner of Lewis.⁶⁶

‘Articlis to be Contracted amongst the Societie of the Lewis’

One of the first things that the settlers did in late 1598 or early 1599 may have been to thrash out a constitution to govern the new settlement. An undated agreement, ‘articlis for the societie of Lewis,’ which survives only in a fragmentary condition, gives some insight into the rules by which the settlers established in the new town. The document seems to be a list of headings with the agenda for such a meeting.⁶⁷ There may have been a correlation between this agenda and the contract drawn up by the portioners of Lewis in June 1600 at Burntisland which fully discusses these topics (appendix C3).⁶⁸ This document seems to have been a practical set of rules by which the new settlers bound themselves to be governed. These concerned the building of a town, the supply of a minister and a kirk for the settlement. One of these headings related to the essential mechanism for dispute resolution and the maintenance of amity within the society, the latter given some emphasis. The members of the society agreed, in the event of a ‘contraversie,’ to put the matter to the vote and bind themselves to abide by a collective majority decision. If anyone was unhappy with the outcome they were bound to ‘keep silence’ after the matter was

65 Letter, Colonel William Stewart, Commendator of Pittenweem to John Learmonth of Balcomie, dated at Pittenweem, 11 October 1600. NRS, RH 15/45/45/1.

66 A gift of escheat was made to Master John Learmonth of Balcomie goods etc of ‘Neil Neilson’ [Niall mac Nèill or Niall MacLeod] of Assynt, forfeit 1598, after he was put to his majesties horn denounced rebel at the instance of an action raised by Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail. At Falkland the 13 June 1599. NRS, PS 1/70, fol. 264.

67 These ‘articlis’ contain 12 headings, one of which was illegible. *RPCS*, xiv, cxxix–cxxx.

68 ‘Ane contract of the portioners of the Lewis’ (19th & 28th June 1600) NRS, GD 147/45/2. See appendix C3. This paragraph and the following one refer on this document unless otherwise stated.

concluded, under the penalty of a 500 merk fine.⁶⁹ Other measures in the contract (appendix C3) included an alliance for common defence and the mutual support by all for any member attacked or who had their gear spoiled in any part of the Lewis, that all would contribute equally to repair the damage of their fellow portioners, and that all ‘wt th[ai]r hail forcis and moyen’, they would ‘persew the maker of the said herschip.’ To ensure that there would be a sufficient armed force to undertake such a pursuit, each of the principal planters bound themselves to retain a minimum of ten able bodied soldiers. The portioners were to have tax free status within the plantation for ground leave and teinds, but these duties were to be levied from all strangers or any who were not members of their society. A council would meet regularly every Wednesday and a quorum would be established before any binding agreements. Other measures concerned the equitable apportionment of burgh roods and the building of the town. No member was to sell or wadset their portion without the common consent of his fellow portioners.⁷⁰

Yet while the settlers drew on the practices with which they were familiar in terms of civic organisation in the Scottish burgh and tried to replicate these in their plantation, the environment in Lewis, untamed and with a hostile hinterland, was much more challenging than the relatively settled East Neuk of Fife. Indeed there are some striking parallels between the way this society of Scots in Lewis organised themselves and the way their fellow European, French and English contemporaries organised themselves in ‘wilderness’ settlements in Acadia, Maine and in Ulster not least in the way these outposts were led by ‘diverse gentlemen’ who ran the colony on a ‘private,

69 The importance of orderly dispute resolution can be seen from the disharmony that came with a breakdown of amity in the English colonies in the Somers Islands and Virginia companies, 1618–1625. W.R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock companies* (Cambridge 1910), ii, 266–269.

70 For a discussion of similar practices in Scottish burghs: ‘keiping guid nyctbureheid’ and arrangements over the distribution of land in the late sixteenth century see, G.S. Pryde (ed.), *The court book of the barony of Kirkintilloch, 1658–1694* (Edinburgh, SHS, 1963), lxvii–lxxi. See also E.L. Ewan, ‘The community of the burgh in the fourteenth century’ (228–244), and other contributions in M. Lynch (ed.), *The Scottish Medieval Town* (John Donald, Edinburgh, 1988); W.M. Mackenzie, *The Scottish Burghs* (Edinburgh, 1949); and S.M. Murray, *Early Burgh Organisation in Scotland* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1932). The near contemporary English Virginia company also needed a quorum of a minimum five members of the council and the presence of fifteen of the generality in 1606. W.R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock companies*, iii, 467.

semi-joint-stock basis.⁷¹ This, the company or society of Lewis, with its language emphasising that the portioners bind and oblige themselves to their agreement 'equallie and mutuallie' and 'commonlie' with penalties for failure, seems to be one of the earliest example of Scots organising themselves on a joint-stock company basis anticipating the better known developments of the later seventeenth century.⁷²

Other headings in the 'articlis' stated that they would need to divide up and distribute the land, people and goods, and also establish rules concerning the apportionment of revenues from fishing excise, salmon, teinds and whales. Clearly, the fruits of the land were to be shared among the newcomers and kept from the natives who were unlikely to welcome such a redistribution (discussed below). A common good fund was to be set up to which all would contribute and a thesaurer would make a compt of the income from the duties of the land. As if to emphasis the divide between native and newcomer, one of the headings on the agenda of the Society of Lewis, re-affirmed in the contract (appendix C3), stated that there was to be 'na mareage or uther particular freindschip to be be any of the societie, without consent of the haill, with any Hyland man.' In the view of William C. Mackenzie (1903), 'the king was for extermination, the colonists preferred segregation, no-one suggested amalgamation' and that the relationship between incoming planters and natives would be as that between 'masters and serfs' (as it would be, indeed, between 'gentlemen' and

71 These concerns were shared by contemporary French settlers in Acadia in 1607. According to John G. Reid, There was a concern with defence and the central fort which formed the focus of the colony and the colonists. 'Emphasis was laid upon the gathering of all buildings, whether dwelling houses, storehouses, workshops or chapel, into a small space. The building of such a settlement could only take place through planning and disciplined work... ..it was an organisation rather than a body politic... in which the gentlemanly promoters stood in relation to the labour force... ..as employers to employees.' J.G. Reid, *Acadia, Maine and New Scotland. Marginal colonies in the seventeenth century* (Toronto, 1976), 17. See also, P. Withington, *Society in early modern England. The vernacular origins of some powerful ideas* (Cambridge, 2010), 207–209.

72 Appendix C3, C4. The activities of the Scots planters in Lewis, 1598–1609, would seem to run contrary to the opinion of S.G.E. Lythe, who thought that Scots favoured ad hoc arrangements rather than a joint-stock company type of arrangement like their Dutch and English neighbours at this time. S.G.E. Lythe, *The Economy of Scotland in its European Setting, 1550–1625* (Edinburgh, 1960), 127. J. Turnbull, *The Scottish glass industry, 1610–1750. 'To serve a whole nation with glass'* (Edinburgh, 2001), 38–39. For Robertson Christie, Scottish society prior to the deposition of the native Stuart monarchy (1688–1689) was too unsettled and primitive to allow for the creation of the first Scottish Joint Stock companies which he regarded as the Darien scheme and the Bank of Scotland of 1695. J. Robertson Christie, 'Joint stock enterprise in Scotland before the Companies Acts' *Juridical Review*, 21 (1909–1910), 128–147, at 134.

their tenants or workers in many parts of Scotland at this time, particularly in coal mines and salt panning works).⁷³

Yet while Mackenzie's interpretation might be broadly correct, if a little too starkly drawn, such a heading on this agenda may also have been drafted as much from the fear of a breakdown of amity amongst the colonists themselves as from fear of external threat. Not least the fear that one or more of the Society's own members might 'go native' or utilise kin-links with some islanders to bolster their own position to the disadvantage of the remaining partners. In any society it may be expected that signs of stress will emerge especially when it is threatened by shortages of supply and external opposition. There was to be an abundance of stresses in the Lewis plantation. Such internal tensions are indeed alluded to in a letter from William Learmonth from Stornoway to his brother in Fife, 10 February 1601, alluding to the 'craftie and deceitful c[o]ursis o[u]r speciall gentill men caries.' Learmonth made clear his displeasure with both James Spens of Wormiston, who tried to place his men in the most productive pieces of land and Sir James Anstruther, who was 'begging' provisions 'dayly' off the natives. Not only was this irksome to Learmonth, but neither of these gentlemen were in any hurry to repay the debts they owed to him.⁷⁴ Intriguingly the 'begging provisions' that Anstruther was accused of by Learmonth suggests sorning if not the native practice of thigging, the Highland practice of 'lending' to the needy, the very type of practices 'civilised' settlers might be expected to oppose.⁷⁵ The limited nature of evidence we have, however, for the relationships between the settlers together with the ending of the enterprise means that the focus will remain on the hostile relationships between native and newcomer. The language the planters used in the agenda

73 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 199. Serfdom was enacted in Scotland in 1606 for salters and colliers and lasted until 1799. J. Goodare, *The Government of Scotland*, 265. W. Ferguson, *Scotland. 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh, 1968: 1990), 187–190.

74 NRS, RH 15/45/45/2.

75 For sorning or quartering of fighting men or 'idle bellies,' often on unwilling communities, see, R.A. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords. Social and economic change in the western Highlands and Islands, c.1493–1820* (Edinburgh, 1998), 104–106. I.F. Grant, *The Macleods, the history of a clan* (London, 1959), 212, 235, 260. For thigging or 'faoighe' in Gaelic, a different practice, whereby people in the Gaidhealtachd went round their community soliciting 'gifts' especially of seed corn and livestock and functioned as a sort of community self help see Dwelly's *Illustrated Gaelic to English Dictionary* under 'faoighe.' R. Black (ed.), *An Lasair. Anthology of 18th century Scottish Gaelic verse* (Edinburgh, 2001), xxix–xxxii. A. Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica. Hymns and Incantations, with illustrative notes on words, rites, and customs, dying and obsolete orally collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Volume 11* (Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh, 1974), 287.

for the Society of Lewis did not say that there *could not* be a friendship or marriage between settlers and natives, only that there should not be such a relationship without the consent of all. Primacy was given to the maintenance of good relations between the planters themselves and the effective functioning of the community. While the nature of the relations between native and newcomer might top the list of topics discussed by modern historians, the first heading listed on the planters' agenda concerned the establishment of a minister, schoolmaster, school and a church.

Ministers, Religion and the Sabbath

The fullest surviving account of the plantation was written by the minister accompanying the planters and the Kirk undoubtedly had a firm grip on the East Neuk of Fife. The Kirk Session minutes from the Fife area in the late sixteenth century abound with examples of immoral behaviour being suitably dealt with by the presbytery, including breaches of Sabbath observance.⁷⁶ Sunday might be a day of physical rest but it formed the focus of rigorous religious observance:

in those days the forenoon sabbath services began at 9 O clock and continued until 11 O clock. And the afternoon services began at one o clock and continued till 3 O clock and the rest of the afternoon was spent in catechising.⁷⁷

This extended to the fishing fleet at sea. There are strict injunctions in the surviving Admiralty Court records from 1627 stressing the need for fishermen from the East Neuk of Fife at 'the herring drave' to abstain from all activity such

⁷⁶ D.H. Fleming (ed.), *Register of the Ministers, Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St Andrews, 1559–1600* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1889–90). The index to this work contains over 100 references to pages which concern various aspects of the Sabbath: observance, Sabbath breaking and punishment for the latter. For studies on these aspects of society and religion in early Reformation Scotland see L. Leneman, 'Prophaning the Lord's Day: Sabbath Breach in Early Modern Scotland,' *History*, 74 (1989), 217–231. See also M.F. Graham, 'Social Discipline in Scotland, 1560–1610,' and also G. Parker, 'The Kirk by law established and the origins of the taming of Scotland: Saint Andrews 1559–1600' (159–196), both of these essays in R.A. Mentzer, *Sin and the Calvinists. Moral Control and the Consistory in the Reformed Tradition* (Kirkville, 1994), at 129–158, and 159–196.

⁷⁷ This entry is in a minute book relating to Anstruther Wester Kirk Session (1578–1634) from around 1630. NRS, CH 2/624/1/17.

as the setting of nets on Saturday afternoons and a prohibition of selling fish on Sunday. It is likely that these same rules had been in place for a considerable time prior to 1627, and were probably similar to the religious practices observed by the fishers and planters from Fife in Lewis around the time of the plantation.⁷⁸ The ministers also had a more prosaic interest in the success of the fishery: the ministers of the burghs of Easter Anstruther and Kilrenny were paid directly from the teind fish income taken by their fleets off Orkney and Shetland in 1615.⁷⁹ A similar arrangement was likely have been envisaged for the kirk in Lewis and an court order of 1619 bound the fishermen of Cellardykes, Kilrenny, Anstruther Easter, Anstruther Wester, and Crail, who attended the winter fishery of Lewis or the North Isles to pay the tacksmen of the vicarages for these towns, the sum of 20/- for every last of herring they landed. The tacksmen were burgesses and ministers of these towns, and the money was probably intended to support both burgh and kirk.⁸⁰

Many of the surviving records which were created by the Kirk in Fife in the late sixteenth century (1559–1600) reflects their concern to discipline their flock, particularly in relation to their obsessive desire to regulate fornication, adultery and impose Sabbath observance, through mechanisms such as the Kirk Session.⁸¹ This should not obscure the very real religious zeal of the planters, even those among them prone to moral lapses and subject to censure from their own kirk such as James Anstruther younger of that ilk and James Learmonth of Balcomie.⁸² The islanders on the other hand, although routinely labelled ‘godless,’ seem to have been Protestant, but they did not look particularly ‘godly’ to

78 ‘Statutis of the herring drave’ 22 July 1627. NRS, AC 7/2, fol. 6. See also J. McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish. The Reformation in Fife, 1560–1640* (Ashgate, 2010), 63–5, 67–70, 76–7, 183, 186, 190.

79 L.B. Taylor (ed.), *Aberdeen Council Letters* (Oxford, 1950), iii, 130.

80 A decret arbitral survives, ruling on the duties to be paid by the fishermen of these burghs. Those choosing the arbiters were a number of burgesses and also Mr John Dykis, minister at Kilrynnie, Mr John Fairfull, minister at Anstruther Wester, 15 March 1619. NRS, RD1/302, fol. 439–440. I owe this reference to Mr John Ballantyne.

81 Fleming (ed.), *Register of the Minister, Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St Andrews, 1559–1600. Part i & Part ii* (Edinburgh, 1889, 1890). The text in this Register has 943 pages. According to the index some 370 of these pages contain fornication cases. Concerns relating to the illegitimacy of children, adultery, marriage and baptism also figure prominently throughout this collection, alongside regulations concerning the Sabbath, the Lord’s Supper and the poor. See McCallum, *Reforming the Scottish Parish*, 49–55.

82 Anstruther and Learmonth, along with a list of other men, were both accused of committing adultery with Elene Huntar in 1590, Fleming (ed.), *Register of the Minister, Elders and Deacons*, 672.

the incoming planters and their culture, language and dress seemed barbarous to Lowlanders.⁸³ More importantly, they lacked the sophisticated ecclesiastic, disciplinary and financial machinery of the Jacobean church and from a Fife (or royal) perspective Hebridean religious observance was not fit for purpose.⁸⁴ This, together with the central role of the church as a part of daily life, meant that the planters were desperate to acquire the services of a minister for the plantation in Lewis. William Stewart, Commendator of Pittenweem, and James Learmonth of Balcomie appeared before the Presbytery of St Andrews, 28 September 1598, requesting the services of a minister to accompany them to Lewis. They asked especially that a Mr John Dyck accompany them but Dyck, 'utterlie refusit.' No reason was given for Dyck's refusal (prudent with the benefit of hindsight) and the Presbytery then directed the planters to approach either Mr James Thomson, Robert Geddes and Jon Schairpe to see if they could persuade one of them to take a charge in Lewis, although none of these appear

83 'Godless' (rather than Catholic) tends to be the description afforded to northern Hebrideans in this period. Lowland ministers carrying out a visitation of the Presbytery of Inverness in 1624, shocked by the sight of Highland ministers in bonnets and plaids, instructed them to desist from wearing inappropriate attire. Against this, it can be observed that cultural intolerance did not always blind southern clerics to the religious observance of Highlanders. James Melville, minister of Kilrenny, noted in 1597 that Lachlan, chief of the Macintosh clan, was very godly and praised him for his piety and endowment of kirks, holding him as a good example to all, both Highland and Lowland. NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 81r. *RPCS*, xi, 85–86, *RPCS*, xiv, 436–438. J. Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Registers of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1570–1625*, Vol ii (Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1848), 230–234. J. Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland,' in A. Pettegree, A. Duke & G. Lewis (eds.), *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620* (Cambridge, 1994), 231–253, at 231–33. R. Pitcairn (ed.), *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melville, minister of Kilrenny in Fife and Professor of Theology in the University of St Andrews. With a Continuation of the Diary* (Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842), 434.

84 There is not much evidence on the nature of religion in Lewis, 1560–1598. Two ministers can be identified in Lewis in this period, Ragnall mac Aonghais, parson of Ùig (c.1571) and Pàdraig mac Mhaighistir Màrtainn, parson of Barabhas (1566), probably clergymen in the pre-Reformation kirk. They also, along with Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis, seem to have been working with the Protestant Bishop John Carswell of Argyll and the Isles in the 1560s and 1570s and thus were probably Protestant. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 33–36. *Highland Papers*, ii, 280–283. *Collectanea*, 8–10. NRS, RD 1/15, fol. 143. F.A. Macdonald, *Missions to the Gaels. Reformation and Counter Reformation in Ulster and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 1560–1760* (Birlinn, 2006), 17, 24. Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland,' 252. See also J. Kirk, 'The Jacobean Church in the Highlands, 1567–1625,' in L. Maclean (ed.), *The seventeenth century in the Highlands* (Inverness Field Club, 1986), 24–51.

to have gone to Lewis at this point.⁸⁵ Learmonth and his fellow adventurers seem instead to have secured the services of Mr John Ross, who designated himself as a ‘menister’ in a document he drafted at Stornoway in December 1598. Ross was to serve again as minister in Lewis, 1605–1606.⁸⁶

Appearing before a panel of ministers voluntarily must have been a novel situation for James Learmonth of Balcomie, an enthusiastic fornicator, having been summoned regularly before the Kirk session and accused of fathering children by no less than four different women. Although Learmonth was twice married he had no children from either marriage.⁸⁷ Indeed, Mr James Melville, the chronicler, seemed to regard Learmonth’s death without a legitimate heir, 22 March 1598–9, following his kidnap and ransom (and release) by Lewismen as divine judgement for his sinful conduct.⁸⁸ Another of the principal planters, Colonel William Stewart the Commendator of Pittenweem also seems to have been unpopular with the ‘Presbyterian’ strain within the church.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, while the morals of some of the gentlemen adventurers may have been viewed with distaste, the ministers would have little reason to doubt the sincerity of

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- 85 Mr John Dyck was minister of Kilrenny from 1596 until his death in 1634. Dyck was pursued through the courts by Thomas Dowglas, minister, for an ‘infamous lybell’ in late 1599. NRS, CH 2/1132/17, fol. 149. NRS, DI 53/12, horning dated 6 November 1599. *RPCS*, vi, 34. *FES*, v, 213. NRS, CH 2/624/1/17. Rev. James Thomson did go to Stornoway, but not until Easter 1606. NLS, Wod Qu. XX, fol. 355r (appendix C2). Nothing further has been discovered about the career of Robert Geddes. Both James Thomson and John Schairpe, however, were ministers at different times in Kilmany in the Presbytery of Cupar. *FES*, v, 160–161.
- 86 Commission, 7 December 1598, from the portioners of Lewis to James Learmonth of Balcomie. NRS, RH 15/45/30. For a discussion of Ross’s identity see the main text, below, and also appendix C4 and the corresponding note.
- 87 James Learmonth of Balcomie was in trouble with the Kirk Session for fornication and procreating illegitimate children with Beterage Strang (Dec 1577), Grissell Gray (1584), Elene Pait (1588) and Helene Huntar (1590). Fleming (ed.), *Register of the Minister, Elders and Deacons*, 428, 545, 553, 611, 673. For Learmonth’s marriages see *RMS*, v, no. 583. NRS, CC 8/8/34, ff. 486–489. NRS, RD 1/45, fol. 6. NRS, RD 1/74, fol. 260. NRS, RD 1/101, fol. 91.
- 88 R. Pitcairn (ed.), *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melville* (Edinburgh, 1842), 125–126. NRS, CC 8/8/34, ff. 486. For the importance of an heir to lairds such as the Learmonth of Balcomie see K.M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland. Wealth, family and culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 32–36, 176.
- 89 Calderwood, *Historie*, iv, 448. Pitcairn (ed.), *The Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melville*, 143, 223, 233. Most of the ministers associated with the plantation were to become members of the Presbyterian party while most if not all of the gentlemen adventurers were King’s men and would later become Episcopalian.

the planters' request. By 2 April 1601, it appears that Mr John Ross was no longer serving as minister in Lewis and three of the principal planters, John Learmonth (successor to his brother James) the laird of Balcomie, James Spens of Wormiston and Captain William Murray, were back before the Presbytery of St Andrews appealing 'ernistlie' again for a minister to come and serve the plantation. They specifically asked this time for Mr James Melville, prominent Church of Scotland minister, diarist and nephew of Andrew Melville, leader of the Presbyterian party in Scotland. The younger Melville, like his uncle, held views that did not square with the King's ideas on church government.⁹⁰

Melville, to his credit, was willing to go to Lewis, but the Presbytery refused him permission and instead directed the petitioners to take their request to Mr Robert Durie.⁹¹ It appears that Durie, sometime minister of Kilrenny and Anstruther, accompanied the ministers north in early 1601 and spent a season there remaining until early 1602 when the planters were defeated, hostages taken, and the survivors, including Durie were packed up in their ships and sent back to Fife. When they reached Anstruther harbour, Durie composed

... a prayer wherin he giwes thanks to god for his faterlie visitatione & chastis[e]ments for his mighty delyverance that had delywered tha[m] owt of sic great dangers of ther enimies and brought many of thame saw[f]e hame...⁹²

The identity of the minister who wrote this account, possibly for the benefit of Bishop Spottiswoode, is puzzling. Durie is taken to have been the chaplain to the plantation, but is clear that he was only one of three ministers who went north during the lifetime of the venture. Moreover, both Durie and the Rev James Thomson who accompanied the planters north at the time of Easter 1606 and stayed there to the end are named by the chaplain who then refers to himself in his account of the plantation by using a pronoun. This suggests that the author of the chaplain's account may have been either Mr John Ross or some unknown fourth minister. Ross had something of a chequered career,

90 *FES*, v, 182, 212. For accounts of both Mr James Melville and his uncle, Andrew Melville see the ODNB entries by James Kirk, nos. 18543 & 18547. NRS, CH 2/1132/17, fol. 180. S.J. Reid, *Humanism and Calvinism. Andrew Melville and the Universities of Scotland, 1560–1625* (Ashgate, Farnham, 2011), 50–52, 177–8, 271. A.R. Macdonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567–1626. Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy* (Ashgate, 1998), 32, 54–6, 64, 80–81, 94–5, 106, 118–119, 126, 151.

91 It is not clear from the record why the presbytery refused to sanction Melville's departure. NRS, CH 2/1132/17, fol. 180.

92 NLS, Wod Qu. XX, fol. 354r (appendix C2).

having been first banished by the king from his charge at Perth in 1594 for his outspoken criticism of the monarch and King James would have been happy to see him placed in Stornoway at the end of 1598.⁹³ Ross had been with the planters when they first arrived in the island and may also have been exiled to Lewis in 1605, being one of several ministers banished to various locations throughout the kingdom for holding an unauthorised assembly at Aberdeen.⁹⁴ The religious – political mix in terms of the clergy and the gentleman adventurers is curious. Almost all of the nobles were confirmed king's men, proto Episcopalian, whereas the clergy named above in connection with the plantation of Lewis, such as Ross, Durie and even James Melville with confirmed Presbyterian views were, from the point of view of the king, potential dissenters. By requesting the presence of Melville (above), and securing the services of Ross for two terms in Lewis, it may be that the plantation served as an expedient open prison for troublesome clergymen such as Ross and Durie.⁹⁵

The planters may not have had time to build a kirk, far less a school or appointed a schoolmaster as they had intended, being pre-occupied with building a fortified settlement. However, according to the chaplain there was, within the bounds of the camp:

...ane awld chappell whilk they repair[ed] w[i]t[h] ane roof and w[i]t[h] seats and w[i]t[h] desks w[i]t[h]in wher the companies conuenit for hearing of the word preachit and for publict prayers daylie at morn & at each even...⁹⁶

The previous occupants, the supposedly 'godles' men of Lewis, clearly had a church in Stornoway adjacent to the castle where the settlers built their town. This was likely to have been a pre-existing building in the style of chapels still surviving in various parts of rural Lewis which was adapted for the use of the incoming planters.⁹⁷ While the establishment of an acceptable church was a priority, the next item on the agenda of the 'Societie' of Lewis was equally

93 Macdonald, *The Jacobean Kirk*, 1567–1626, 55–6.

94 The writer of the chaplain's account refers to himself as 'I' but refers to Durie and Thomson by name elsewhere in the passage. See also appendix C4 under 'Ross, Mr John' and accompanying note. NLS, Wod. Qu. XX, fol. 353r, 354v, 355r (appendix C2). *RPCS*, vii, 261. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 225.

95 Macdonald, *The Jacobean Kirk*, 126.

96 NLS, Wod Qu. XX., fol. 355r (appendix C2).

97 For such chapels see R.C. Barrowman, *Lewis coastal chapel sites survey, 2004/5* (University of Glasgow, 2005) or F. Macleod, *The Chapels in the Western Isles* (Acair, Stornoway, 1997), 11–36.

pressing and remained so for the lifetime of the settlement: the establishment of bounds and the burgh 'ruidis' within the town but more urgently the construction of houses and fortifications.

Building a Civil Town

Having, apparently, solved the military dimension of the mission, the colonists began the process of turning their armed camp into a 'civil' town. Dennison and Coleman think this was probably in an isthmus of land in the immediate vicinity of the old castle in Stornoway and their assertion would seem to be supported with documentary and cartographic evidence.⁹⁸ The planters were bound by a contract of June 1600 to have built ten 'sufficient fensiabill hous[e]s' to serve themselves, and their 'men, servandis and dependaris' at Stornoway and to have completed these by Michaelmas (29 September) 1601.⁹⁹ The vernacular architecture of Fife was in marked contrast to the vernacular architecture of the Hebrides. These 'civil,' fortified, houses were built of quarried and dressed stone, had windows and chimneys, may have been harled and while they may have been thatched it might be anticipated that they would be capped with slate or tile. Not everyone in Fife, of course, would have lived in such expensive buildings, and one imagines that the dwellings of labourers in rural Fife might not have been particularly impressive.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the building programme in Stornoway was designed to make a clear statement and would have appeared as

98 Dennison & Coleman, *Historic Stornoway*, 47–48 (see also figure 18). According to the chaplain's account '...they arryve into the loch of Starnwall wher ther was an auld ruinous castell quhilk the sea at the full usit to compass and ther upon a prettie piece of gro[u]nd qlk the sea environed sawe at the east end they encamped themselves building their howses...' NLS, Wod. Qu., Vol xx., fol. 352 (appendix C2).

99 'Ane contract of the portioners of the Lewis' (19th & 28th June 1600) NRS, GD 147/45/2. Transcribed as appendix C3.

100 Only one house can now be identified which is thought to have been built by the planters in the Isles. This is Unish House, in Vaternish, Skye, thought to have been built by one of the Fife Adventurers, possibly Sir James Spens, c. 1605. Dennison & Coleman, *Historic Stornoway*, 20, 48, 61. For descriptions and illustrations of contemporary domestic architecture from (urban) Fife at this time see *Royal Commission of Ancient and Historic Monuments Scotland, Eleventh Report with Inventory of the Monuments and Constructions in the Counties of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan* (Edinburgh, 1933), 22–26, 61–5, 225, 258. Vernon Donaldson has, despite conceding the similarity between this structure and buildings from Fife in the 1570s and 1580s, cast doubt on Spens as being the builder on account both of his involvement with Sweden from 1605, his financial troubles and the short duration of occupancy. V. Donaldson, 'Who Built Unish House, Skye?' 21–24.

a complete contrast to the native vernacular architecture. Architecture was one of the most obvious markers of ‘civilitie’ by which the planters sought to differentiate themselves from the native Gaelic population both in Lewis between 1598 and 1607, and subsequently in the Scots and English plantation of Ulster.¹⁰¹ The leading men in the former Macleod of Lewis regime are likely to have had more substantial buildings, of which we know little to nothing, other than the castle of Stornoway, some *dùin* (fortified sea-stacks or islets) and some surviving churches.¹⁰² More commonplace were the ubiquitous Lewis ‘black houses,’ thought to have been a descendant of the Norse longhouse of the Middle Ages, with double-skin, dry stone, earthen core walls with a central fire in the middle of the floor, thatched and with no chimney, although archaeologists have found such structures difficult to locate for this period.¹⁰³ Difficulties with the survival

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- Documentary evidence shows, however, that houses were built (including one by Spens) at Stornoway during this time. NLS, Wod Qu. xx, fol. 352v–353v, 355r, 357r (appendix C2).
- 101 English settlers in Ireland drew a clear distinction between civil and barbarous dwellings. A.J. Horning, ‘Dwelling houses in the Old Irish Barbarous manner’ Archaeological evidence for Gaelic architecture in an Ulster Plantation village’ in P.J. Duffy, D. Edwards, & Elizabeth Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland, c. 1250–c.1650: Land, Lordship & Settlement* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2001:2004), 375–396, at 375, note 1. P. Robinson, ‘Vernacular Housing in Ulster in the seventeenth century,’ *Ulster Folklife*, 25 (1979), 1–28 at 10–24.
- 102 Macleod of Lewis had an abode in Pabaidh in Loch Roag, west of Lewis where he used to dwell ‘quhen he was feirit’ in 1549. Tradition places a Macleod house in Eòropaidh in North Lewis. Similarly, the brieves or hereditary law men of Lewis had a ‘taigh mor’ [big house] in North Lewis, but that structure too, while located and surveyed, has not yet been investigated. Ruairidh Mòr MacLeòid’s castle of Dunvegan and the church at Rodel are well known but there is also a documentary reference to his residence at Màraig, in northern Harris in 1597 although nothing is known of this structure either. Monro, *Description*, 333. C. Barrowman, *The Archaeology of Ness, Isle of Lewis. Results of the Ness Archaeological Landscape Survey* (forthcoming, 2013). NLS, Adv. MS. 29.2.6, no. 71 (fol. 109).
- 103 While there were some high status buildings such as castles, churches and *dùin*, which predate the plantation period, the domestic architecture of Lewis seems to have been primarily that of the Black house: a form which persisted in rural Lewis, albeit possibly with modifications, into the twentieth century. For an overview of the material remains in the landscape of Lewis, see *RCAHMS*, 1928, 1–18, 20–24. For *dùin*, see R. Barrowman (ed.), *Dun Èistean, Ness, Isle of Lewis: excavations of a clan stronghold* (Acair Press, Stornoway, forthcoming). Analysis of material culture in Uist suggests continuity in building traditions from Norse times through to the twentieth century and the same may have been the case in Lewis, albeit with different styles of construction for each island. M. Raven, ‘Medieval Landscapes and Lordship in South Uist’ (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2005), 379. For blackhouses see O.D. Laerum, ‘The Blackhouse and the Røykstova: a common North Sea Tradition’ in *Northern Studies*, 41 (2009/10), 1–12. C. NicAoidh, ‘Leantanas agus Leasachadh ann an Leòdhas: sgeulachd taigh-tughaidh tron naoidheamh

and identification of native vernacular architecture notwithstanding, it is clear that Hebridean building styles were markedly different than that of the eastern Scottish burghs. Urban and mercantile Fife had come to Stornoway and attempted to replicate itself in the Hebridean landscape.

The 'prettie' town was duly built by the planters, albeit with serious interruptions over the course of two campaigns.¹⁰⁴ Despite the seemingly unfair criticism by James VI of the planters in 1602, that they had been remiss in their duties and failed to build up a town, it is clear that some, such as James Spens of Wormiston, were at an advanced stage of the building of fortified stone houses at Stornoway which were still under construction by the time their camp was over-run some time early in 1602.¹⁰⁵ A letter by 'Lermonthe,' probably William Learmonth, written at Stornoway, 10 February 1602, and being sent back to Fife to his brother John Learmonth laird of Balcomie contains a request for a list of supplies and shows to some of his concerns for provisions and the ongoing 'bigging of houssis.'¹⁰⁶ It also lifts a lid on some of the inner tensions within the community at Stornoway in the winter of 1601–1602. William Learmonth complained that although he 'was in greit necessitie of ludging' he had been denied shelter by Sir James Anstruther who had, at the time, the most comfortable building in the town. Ominously, with the benefit of hindsight, Learmonth's letter refers casually to the news that he was '...informit that Tormot McCloyd quha wes in the preison of Mackeingyie is cum in the cuntrey wt all the forceis he can.' Learmonth related that 'we sall cair littil for them' [the Macleods] although mentioning that powder and bullet had become scarce.¹⁰⁷ He should have cared more. Within a month he had been captured by the Macleods.

linn deug agus an fhicheadamh linn' in G. Munro & R.A.V. Cox (eds.), *Cànan & Cultur/ Language & Culture. Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 4* (Edinburgh, 2010), 67–86. Both Dodgshon and Campbell stress the difficulty in distinguishing remains from this period and the fluid nature of settlement patterns. S.D. Campbell, 'Post-Medieval Settlement in the Isle of Lewis: a Study in Adaptability or change?' in *Proceedings of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland* 139 (2009), 315–332, at 325. R.A. Dodgshon, 'West Highland and Hebridean Settlement prior to Crofting and the Clearances: a study in Stability or change?' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 123 (1993), 419–38.

104 *Highland Papers*, ii, 270.

105 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 201–202. NLS, Wod Qu. xx, fol. 353v (appendix C2).

106 NRS, RH 15/45/45/2. For some of the supplies sent for by a settlement slightly later than this see the transcripts of the lists of ships' manifests bound for Massachusetts from England. N.C.P. Tyack, 'English exports to New England, 1632–1640: some records in the port books' in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* vol. 135 (1981), 213–238.

107 NRS, RH 15/45/45/2.

Tormod Macleod, the last legitimate son of the late chief Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis, a child of Ruairidh's third marriage, had been kidnapped by Mackenzie of Kintail several years earlier and then released by Mackenzie in a way carefully calculated to destabilise the plantation. The addition of Tormod, a legitimate heir to the Lewis chiefship, gave the rebels of Lewis who had been led by the illegitimate Niall Macleod, a new sense of purpose and gave the rebellion a broader appeal to all of the natives. According to the Adventurers' chaplain the 'wholl countrie of the Lewes' rallied behind Tormod.¹⁰⁸ Learmonth's letter would date the successful attack and capture of the settlement by the natives, led by Niall and Tormod Macleod of Lewis, to sometime in the second half of February or March 1602. Up to fifty or more of the settlers were killed. The laird of Anstruther's house was burnt down and he was captured by the Macleods of Lewis. James Spens of Wormiston managed to defend his own house but the camp had been over-run. With so many deaths and with one of his fellow principal planters captured, Spens had no chance and capitulated. Sir James Anstruther was released by the Macleods with the proviso that he would obtain a remission and full pardon for the Macleods and that the planters would resign all of their rights to Lewis over to Tormod Macleod. Macleod, in return, would provide the ousted settlers with an unspecified but substantial amount of beef and fish to make some reparation for the losses suffered by them.¹⁰⁹ The surviving planters, led by Sir James Anstruther, all took ship back home to Fife save three of them. To help concentrate minds, and ensure the fulfilment of the planters' end of the agreement, the Macleods kept Spens, Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell and William Learmonth, brother to Balcomie as hostages, their release being conditional on delivery of their terms.¹¹⁰

James must have felt acute embarrassment, conscious of how this would look to the English, whose throne he hoped to inherit from the ailing Elizabeth.¹¹¹ Not only was this failure damaging to the image of James's competence projected to outsiders, but it also humiliated James VI in a Scottish context. These 'civilised' men who James had hoped would establish a colony, many of the leaders personally known to the king himself, had been utterly

108 NLS, Wod. Qu. XX., fol. 353r. *Highland Papers*, ii, 271–272. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides* 201–204.

109 There would presumably have been a contract drawn up for this transaction, 'many lasts of beffe and feschies.' If such a document was registered as a deed in Edinburgh it may still survive but this has not been traced. NLS, Wod Qu. XX, fol. 353v (appendix C2).

110 NLS, Wod Qu. XX, fol. 353v (appendix C2). Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 202–203.

111 English ambassadors reported that James attempted to gain support, 10–12 June 1602, for a renewed offensive against Lewis. *CSP, Scot*, xiii, 1001, 1003.

routed by a group of people he considered barbaric and worse. James VI must have signed a remission (no surviving document has been traced) as the hostages were released but he had no intention of letting this slight go unpunished. No sooner had the son of Learmonth of Dairsie returned with the ransomed hostages from Lewis probably in the late spring of 1602, than James, notwithstanding promises made in order to free the hostages, began trying to organise a fresh attempt at reconquest.¹¹²

The reaction to the routing of the planters by the Macleods of Lewis can be gauged from the tone of the official rhetoric in July 1602. The men of Lewis, according to an entry in the Privy Council Register, had dismayed the King with their 'detestable and barbarous behaviour.' They were

...occupeit in nothing ellis bot in blude, murthour... ...everie ane of them exerceising sic beistlie and monstros cruelteis upoun utheris as hes not been h[e]ard of amangis Turkis or infidellis...

Such a rabble sat, apparently, on the 'maist fertile and commodious part of the haill realme' blessed with an abundance of 'corne and fischeis' but despite this did nothing with this to benefit the realm and, indeed, had opposed the kings' lieges who had tried to develop these resources for the benefit of traffic, trade and the public purse. The perfidious Lewismen had, 'under the pretens and cullor of friendschip, conspyrit and devysit the utter extermination and ruyne of the saidis gentilmen venturaris and thair haill cumpany.'¹¹³ James spent the summer of 1602 trying to marshal support and funding for a fresh enterprise but was unable to draw on much other than colourful language. As early as July 1600 when the plantation of Lewis had been going well, Colonel William Stewart, Commendator of Pittenweem, who had bought out one of his fellow planters, Patrick Lindsay, Commendator of Lindores, was expressing his dissatisfaction with the 'enterprise' of Lewis. Stewart, despite his purchase of Lindsay's shares, was pessimistic about his lot and expressed a wish to serve

112 A remission was drawn at some time under the great seal up for Niall Macleod of Lewis, for 'murthures slaughtiris, fyreraisingeis, thiftes, robberies, burglaryeis, otheris oppressions' but it was neither signed, dated, nor, apparently, ever engrossed under the Great Seal. This probably dates to between September and October 1610 after Niall had captured an English pirate who he delivered to Edinburgh in the hope of obtaining a remission. The document does not mention his brother Tormod, who by this time had been detained in the tollbooth in Edinburgh for several years. NRS, SP 13/140. *Collectanea*, 48–9. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 249–252. *RPCS*, ix, 329–330.

113 This on 19 July 1602. *RPCS*, vi, 420.

instead the English Crown, angling for a commission in Queen Elizabeth's forces, anywhere, in fact, other than Lewis.¹¹⁴

By the middle of 1602, their investment in Stornoway lying in ruins and having had many of their men killed, injured or lost through disease, several of the other planters were reluctant to have anything to do with a return to Lewis, much to the annoyance of James and his council. Stewart, together with Sir George Hume of Wedderburn, John Learmonth of Balcomie, and James Forret son of the late John Forret of Fingask were castigated by the council for failing to pay their duties owed from their tenancy of Lewis. Indeed they were accused of trying to 'schaik af that yoik and burdyne' and evade their responsibilities for the recapture of the island. Such evasion on the part of some of the planters, it was argued, made it impossible for their co-portioners to proceed.¹¹⁵ It is clear that the losses both of life and money during the comprehensive defeat by the Macleods had sapped the enthusiasm of many of the planters notwithstanding James's haranguing. Despite the setbacks, some did persevere. John Learmonth of Balcomie continued with the second attempt at plantation even though he had lost a brother and, probably, a small fortune in the first attempt as, perhaps, did James Forret son of John of Fingask, and members of both families returned to Lewis in the autumn of 1605.¹¹⁶

In a move that showed extremely good judgement George Hume of Wedderburn sold his and his son and heir David's entire rights to Lewis over to Robert Lumsden of Airdrie for the sum of 3000 merks in a contract drawn up at Edinburgh, 7 August 1605.¹¹⁷ Colonel Sir William Stewart of Houston, the Commendator of Pittenweem and probably the commander of the expedition in the initial establishment of the settlement in November 1598, had (as mentioned above) wearied of the desultory hostility faced in Lewis. Part of the reason was indebtedness, not helped by the constant drain on cash necessitated by supporting armed men in Stornoway. Pittenweem seems to have spent his fortune on the Plantation of Lewis and, from the trail of bonds he left behind him, to have been never more than one or two steps away from impatient creditors.¹¹⁸ He died at some time between 1603 and the summer of 1605 when

114 Roger Aston (at Linlithgow) to J. Hudson (England), 6 July 1600. Stewart bought out Patrick Lindsay, Commendator of Lindores sometime between June 1600 and Stewart's death around 1603. *CSP, Scot* xiii, 666. NRS, GD 147/45/2. NRS, RD 1/112, fol. 396r.

115 *RPCS*, vi, 421.

116 See appendix C4.

117 NRS, RD 1/173, fol. 347.

118 Stewart had a long and chequered career including a stint as captain of the King's guard and as an ambassador abroad in the 1580s and 1590s. He blamed these duties for at least some of his extensive debts, incurred before he became involved in Lewis. Stewart realised

his widow and son sold his rights to two portions (two tenths) of the lordship of Lewis over to Robert Lumsden of Airdrie for 6000 merks.¹¹⁹ It is possible that the accession to the throne of England by James in 1603 as much as the financial difficulties of the planters had bought a brief respite for the Macleods. In any event this utter defeat and humiliation of the planters at the hands of Niall and Tormod Macleod, and the lack of enthusiasm amongst the planters for a return, resulted in the abandonment of the plantation, with the houses and fortifications unfinished, for three years.

Buildings and Fortifications in the Plantation

The most visible of these fortifications in the historical record was the old Macleod castle of Stornoway, described as 'ruinous' in 1598. It cannot have been too dilapidated and seems to have been repaired and in use by the planters soon after the capture of the island in 1598.¹²⁰ A charter between the planters survives relating to the castle. This sets out the terms of agreement under which the settlers hired a ship from their colleagues, James Spens of Wormiston and John Forret of Fingask in February 1600. This states that one of the duties of this ship, *the Blissing*, would be the regular provisioning of the castle and supplying it with fresh fish.¹²¹ The castle is mentioned again, functioning as one of the defensive structures used by the settlers during attacks by the Macleods in 1606, the others being the fortified stone houses of the planters. Indeed, the chaplain ascribed the survival of Spens in the Macleod attack of

20,500 merks from his sale of the lands of Houston in 1598 to raise his stake for the enterprise of Lewis. By 1602, however, he was becoming bogged down by debt. He was pursued for £6000 by William Kirkcaldy of Grange, 2 March 1602, and for £1000 by John Strang, 16 April 1602. After Stewart's death, sometime between 1603 and 1605 all his goods were escheat and his widow, Lady Pitfirrane, was put to the horn (outlawed) by Kirkcaldy of Grange for this debt in August 1606. NRS, GD 30/137–141. NRS, RD 1/73/2, fol. 375v. NRS, DI 53/13/23. NLS, Ch. 6766. SSNE, no. 1597. H. Dunthorne, 'Stewart, Sir William (d. 1602x4),' *ODNB*, entry no. 26518. D. Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding*, 6–8, 14. NLS, Adv MS, 33.1.11 vol. 28 no. 1–2, 6–46, 53. NLS, Ch 6392.

119 NRS, RD 1/112, fol. 396r.

120 It had been used by Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis who signed a deed in his chamber there in 1572 and Torcall Conanach's son and heir was killed close by, having occupied Stornoway castle, sometime between November 1585 and 1587. *Highland Papers*, ii, 283. *Miscellany of the Spalding Club*, iv (Aberdeen, 1849), 230–231. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 155–157.

121 Contract made at Stornoway, Isle of Lewis, 22 February 1599 (1600). NRS, RD 1/92/2, fol. 230.

early 1602 to the providence of God, which had led him to sleep in his unfinished stone built house rather than the wooden structures chosen by his less fortunate colleagues. Spens of Wormiston thus escaped the fate of the unspecified 'many' of his companions who were burnt while they slept: those that did try to make it out of the flames being picked off by the waiting Macleods.¹²²

On their return in 1605 one of the first measures the planters undertook was to build two large trench dykes. These provided a measure of defence from the landward side of the isthmus on which the town was built on one side and a defence on the foreshore adjacent to the castle on the other.¹²³ These dykes are depicted on English plans drawn during the Cromwellian occupation, 1650–53, but probably date to the Fife plantation of 1605–1607.¹²⁴ The importance placed on the establishment of 'civil' buildings in the settlement is apparent in the efforts of James VI and his council, 8 March 1603, to encourage the planters to go back to Lewis and, along with various other measures, it is expressly stated that each of the principal planters were expected to build a defensible house of mortar and lime as part of the conditions of their grant for their own security and surety. This was also a feature of the contemporary and subsequent plantation in Ulster.¹²⁵ Part of this was practical, of course, but the building of such a civil town was also designed as a demonstration of authority and power. The need for fortifications is demonstrated in accounts of the second attempt at plantation.

The planters had returned to Lewis in the autumn of 1605 not only with their own forces but also with wider military support. The new status of James as a king of a wider British realm manifested itself in English naval involvement in the form of at least one pinnacle, the *Moon* which had been present in the North Isles, and whose master, 'Capitane May' had 'caryed him self very dewtifullie' in support of the 'gentilmen who by his heyghnes authoritie ar pla-ceit in the Lewis.'¹²⁶ There was certainly traffic between the south of England

122 NLS, Wod. Qu. xx, fol. 353v (appendix C2). NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 82v. Pitcairn, *Trials*, iii, 244–247.

123 NLS, Wod. Qu. xx., fol. 355r (appendix C2).

124 The 'trench dykes' do not appear on a less detailed map of 1630 (figure 18), which, however, is more concerned with the possibilities of the site as a harbour rather than the chart of c.1653 which offered a detailed plan of the town's defences. Dennison & Coleman, *Historic Stornoway*, 26.

125 *RPCS*, vi, 545–546. For Irish parallels see, Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 179, 207, 214, 217. A.J. Horning, 'Dwelling Houses in the Old Irish Barbarous Manner' 375–396 & at 375, note 1. R. Loeber & T. Reeves-Smyth, 'Lord Audley's building schemes in the Ulster Plantation' (82–100), in B. Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland, 1550–1700. Colonisation and its consequences. Essays presented to Nicholas Canny* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2011), at 82–96.

126 Letter of recommendation for 'Capitane May' on the pinnacle the *Moon* from Lord Elphinstone, dated 23 November 1605. The *Moon*, a pinnacle of around 75–80 tons, built

and Lewis. Indeed it was from Sir Robert Lumsden of Airdrie, freshly returned from Lewis probably in late November 1605, that Lord Balmerino in Edinburgh learned of some of the details of the Gunpowder Plot of 5 November 1605 against the king in London.¹²⁷ There were probably levies of men from the burghs together with forces raised from neighbouring clans present at Stornoway including the Mackays, the Macdonalds of Sleat, the Mackenzies and the Macleods of Harris. Tormod Macleod, the leader of the beleaguered Macleods of Lewis submitted (against the counsel of his clansmen) in the face of this show of overwhelming force and sought the offered terms. Whatever these terms were it is probable that they were unfulfilled. Tormod was placed under arrest in the tollbooth in Edinburgh, where he languished for over ten years, his release being conditional on his never returning to Britain. He died in exile in the Netherlands.¹²⁸

By the autumn of 1605, however, the plantation seemed to be back on track and building work went on apace at Stornoway. This time the planters made sure that their camp was even more 'stronglie fortifeit.' By Easter 1606 Robert Lumsden of Airdrie had hired a number of masons for building his house 'on a craig' not far from Spens of Wormiston's house and the work seems to have progressed rapidly. The flat nature of urban Stornoway today gives no clues as to the original shape of the landscape but it must have been rocky, and indeed Lumsden's masons used an onsite quarry to get stone to build the house.¹²⁹ A ship charter at Stornoway in 1599 forbade a vessel which was being used by the planters from freighting stone, lime and timber, suggesting that other vessels were engaged in this work taking these materials in by sea. Whereas

around 1586 and refitted in 1602, had also seen service in Ireland. The *Moon* was to return to the Isles in 1608–09, one of those ships used at the time of the 'Statutes' of Iona. TNA, SP 14/16, fol. 193. TNA, SP 63/209/2, fol. 101. N.A.M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea. A Naval History of Britain. Volume One, 660–1649* (Hammersmith, 1997), 480. Cathcart, 'The Statutes of Iona: the Archipelagic Context,' 21. See also the discussion in chapter six.

127 'Interrogatories put to James, Lord Balmerino, regarding the gunpowder plot and his answers.' W. Fraser (ed.), *The Elphinstone family book of the Lords Elphinstone, Balmerino and Coupar* (Edinburgh, 1897), ii, 179. B. Coward, *The Stuart Age. England, 1603–1714* (2nd ed., Harlow, 1994), 129.

128 *RPCS*, ix, 12–19, 34, 329–30. *RPCS*, x, 302. Gordon, *Sutherland*, 273. Mackenzie, *The History of the Outer Hebrides*, 221–222, 264. Pitcairn, *Trials*, iii, 124–126.

129 'There was a deepe gulf[e] wherein the quarrier hed win many of the ston[e]s that buildit the hows...' NLS, Wod Qu. XX, fol. 357r (appendix C2). The identity of the masons hired by Lumsden are unknown. A David Skowgall, however, mason in Crail, was a witness to a bond made by Lumsden in September 1598. Given that Skowgall was personally known to Lumsden, it is possible he may have been one of those brought to Lewis. NRS, RD 1/75, fol. 119r.

stone and lime might have been locally sourced, there was little to no timber in the Macleod of Lewis lordship, yet some of the more temporary houses in which the planters seem to have been living at the time of the attacks were constructed partially, at least, of timber.¹³⁰

Lewis being treeless, the most likely source of such timber was Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail's heavily wooded lands of Wester Ross. Despite his covert opposition to the plantation, Mackenzie also had a saw-mill built on his lands, near Poolewe, presumably hoping to profit from the building of the town of Stornoway.¹³¹ The chaplain's account stresses that both of these strong houses were within the bounds of 'trench dykes' on the isthmus, and also highlighted the necessity of armed guards to protect the workmen. By harvest time 1606, however, the settlement was coming under intermittent and escalating harassment and attack. None of the strong houses had been completed, moreover, Lumsden's house still lacked 'gavels' and the roofing was of temporary wooden planking. The masons, understandably, were reluctant to work on the walls, being exposed to fire from the locals. Although this Macleod action escalated into a more sustained attack the number of soldiers the settlers retained had

130 The *Blissing*, belonging to James Spens of Wormiston and John Forret of Fingask, was leased by them to their fellow planters (1599) with the charter containing the following clause: '...that the said Ship be not astentit to carie or transport stanes timmer or lyme...' George Hay of Nether Liff in another contract by which he leased woods from the Mackenzies in Wester, Ross (1610) stipulated that he also would have a right to 'seik and win coal, coalheuches, peitis, limestone' and 'freestone.' This may mirror, at least in terms of freestone if not peat extraction, what he had earlier practiced in Lewis. NLS, Wod Qu. xx, fol. 357r (appendix C2). NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 8iv. NRS, RD 1/92/2, fol. 230. NRS, RD 1/192, fol. 308v.

131 The Mackenzies had been exploiting their timber resources in Wester Ross for generations. They were ordered in 1555 by the governor not to supply timber to rebels (the Macdonalds of Sleat) for the manufacture of lymfaddis (long fada) or longships. *TA*, vi, 210, *TA* x, 177. In a contract made after the plantation between Sir George Hay and Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail at Edinburgh in July 1610, Mackenzie sold to Hay all of the 'aik, firris, esche, elme, esp, birck, hesall, holyne and all uther kyndis of wod treis and tymber wt the bark' (oak, fir, ash, elm, aspen, birch, hazel and holly) which grew on Mackenzie's lands on the western Seaboard. The lands at Letterewe were leased to Hay to build an iron works in which the wood would be utilised. Hay also took a lease, in 1611, of the pre-existing '...saw mylne erectit and buildit be the said umq[ui]le Kenneth Lord Kintail.' NRS, RD 1/192, fol. 305r–314v. For a wider discussion of Mackenzie timber exploitation in connection with iron manufacturing and the relationship with Sir George Hay see A. MacCoinnich, 'Cleifis of Irne' Clann Choinnich agus Gniomhachas Iarainn, c.1569–1630,' in W. McLeod, J.E. Fraser, and A. Gunderloch (eds.), *Cànan & Cùltar: Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* 3 (Dunedin Academic Press, Edinburgh, 2006), 137–152.

fallen considerably from the 500–600 soldiers present for the initial conquest. The absence of any references to 500 soldiers in the Adventurers' papers thus far discovered, together with a later reference to 500 soldiers as the figure mustered by the Privy Council for a raid to the isles in 1608, suggests that these forces accompanying the planters initially in 1598 may have been a levy raised from the burghs, rather than a force raised by the Adventurers themselves.¹³² In any case such a large force could not have been sustained there over a long period. The contract of June 1600 had stated that each principal planter was bound to maintain and pay for 10 able bodied men armed with muskets, hagbutts and 'banded staves' and this duty must have remained a feature of the terms of the second expedition, giving a nominal minimum force of 120 armed men.¹³³ However, due to the increasing impecuniosity of some of the principal planters, some of these soldiers had gone unpaid and had returned home. By late autumn 1606 only about 80 of the soldiers remained as the Macleods of Lewis returned in force to besiege the town of Stornoway. The defending companies split themselves into the three stone houses, one belonging to Spens of Wormiston, one to Lumsden of Airdrie, the third stronghold being the old castle.¹³⁴

The siege of Stornoway by the Macleods in the autumn of 1606, lasting three weeks, must have come very close to defeating the settlers. There were periodic bursts of fighting with casualties on both sides and the Macleods were only kept out by the settlers with difficulty. There was a linguistic and vocal element to this conflict too. While many will be aware that the English word 'slogan' derives from the Scots word 'slughorn,' and ultimately from Gaelic 'sluagh-airm,' which could be translated as 'cry of the host,' the vocal element of conflict in later medieval and early modern Scotland is one that usually escapes historians' attention.¹³⁵ Although the settlers were all Scots speakers some of

132 Letter, Privy Council to the King, 25 May 1608. NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 2 no. 61. A similar arrangement had probably been implemented for the conquest of Lewis by the Fife Adventurers in 1598.

133 '...ten abill men weill furneissit w[i]t[h] muskattis or hagbutts, powdher, lead, luntis, sufficient bandit stawis, and utharis arms affeiring thairto.' Hagbutts, also called harquebuses, were a heavier type of firearm than a musket. Lunts were fuses for lighting firearms. 'Bandit stawis' (or staves) may have been a type of staff banded with metal which seems to have been one of the standard issues in arms of the period: 'bandit staiffis heids and schaftis' also appearing in an inventory of an Edinburgh bowyer-burgess in 1635. NRS, GD 147/45/2. NRS, CC 8/8/58/115.

134 '...not able to sustene the burding & charges of the wark when thei suld hawe bene strongest they wer weakest...' NLS, Wod Qu. XX, fol. 356 (appendix C2).

135 H.F. Fowler, F.G. Fowler and R.E. Allen (eds.), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990). See also *DSL*, under the headings 'Slogan, sloghorn,

their number, possibly those with connections to Perthshire or Wigtownshire, which were adjacent to Gaelic speaking areas, may have had a working knowledge of Gaelic. The natives on the other hand will have been Gaelic speakers: many of them with a working knowledge of the Scots or English languages.¹³⁶ While they besieged the town, the Lewismen tried to add pressure by shouting and yelling abuse at the settlers prior to the attack. And at night, according to the chaplain, when the soldiers were keeping a vigilant watch, ‘the hieland men lifted up on all ther voyces at anes w[i]t[h] uncouth & horrible schowts & cries.’ This seemed to be an effective tactic in piling psychological pressure onto the defenders. Conversely when one of the Macleod attacks was beaten off and the Lewis men suffered heavy casualties, the natives bore their dead and wounded away with ‘ane heavie corinach...’ or lament, suggesting, perhaps, the presence of women among the besieging forces.¹³⁷ This siege, which

slughorn.’ <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/dsl/>. See also Dwelly’s dictionary under the heading ‘sluagh-ghairm.’ E. Dwelly, *The Illustrated Gaelic-English Dictionary* (1911; 10th Edition, Gairm, Glasgow, 1988).

- 136 There is no question that the language of the plantation was Scots (with the emphasis on Scots rather than English) but Gaelic will have been ever-present in the aural environment. Sir George Hay was from Perthshire, then a partly Gaelic-speaking county, as was William Murray, brother of the laird of Tullibardine. Indeed Patrick, Earl of Tullibardine, William Murray’s nephew was noted as being a fluent Gaelic speaker in 1630, suggesting that William may have had a similar facility with the language. James Spens had Perthshire connections while William Stewart Commendator of Pittenweem was raised in Galston, Ayrshire. Spens and Stewart are unlikely to have been speakers of Gaelic but they may have had familiarity with the language from their upbringing. Gaelic was spoken in Carrick (not too far from Galston) in this period and was spoken in upland Perthshire until the twentieth century. Nicholas Canny has stressed the ability of Anglophone settlers in Ireland to pick up Irish and the same linguistic abilities may have been possessed by some, at least, of the Fife Adventurers. Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 80–81, 89–90, 450–455. M. Coolman, ‘“And this deponent further sayeth:” orality, print and the 1641 depositions,’ in M. Caball & A. Carpenter (eds.), *Oral and Print Cultures in Ireland, 1600–1900* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2010), 69–84, at 78–82. MacCoinnich, ‘Where and how was Gaelic written in late medieval and early modern Scotland?’ 314–315, 334–6 (at notes 14, 15, 19). A.D.M. Forte, ‘“Ane Horss Turd”? Sir John Skene of Curriehill – a Gaelic speaking lawyer in the courts of James VI?’ in, *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 23 (2007), 21–52, at 23–30. Evans (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, 1629–1630, 255. *SP*, vii, 63–69. H. Dunthorne, ‘Stewart, Sir William (d. 1602x4),’ *ODNB*, entry no. 26518. *SP*, i, 463–4, 466. *RMS*, vi, no. 323. *NRS*, RD 1/93, fol. 139v.

- 137 ‘...ewery night it wes lookit that the hieland men suld have assa[u]tit owr howses for thei lay not far from owr howses on the other syd of the loch w[i]t[h] in speich & cry, bo[a] sting us continuallie...’ *NLS*, Wod Qu XX, fol. 356–357 (appendix C2). According to Raibeart Munro (1637), in his account of a Highland regiment’s experiences in the wars in

lasted three weeks, was lifted when levies led by Macleod of Dunvegan and Ruairidh Mackenzie, brother to Coinneach, the laird of Kintail, arrived to relieve the settlers and chased and harried the locals, spoiling their crops and burning their houses.¹³⁸ Such levies from the neighbouring Mackays from Sutherland, the Macleods of Harris, and Macdonalds of Sleat could only be compelled to serve on such a commission for a short period of time, after which they would probably require payment, and would thus, having restored order, been dismissed by the planters.¹³⁹

The brief but effective intervention of neighbouring clan levies allowed the planters enough of a respite to continue with their construction at an accelerated rate and complete the stone strong houses in the autumn of 1606. In addition to this they attempted to improve the defensive capabilities by building

Germany, 'if we should cry at all, let it be such a noise as may terrifie our enemies, being strong, courageous and brave.' W.S. Brockington (ed.), *Monro, his Expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment called Mac-Keyes* (Praeger, Westport, 1999), 70, 84, 87. Shouting or crying prior to a conflict was a feature of Scottish Regiments in the first World War commented on by Charles Bird, a psychologist, in a paper from 1917. C. Bird, 'From Home to the Charge: A Psychological Study of the Soldier' *The American Journal of Psychology*, 28 (1917), 315–348, at 341. This was also a feature of Scottish warfare in the fourteenth century. A.J. Macdonald, 'Courage, Fear and the experience of the later medieval Scottish soldier,' in, *Scottish Historical Review*, 92 (2013), 179–206, at 191. The practice of coronach described here at Lewis c.1605–1607, was associated with grieving women by the Synod of Argyll in the 1640s. The Synod (which included Lewis at this point) attempted to ban the custom which they described thus: 'it is a common custome in some of the remottest pairts within this province of ignorant poor women to howle their dead unto the graves, which is commonly called the corronach, a thing unseemely to be used in any true Christian kirk, where there is preacheing and profession of the comfortable resurrection of the dead...' D.C. Mactavish (ed.), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll 1639–1661* (2 vols, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1943–44), i, 61.

138 Appendix C2.

139 In 1626 Sir Dòmhnall Mackay of Reay, who had been granted the superiority of Clanranald's lands and services, transferred these rights to Cailean Mackenzie Earl of Seaforth. Under the terms of this superiority Clanranald was required to serve his superior, Seaforth, with 100 able bodied men to serve him anywhere between the Isle of Mull and the 'Stoerheid' of Assynt on 20 days notice. These men were to provide themselves with provisions for the first eight days and after this it was the responsibility of the superior to feed them. The terms of the earlier service in Lewis, 1605–1607, may have differed in some respects, and the planters would have probably had to make a payment to keep these levies past a certain number of days, possibly forty, the traditional number of days of service demanded by the crown. NRS, RD 1/387, fol. 396r. K. Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424–1513* (Woodbridge, 2006), 23–24, 27. J. Goodare, *The Government of Scotland*, 69, 285, 292, 310–311.

‘rownds’ timber platforms on each corner of the house ‘where hagbutters might stand and defend the howss.’ The construction of such platforms as a timber addition rather than as an integral feature of the masonry suggests that the planters had not anticipated that they would be subject to such frequent and sustained attack. In addition to the stone strong houses of Spens and Lumsden there were more vulnerable buildings, offices and houses made of timber. Certainly the locals sought to capitalise on the flammable properties of the wooden buildings in their next attack. The Lewis men tried creeping up in the dead of night with burdens of dried heather on their backs which they placed against the base of the timber platforms and set them alight. This fire caught and all the buildings in the settlers’ town seem to have been consumed except for the stone buildings. These were only saved with difficulty, by constant dousing of the wooden roofs. According to the chaplain’s account the settlers managed to fend off this attack. However, the haste with which the planters made a withdrawal after their ‘successful’ defence suggests that they were given a heavy setback if not an outright defeat. They suffered the loss of most of their stock and equipment. The settlers attempted to further reinforce the buildings following the attack, according to the chaplain, but by early in 1607 most of them abandoned Lewis.¹⁴⁰ While the wooden buildings had proved vulnerable to attack the strong stone buildings remained and after Niall Macleod had defeated the second expedition in 1607 (or forced them to withdraw) he may have demolished some of these buildings, perhaps fortifying some of the others lest the planters return. This slighting of buildings was important symbolically, but was also a strategy to waste the settlers’ resources, making it harder for them to continue or return.¹⁴¹ The castle at Stornoway, however, remained relatively intact, being held briefly by Ruairidh Mòr

140 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 228–229. Appendix C2 at 357r–357v.

141 *RPCS*, vii, 435. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 235. According to Niall Macleod’s indictment (1613) he had earlier, in 1607: ‘entreit within the camp[i]s belonging to the said Lawland gentilmen, raisit fyre and brunit & distroyit wt fyre ane hous erectit and p[er]teining to S[i]r George Hay of Nether Liff and uth[ir] hous p[er]teining to the Laird of Airdrie and uthir hous p[er]teining to the Laird of Wolmerstoun, ane uthir hous p[er]teining to Johne Dagleische wt dyv[er]ss uther houss[es] newlie buildit within the said Ileand & alange the sea coist th[er]of, brunt & destroyit the hail victuallis furnitu[u]r insicht & plenissing being within the said houss to the avall & estimatioun of ten thowsand punds.’ *NRS*, JC 2/5, fol. 82r–82v. The destruction of property by disgruntled natives was a tactic employed in Ulster, during the rising of Cathair Ó Dochartaigh 1608, where the planters’ buildings in Derry were targetted for destruction. *NLS*, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 2 no. 58. Cathcart, ‘The Statutes of Iona, the archipelagic context,’ at 17–21, 19, notes 56 & 58. P. Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest: plantation Ireland, 1603–1727* (Longman, Harlow,

Macleod of Harris & Dunvegan in August 1607 although it is unclear what his motives were. Perhaps Ruairidh Mòr hoped to try his own luck in Lewis given the evident failure of the Lowland Plantation.¹⁴²

1607–1609, Highland Policy & the Third Attempt

By the end of the second attempt at plantation in early 1607 it seems that Sir George Hay and Sir James Spens had had enough. They seem to have made an accommodation with Mackenzie of Kintail, who had been assiduously, if at times recklessly, attempting to promote his and his kindred's interest in the area for well over a decade.¹⁴³ According to the chaplain of the plantation in Lewis, most of the adventurers left the camp in Stornoway and landed in Peterhead about Candlemas (2 February) 1607, leaving a small rear-guard to hold the buildings of Stornoway. He thought the cause 'quite lost' and reported that the principal gentlemen were negotiating with Mackenzie.¹⁴⁴ Hay, Spens, and probably Lumsden, were nothing if not realists and they realised that only a massive and financially unsustainable surge in terms of the military presence in the area could make good their investment and they seem to have wanted to cut their losses.¹⁴⁵ By 17 March 1607, sensing an opportunity due to the failure of the plantation, Mackenzie tried to assert his right to the lands of Lewis under the great seal following the resignation to him of all rights by his cousin, Torcall Conanach Macleod, whose rights to Lewis had been side-lined, if not trumped by the grant to the Fife Adventurers.¹⁴⁶ The minister to the Fife Adventurers reported that the guard who had been left to hold the town of

2008), 44. For the Privy Council of Scotland's response to Ó Dochartaigh's rebellion, see, *RPCS*, viii, 518–520.

142 *RPCS*, vii, 430.

143 Mackenzie had been imprisoned in Blackness castle for about five months in 1600, implicated in plots to destabilise the plantation at Lewis. He escaped, according to a contemporary source (possibly written by one of the Macleods of Lewis), due to the 'meanes and credite of the Lord Chancellour of Scotland...' *Highland Papers ii*, 271–2. MacCoinnich, 'Mar Phòr san t-Uisge. Ìomhaigh Siol Torcail an Eachdraidh,' 221–222, 224, 228.

144 NLS, Wod Qu. XX, fol. 357v (appendix C2).

145 This was also something the English realised in Ireland. They also knew in the wake of the Nine Years War that they would have to invest substantially to try and make good their conquest. For the scale of investment needed in Ireland see J. Scott Wheeler, 'The logistics of conquest,' in P. Lenihan (ed.), *Conquest and resistance. War in seventeenth century Ireland* (Brill, Leiden, 2001), 177–209.

146 *RMS*, vi, no. 1879.

Stornoway had been abandoned, probably in the spring of 1607, and, despairing of a lack of supplies, had been forced to make their way home to Fife overland through the Highlands.¹⁴⁷ If Mackenzie had thought that he had secured the lands of Lewis, however, he was badly mistaken. James VI's disappointment at the failure of this second plantation was matched by his determination to proceed with a fresh effort at reconquest. James's ideas, however, ran counter to cooling enthusiasm for the enterprise among the principal planters although consummate political operators such as Hay and Spens knew better than to openly defy royal will. Certainly by 1607, the chaplain in Lewis noted that that the principal partners, Spens, Hay and Lumsden, were treating with the Mackenzies who had secured a title to the lands of Lewis by March 1607 as noted above. This was short lived; Mackenzie was forced, due to royal displeasure, to relinquish his rights to Lewis back to the planters in October 1607.¹⁴⁸

James VI had no intention of leaving the island to Siol Torcaill with their 'inveterate customs of barbaritie and incivilitie...'¹⁴⁹ Furthermore the Lewismen had been aided by the inhabitants of the southern Isles, Uist and Barra, the Macneils and the Macdonalds of Clanranald.¹⁵⁰ While James prescribed further plantation for Lewis he was thinking about more radical solutions for the Uists and Barra in March-June 1607: putting pressure on George Gordon, Marquis of Huntly into leading a campaign in the islands for the 'extirpation' of the islanders in the southern outer isles.¹⁵¹ Huntly was extremely reluctant to engage in 'rooting out' – the dark twin of plantation, ostensibly concerned with the financial aspect of the arrangement, but the Hebrideans targeted here, Clanranald in particular, were also fellow Catholics. Even had these concerns not given Huntly pause for thought, the difficulty and the cost entailed in such as task, together with the ongoing difficulties of the Lewis

147 NLS, Wod Qu. xx, fol. 357v (appendix C2). In Virginia around the same time many settlements foundered due to poor supply lines and communications. K.O. Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2007), 214–5.

148 RMS, vi, no. 1982. M. Lee jr., 'James VI's Government of Scotland after 1603,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 77 (1998), 41–53 at 50. M. Lee jr., *Government by pen : Scotland Under James VI & I* (University of Illinois, Urbana, 1980), 75–76.

149 James I, 'Basilikon Doron' in *The Workes* (originally published London: 1616, Anglistica and Americana Reprint, New York: 1971), 159. Letter, King James to David Murray, Lord Scone, 7 April 1607. NRAS 776/*Bundle 1852*, 'Miscellaneous Public documents,' 1584–1631' (Murray Family, Earls of Mansfield Papers). Abstract accessed via an electronic catalogue in the National Archives of Scotland, 2003.

150 RPCS, vii, 255.

151 RPCS, vii, 341–2. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 212, 229–233. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Islands*, 313–315.

scheme would have made him cautious.¹⁵² The experiences of the planters in Lewis suggested to Huntly that dragging of heels may have been a more prudent course of action than a headlong and reckless assault on the Western Isles – even if this entailed defying the king. James had tried to put pressure on Huntly, a prominent Catholic, by threatening to deploy the kirk party against him. James responded to Huntly's hesitation and tactical procrastination by saying that he would find other, 'well disposed' subjects who would 'undertake the work and roote out that viperous generation of whose amendmend ther can be no more hope than of the very caniballes.'¹⁵³ This resulted in a period of what amounted to a house arrest for Huntly, forced to attend sermons in Elgin and left at the mercy of his enemies in the Church, keen to clip the wings of a prominent Catholic earl.¹⁵⁴

Despite much effort, and vituperative rhetoric directed at the islanders (particularly those of Lewis) in the wake of the failed plantation in Lewis in Spring and the Summer of 1607 it was to be early 1608 before James mobilised Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles, and Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, with a commission to deal with the inhabitants of the Hebrides south of Lewis. These commissioners, backed up by the privy council and well-supported by naval forces, English as well as Scots, and armed levies drawn from the burghs and the Lowlands brought fresh pressure to bear on the island clans.¹⁵⁵ This was a new

152 NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 2 no. 14, 16, 17. *RPCS*, vii, 360–362. *Highland Papers*, iii, 100–104. Huntly would also be aware that the last time his family intervened in the West Highlands, against Clanranald, in 1544, they had been outmanoeuvred and their Fraser allies annihilated at Blàr na Lèine. D. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, 157–163, 179. A. Cathcart, *Kinship & Clientage. Highland Clanship, 1451–1609*, 137, 181–2 (& n. 88).

153 Letter, King James to David Murray, Lord Scone, 7 April 1607. NRAS 776/Bundle 1852, 'Miscellaneous Public documents, 1584–1631' (Murray Family, Earls of Mansfield Papers). Abstract accessed via an electronic catalogue of the National Register of Archives at the National Archives of Scotland, 2003.

154 B. Robertson, *Lordship and Power in the North of Scotland. The Noble House of Huntly, 1603–1690*, 38–39. *RPCS*, vii, 396. See also correspondence from (and relating to) Huntly, Edinburgh and James VI & I's court in London, 1604–1608. NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 1, no. 16, 37. NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 2 no. 14, 16, 22, 36, 46.

155 A raid on the isles was co-ordinated in the summer of 1608 by the Privy Council. The session was attended by Bishop on the Isles Andrew Knox. A levy of soldiers, '500 men under waiges,' was raised by the Council who set aside 10,000 merks for their pay and transport. Ship-owners seem to have been reluctant to volunteer their vessels for these expeditions to the isles and the Council authorised the 'arresting of the schippis on the coast of Fyffe and othereis partis be north to attend transportis of yor maiesties forceis to the North Yllis and for arresting of the schippis in the west to attend the transport of the forceis to the South Ylleis...' The force was to rendezvous at Islay in early July 1608, before proceeding to

departure in the approach taken to the Highlands not only for its thoroughness but for its persistence. Crackdowns from Edinburgh were nothing new, but the way in which James VI kept up a sustained pressure on the Highlands from 1587 onwards was. This latest initiative with Knox and Ochiltree in 1608 was to lead to the much discussed Statutes of Iona of August 1609. Hebridean chiefs, from almost all of the islands save Lewis, had been captured a year earlier through subterfuge by Bishop Knox on the English pinnacle, the *Moon*, brought to Ayr and imprisoned until they agreed to certain conditions set by the government. This was designed to integrate the chiefs and their lands into the fabric of Scottish society and encourage them to participate in and contribute to the Lowland Scottish economy to a much greater extent through measures such as the abolition of sorning, provision of ministers to parishes, the education of nobles' children, the reduction of retinues, the suppression of bards, the restriction of firearms, the establishment of inns and the abolition of idlers.¹⁵⁶

Some of these measures were, in fact, in place already, while others were not to be accomplished for some time to come, but these measures in the 'statutes' of Iona signalled the direction of travel. While, for example, the Macleods of Lewis had long been regarded as the epitome of incivility it was not a lack of education (one of the markers of 'civility') that caused the leadership of the clan to be so labelled. Like most of their Highland contemporaries they had clearly received some type of formal Lowland style education and were Scots (and English) literate.¹⁵⁷ The Statutes of Iona did, however, signal that the policies of

Trotternish in north Skye where they were to muster, 24 July 1608, as a staging post for an assault on the North Isles, probably Lewis. Letter, Privy Council to the King, 25 May 1608. NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 2 no. 61, 63. The commander of the 'tounnis men of warre' for Glasgow in May-June 1608 was James Sterling, deacon of the hammermen, who led a force of 20–25 hagbutters from the burgh to accompany Lord Ochiltree in the Isles and was afterwards given a commendation for his service and made a freeman of the burgh. Not all Glaswegians were as public spirited. A Patrick Holmes and a John Muntgomerie failed to supply victuals and supplies on behalf of the town of Glasgow and were imprisoned as a result. Other burghs such as Aberdeen (in 1600, 1608) made cash contributions for an exemption to 'the raid of the isles,' which would presumably be used to pay soldiers, in lieu of sending men. J.S. Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, vol. ii, 1570–1625* (Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1848), 210, 296. J.D. Marwick (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, A.D. 1573–1642* (Scottish Burgh Records Society, Glasgow, 1876), 282–3, 476.

156 For the 'Statutes of Iona,' see D. Gregory, *The History of the Western Highlands and Islands*, 321–335. This has been the subject of a great deal of recent debate. See Goodare, 'The Statutes of Iona in context,' 31–57. MacGregor, 'The Statutes of Iona, text and context,' 111–181. Cathcart, 'The statutes of Iona: the archipelagic context,' 4–27.

157 MacCoinnich, 'Where and how was Gaelic written?' 320.

extirpation which the King had previously contemplated had been abandoned. And, crucially, no attempt was made to modify the structure of clanship: the Crown now sought to work with rather than exterminate the *fine* (clan hierarchy) in the Islands.¹⁵⁸ The Isles were to generate wealth from which the government would now benefit and in this respect the measures were markedly successful, with royal income from the islands having been transformed by 1630.¹⁵⁹ Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, however, in charge of the expedition in the summer of 1608 that led to the Statutes of Iona the following year (and having captured most of the chiefs of the Western Isles), made his excuses for not having gone near Lewis.¹⁶⁰ The Macleods of Lewis were conspicuously exempt from this process.

James, despite the disastrous failure of the second plantation and the cooling of enthusiasm remained determined to proceed with a fresh attempt at plantation in Lewis, notwithstanding Mackenzie's manoeuvring. In letters dated 29 July 1607 he talked of the 'desertion' and leaving of Lewis and blamed this on the 'evill fellowship and slack concurrence' of the planters for the demise of the enterprise. He wrote to David Murray, Lord Scone, 29 July 1607, instructing him to take no measures regarding the North Isles without first consulting Sir George Hay and James Spens of Wormiston who were 'yit oines agane to adventure that bargayne.'¹⁶¹ James wrote another letter the same day to James Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino, who would join Hay and Spens as a principal adventurer in Lewis. James told Balmerino that the three men were now 'maid quytte of such of thair fellowis who in their former society did nothing bot hinder the service.' The king went on that Balmerino should encourage fresh participants in the scheme but he was to make sure there would be willing 'yockfellows in all theyr burdeyns and disbursementtis...'¹⁶² Balmerino's involvement was probably short lived and he fell through a political trapdoor in October 1608, being sacrificed to save his master's skin in connection with a scandal relating to contact with the Papacy, and thus probably

158 Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 65–68, 72–73, 84 & note 20.

159 The Exchequer entries show how lands formerly occupied by Macdonald of Islay which paid £187. 9s. and 8d in 1601, paid £2446 in rent by 1630 – a thirteen fold increase. Macdonald of Sleat's lands, which returned £152 in 1601 rendered £912 by 1630 a sixfold increase. Maclean of Duart's lands which paid £118 in 1601 paid £1032 by 1630, an eightfold increase. NRS, E 59/3, fol. 11. NRS, E 59/8, fol. 6r–6v.

160 Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Islands*, 318–326. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 237. MacGregor, 'The Statutes of Iona. Text and Context,' 115–116.

161 Letter, James VI to David Murray, anent the North Isles. NLS, MS 20775, fol. 34.

162 [Elphinstone Papers, no. 62.] HMC, *Appendix to the 9th Report, part II* (London, 1884), 195.

had little to do with the Lewis scheme.¹⁶³ Balmerino's rights to Lewis seem to have been escheat and granted to Alexander Drummond of Meidhope, a senator of the College of Justice. Drummond, who had been awarded Balmerino's one third share of Lewis, gave permission to fellow portioner Sir George Hay to conduct a deal on his behalf to transfer and sell the rights to Lewis to the Mackenzies in July 1610.¹⁶⁴

The Planters and the Mackenzies

Thomas Cunningham, burgess of Crail and a participant in the plantation in Lewis alleged, in May 1599, that the plantation of Lewis had been 'wonderfullie crossed' by the 'subletie & craft of sich gentlemen that duellis roundabout & professit outwardlie great freindship' as well as by the 'hostiletie & invasioun of the broken men of the Yllis'.¹⁶⁵ The neighbouring gentleman that Cunningham had in mind was Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail (chief, 1594–1611) who maintained a covert but determined resistance to the plantation from its inception until its collapse. This collusion between Mackenzie and the men of Lewis in an attempt to undermine the settlement had been exposed before and during the 'trial' of Murchadh Macleod at St Andrews in 1600, resulting in charges being raised against Mackenzie by Thomas Cunningham burgess of Crail among others.¹⁶⁶ Macleod was promptly executed but not before implicating Mackenzie in his schemes. Mackenzie, however, despite several months' incarceration in Blackness prison managed, largely due to his alliance with Alexander Seton of Fyvie, to escape these charges. He continued subtly to

163 R.R. Zulager, 'Elphinstone, James, first Lord Balmerino (1557–1612),' *ODNB*, entry no. 8746. For an account of Balmerino's fall from grace, see also *SP*, i, 556–562 and, at more length, Pitcairn, *Trials*, ii, 583–604.

164 NRS, RD 1/192, fol. 305r–314v. Alexander Drummond of Meidhope may have been a relative of Lord Balmerino's mother, Margaret Drummond. Meidhope, was related to the Drummonds of Carnock and were distant cadets of the Drummonds who became Earls of Perth. Drummond of Meidhope may have had a longstanding working relationship with Sir George Hay. He was, together with Hay and Alexander Seton Earl of Dunfermline, elected as a councillor to Queen Anne in June 1617. Alexander Drummond of Meidhope deceased on 1 July 1619. NRS, CC 8/8/50/513. W. Fraser (ed.), *The Elphinstone family book of the Lords Elphinstone, Balmerino and Coupar* (2 volumes, Edinburgh, 1897), i, 102; ii, 265. *SP*, i, 556. *RPS*, 1617/5/25. D. Malcolm, *A Genealogical Memoir of the Most Noble and Ancient House of Drummond* (Edinburgh, 1808), 33.

165 NRS, JC 26/3.

166 NRS, RH 6/3673. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 184–187, 190–195.

undermine the settlement at Lewis despite his release, colluding, among others, with Tormod and Niall Macleod.¹⁶⁷ Sir James Spens and Sir George Hay, in particular, had come to appreciate the strength of Mackenzie's position in the adjacent mainland and the vulnerability of their settlement to his machinations and may, by 1605, have sought to come to terms with him. The growing rapprochement between Mackenzie and the Adventurers, George Hay from 1605 to 1607 in particular, may have been reinforced with a tie of marriage and, possibly, gossoprie. Although the exact nature of these ties will remain opaque it is worth considering the nature of Mackenzie's kin-links and marital alliances in light of the impact these may have had on his manoeuvrings vis-a-vis the lordship of Lewis.

Coinneach Mackenzie's first wife, Sìne Ross, a daughter of Seòras Ross of Balnagown, had died in May 1604. Both Sìne Ross, and all other previous spouses of Mackenzie chiefs during the sixteenth century, had been drawn from leading clan or magnate families in the surrounding Highlands. Coinneach's second wife, however, whom he married in early 1606, was Isobel Ogilvie, daughter of Gilbert Ogilvie of that ilk, an obscure laird from the Angus and Perthshire area.¹⁶⁸ This match made by Mackenzie was, and remains, something of a puzzle. There were certainly trade links between the Mackenzies and the south, and Alyth in Angus on the cusp of Ogilvie country was the preferred destination for Mackenzie cattle droving at this time. Isobel's grandmother, moreover, was Margaret Drummond, illegitimate half-sister of James V, thus bringing a fresh infusion of royal blood, albeit well-diluted, down into Mackenzie's family. It is unlikely to be coincidence, given the importance of dynastic politics, that when Lord Balmerino was disgraced and forfeit, his share of the plantation of Lewis passed to Alexander Drummond of Meidhope and that Alexander Seton, Lord Dunfermline, one of the supporters of the Mackenzies had been married to a Lillias Drummond. John Ogilvie, however, a notorious Catholic, and seemingly Isobel's brother, brought considerable disrepute onto the Ogilvie family.¹⁶⁹ Coinneach Òg Mackenzie of Kintail favoured

167 'The ewill trowbles of the Lewis,' in *Highland Papers*, ii, 268–270, 271–272, 276–277. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 186–187, 191–195, 201–202, 209, 211, 236, 243.

168 Gilbert Ogilvie had died around 1600 and had been at the horn (outlawed) for debts owed to the Earl of Argyll and for minister's stipends at the time of his death. His daughter, Isobel, sought to have the escheat of her late father's goods granted to her. D. Warrand, *Some Mackenzie Pedigrees* (Inverness, 1965), 6–17. Coutts, *The Business of the College of Justice in 1600*, 196.

169 There seems to have been a Drummond connection with the charges by which Lord Balmerino fell from grace. *SP*, i, 558. *The Elphinstone family book*, ii, 265. For a discussion of the family connections of the Ogilvies, their Catholicism and cattle droving by the

muscular Christianity of the Protestant variety although some of his closest political allies, Alexander Seton the Earl of Dunfermline and Sir George Hay, the Earl of Kinnoull, may also have been Catholics.¹⁷⁰

The granting of a liferent charter to Isobel Ogilvie of the lands of Pluscardine, 30 May 1606, an estate sold to Mackenzie by his political friend, Seton in 1595, might be coincidental as might the naming of the second son of Coinneach and Isobel's marriage, born sometime around 1607–1608, as Seòras or 'George'.¹⁷¹ Given that the name does not appear to have been applied to any previous known member of the Mackenzie family it would be difficult not to conclude that the future second Earl of Seaforth was not, in fact named after Sir George Hay, suggestive of a tie, perhaps, of gossoprie.¹⁷² Another striking co-incidence was that Sir George Hay's mother was an Ogilvie from the Inchmartine family, albeit the connections between this family and the Ogilvies of that ilk are unclear. While details surrounding this remain difficult to establish with any precision, there can be no doubt about the strength of the relationship forged between Seton, Hay and the Mackenzies, a mutually beneficial alliance that was born of 1605–08 if not earlier and stretched into the 1630s. Certainly in the wake of Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail's premature death in 1611 both Hay and Seton steadfastly supported this Gaelophone family who were, moreover, adept at presenting a Scotophone image (in marked contrast to Seton's

Mackenzies to Elycht (Alyth) in the early seventeenth century, see MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 242–246. *SP*, vii, 47.

170 For Alexander Seton see M. Lee, Jr, 'James VI's Government after 1603,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 77 (1998), 41–53, at 44–49. Lee jr., 'King James's Popish Chancellor,' 170–182. Sir George Hay, Earl of Kinnoull, was educated by his Jesuit uncle, and while he was an outwardly conforming Protestant may have harboured Catholic sympathies. He was too subtle a politician, however, to be pinned down by contemporaries far less historians in terms of his religious allegiance. J. Goodare, 'Hay, George, first earl of Kinnoull (*bap.* 1570, *d.* 1634),' in *ODNB*, no., 12717. D. Howard, 'The Kinnoull Aisle and Monument' in *Architectural History*, 39 (1996), 39–53, at 36–38, 50. For Mackenzie, see chapter one and also MacCoinnich, 'His Spirit was Only given to Warre,' 140. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 227. W. Cramond (ed.), *The Records of Elgin 1234–1800* (2 vols., Aberdeen, 1903–8), ii, 88.

171 This was Seòras Mackenzie of Kildun who succeeded his half-brother, Cailean, as Earl of Seaforth in 1633.

172 J. Dawson, "'There is nothing Like a good Gossip': Baptism, Kinship, and Alliance in Early Modern Scotland," *Review of Scottish Culture*, 15 (2002–3), 88–95. Gossoprie seems to have been the preferred method of building fictive kinship in the south east of the country whereas fosterage was more prevalent in the Highlands. There are, of course, exceptions to this generality and these practices were not confined to these areas. MacCoinnich, 'Daltachas, Fineachan agus Alba anns an t-siathamh agus an t-seachdamh linn deug,' 37–53.

recorded views on other people in the Highlands with ‘unpleasant’ and ‘ungodly’ Gaelic names).¹⁷³ Seton’s daughter Margaret married Cailean, Coinneach’s eldest son and heir in June 1614, a match which had probably been planned years in advance.¹⁷⁴ A deed of August 1611, by which Hay leased the Mackenzie woods of Wester Ross spoke of George Hay’s ‘tender love and affection’ for the ‘umqle Kenneth Lord Kintail and for the guid will and desyr he hes to the standing of his hous following the earnest sute and instant request and desyre of the saids curatoris and friends.’¹⁷⁵ While such language used by Hay may have been formulaic or smack of realpolitik, the long standing business association between Hay and Cailean Mackenzie, the first Earl of Seaforth, suggests it may have some basis in fact.¹⁷⁶

Consideration of the nature of the close links between the between the planters, Hay especially, and the Mackenzies, might shed a new light on the final, brief act of the plantation. The reason given for the failure of the last attempt by the Fife Adventurers to colonise Lewis in 1609, was the interception of a supply ship by hostile elements of the Macleods of Lewis in an act of piracy. The settlement then foundered through lack of victuals due to the capture, seemingly, and loss of *one* ship.¹⁷⁷ However, given that Mackenzie had already established a good working relationship with Spens and Hay in particular, and Mackenzie’s previous implication in piracy during the first episode of plantation, not least the lack of a mention of the supposed piracy of 1609 in the lengthy indictment of Niall Macleod at Macleod’s trial in 1613, one could be forgiven for being a little suspicious about the circumstances of the capture of this final supply ship.¹⁷⁸ Could it be the case that the final act of maritime

173 *Highland Papers*, iii, 117. All of the chiefs of Mackenzies and most of their cadets were Gaels, had Gaelic by-names and were patrons, if not producers, of Gaelic poetry. All the written records, however, left by the Mackenzies from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are in Scots and latterly English. Even the few fragments of Gaelic they wrote were framed in an unorthodox English orthography. MacCoinnich, ‘Where was Gaelic written,’ 314, 319–321, 335, 337–9, notes 16, 30, 32–35, 38, 40. MacCoinnich, ‘Scribis le pen di shenchis,’ Criomagan de Ghàidhlig ann an Eachdraidhean Beurla Chlann Choinnich, c.1550–1711,’ 149–194. MacGregor, ‘Writing the history of Gaelic Scotland: a Provisional checklist of ‘Gaelic’ genealogical histories,’ 357–379.

174 NLS, MS 14476, fol. 1.

175 NRS, RD 1/192, fol. 305r–314v.

176 For the connections of Hay and Seaforth in connection with the iron business in the 1620s see MacCoinnich, ‘Cleiffis of Irne,’ Clann Choinnich agus gnìomhachas iarainn, c. 1569–1630,’ 137–152.

177 Gregory, *The History of the Western Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, 334–336. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 243.

178 NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 80–84. Pitcairn, *Trials*, iii, 244–247.

‘piracy’ on the part of the Macleods which closed down the last phase of plantation may have been engineered by Mackenzie with the connivance of Hay and Spens? Given James VI’s intransigence and insistence on continued plantation as late as 1609 (in public at least), and Hay and Spens’s need to be seen to commit to the Lewis enterprise or risk royal disfavour (and thus the end of their careers), such an outcome could have demonstrated Hay and Spens’s loyalty, underlined Macleod perfidy and highlighted the readiness of Mackenzie to clean the area up. There is no doubt that Sir James Spens had a talent for diplomacy, subterfuge and espionage and such a plot was well within his range of talents.¹⁷⁹ This is conjecture and will remain so for lack of proof. If such a plan had been hatched it could never have been aired or committed to paper, but would, have given Hay and Spens (and the king) a face-saving exit strategy while presenting Mackenzie with an opportunity to pick up the pieces. In any case the plantation failed and James VI finally relented, allowing the Mackenzies to again, in 1609–1610, stake a claim for the Lordship of Lewis, ‘their long wished for and expected prey.’¹⁸⁰

The Working Plantation: The Potential for Success

The life cycle of the plantation and something of the political and material history of the settlement of the Fife Adventurers has been sketched out above in broadly chronological terms. The following sections aim to explore some areas relating to the plantation, previously discussed, above, in a more thematic manner. The evident failure of the plantation can blind us to the potential it had for success. Clearly for the gentlemen adventurers of Fife it was not obvious that this was bound to fail. While some of the planters pulled out of the venture and had sold up in 1605, wearied, perhaps, by the losses of blood and silver, there were others, such as George Hay of Nether Liff, Robert Lumsden of Airdrie, James Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino and David Lundy of Newhall, who were willing to step into their shoes.¹⁸¹ Robert Lumsden of

179 For a consideration of James Spens’s career as a diplomat and spymaster, see S. Murdoch, *Network North* (Brill, 2006), 251–279. See also S. Murdoch, ‘Oxenstierna’s Spies: Sir James Spens and the organisation of covert operations in seventeenth-century Sweden,’ in D. Szechi (ed.), *The dangerous trade: spies, spymasters and the making of Europe* (Dundee University Press, 2010), 45–65.

180 *Highland Papers ii*, 277.

181 Letter, Learmonth of Balcomie at Edinburgh, to Learmonth, apparent of of Dairsie, 21 April 1601. NRS, RH 15/45/45/3. This letter suggests that the laird of Newhall was interested in buying out the laird of Balcomie’s interest in Lewis although this does not seem to have happened. David Lundy of Newhall became cautioner for Robert Lumsden of

Airdrie became one of the principal portioners of Lewis from 1605 but he was no stranger to the north of Scotland having had business deals and long-standing connections in the area since the early 1590s. He had, along with his father-in-law Clement Cor, been involved in sourcing significant amounts of bere from John Earl of Sutherland from 1599 onwards, some 60 chalders over three years.¹⁸² Lumsden had bought lands in Fife off James Spens of Wormiston, 25 October 1598, on the eve of the first expedition, and would have known all the details of Spens's subsequent experiences.¹⁸³ Despite having witnessed the difficulties experienced by his fellow Fife lairds due to their involvement in Lewis, Lumsden was still prepared to invest heavily in the venture in 1605, clearly expecting to make a profit. There was an eagerness among Scottish people with substantial economic means to get involved with the opportunities that such an enterprise could offer. Five years later the proclamation of the Privy Council for volunteers to make a plantation in Ulster attracted no less than 59 principal investors, people prepared to invest substantial sums in the new scheme, bringing thousands of people with them into Ulster in the early seventeenth century.¹⁸⁴

Airdrie when Lumsden bought out the rights to Lewis from the Commendator of Pittenweem's widow in August 1605. NRS, RD 1/112, fol. 396r. NRS, DI 53/19. At Coupar, 25 January 1606.

182 Under the terms of a contract made at Edinburgh, 9 February 1600, 62 chalders and 8 bolls 'guid & sufficient Sutherland beir' was to be delivered by John Earl of Sutherland to Clement Cor and his ship, a 'crear' (crayer) at Helmsdale in three instalments, starting 15 April 1600. Sutherland struggled to deliver this bere on time and incurred financial penalties as a result. Sutherland also sold salmon to Cor and Lumsden. Robert Lumsden, who had married Isobel, Clement Cor's daughter in 1588, had previously been a tacksman of the revenues of the priory of Beaulieu in 1591–1595 and had extracted these revenues from Sir Fraser, Lord Lovat. Lumsden had also contracted, 8 November 1592, with George Keith, Earl Marischal to buy 400 chalders of meal which would be delivered to Lumsden at the harbours of Stonehaven, Gordon and Peterhead by the following Summer for a price of 16,000 merks. The Keiths were unable to deliver the agreed amounts and had a shortfall of 114 chalders and 13 bolls. They were then penalised to the tune of £7980. 12s. 7d. NRS, RD 1/53, fol. 15–17. RD 1/159, fol. 125v. RD 1/96, fol. 118v, 173v. RD 1/192, fol. 40. W. Fraser (ed.), *The Elphinstone family book of the Lords Elphinstone, Balmerino and Coupar* (2 volumes, Edinburgh, 1897), i, 171–2; ii, 165–166.

183 NRS, RS 30/7/173.

184 Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 199–201. According to Donaldson between 40,000 and 50,000 Scots had settled in Ulster by the mid seventeenth century. G. Donaldson, *Scotland, James V–James VII* (Edinburgh), 252–3. Canny estimated the number of Scottish migrants before 1641 at 'up to 30,000.' N. Canny, 'the origins of empire, an introduction,' in N. Canny (ed.),

Despite the difficulties with the Lewis scheme, the underlying economic rationale for the plantation, exploitation of the lucrative fishery, remained intact. The testament dative and inventory of Robert Traquhair, a merchant burghess of Edinburgh who was killed by Niall Macleod of Lewis and his men in a raid on the plantation at Stornoway in 1601, lists a cargo belonging to him being shipped from Stornoway to the port of Leith and gives one snapshot of commercial activity in the settlement. Traquhair's goods were 600 ling, 400 codling, 700 thornbacks (rays/skates), 100 'stail' (possibly 'stell,' or net-caught fish), four dakers of dry hides, five roe-buck skins, 2 barrels of fish and a bushel of Lambskins, worth £377.¹⁸⁵ Traquhair was a minor player in the enterprise, albeit probably domiciled in Stornoway given that he had contracted with James Dundas in Leith, 'with his bark callit *the Frope*,' for the freight of Traquhair's goods from Stornoway to Leith. Fish, unsurprisingly, forms the bulk of the cargo. Thomas Cunningham, burghess of Crail, attempted to press charges against Mackenzie of Kintail for the loss of 12 lasts of fish and herring in 1599 around the coast of Lewis. Cunningham's suit was probably unsuccessful, but this shows the nature of the trade he was engaged in at Lewis.¹⁸⁶ The testament of a William Anstruther, mariner burghess of Kilrenny, Fife who died in 1608, listed four lasts of isles' herring worth £80, which may have been taken around the Northern Hebrides, in the inventory of his goods.¹⁸⁷ Fish was being sent south but other commodities were being transported north. Sir James Spens, a 'Lewis merchand,' called in at Aberdeen in May 1606, northward bound, with a cargo of 5 tuns of wine.¹⁸⁸ Wine here, as elsewhere, seems to have been closely bound up with the fish trade. The fishing effort from Fife boats seems to have continued unabated throughout the plantation period although the conditions of unrest

The Oxford History of the British Empire. Volume 1. The Origins of Empire. British overseas enterprise to the close of the seventeenth century (Oxford, 1998), 1–33, at 15. J. Young, 'Invasions, Scotland and Ireland, 1641–1691,' in P. Lenihan (ed.), *Conquest and Resistance. War in seventeenth century Ireland* (Brill, Leiden, 2001), 53–86, at 55 & n. 7. Macinnes, 'Making the plantations British, 1603–38,' 102–103.

185 The reference to his death is in the indictment against Niall Macleod of Lewis on trial at Edinburgh in 1613. The testament, made and given up by Elspeth Traquhair, Robert's daughter, 12 January 1602, makes no mention of the manner or circumstances of her father's death or even the date of his decease other than the year, 1601, focusing on questions related to goods and monies that needed resolving. NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 81v. Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii, 245. NRS, CC 8/8/36/245.

186 NRS, JC 26/3.

187 NRS, CC 8/8/45/217.

188 L.B. Taylor (ed.), *Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts, 1596–1670* (Aberdeen, 1972), 47.

due to the plantation exacerbated the dangers to which visiting fishermen and merchant shipping, particularly traffic with the plantation in Stornoway, were exposed.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless if merchants like Traquhair, Cunningham, Dundas and Anstruther and had been able to pursue their trade in Lewis, they would, like the principal planters, have recouped their outlay within a few seasons.

There are some glimpses of the activities of the principal planters to be gleaned from fragments of extant correspondence which gives an insight into some of their priorities as they strove to build a life in Lewis, before it became necessary to abandon the settlement. Tools and tradesmen were high on the list of William Learmonth as he wrote home to his brother in Fife from Stornoway in February 1601. Skilled craftsmen and workers were at a premium, particularly, masons and carpenters as they sought to build the 'prettie' town discussed above. One Robert Geddes, who would appear to have been a carpenter, was supplied with tools, but Learmonth wanted his brother to try and find 'ony young men that hes skill of labouring' and send them up to Stornoway. The same letter also contains a long list of commodities which Learmonth wanted to ship up from Fife such as salt and meal, but also, significantly, lead and powder.¹⁹⁰ Stornoway appears to have been a busy and vibrant town prior to its capture by the Macleods in early 1602, albeit beset by difficulties of supply, not least in grain and meal. Indeed some of the earliest of the few surviving documents written by the planters in Stornoway concerns the supply of grain and the trade between the portioners within Stornoway.¹⁹¹

189 Many of these may will not have been recorded. For some such cases see appendix C4 under the headings Blair, Cunningham, Inglis, Macintosh, Sinckler, Thorntoun and the relevant notes. For the exchange of fish and wine see the Mackenzie and English chapters, below.

190 Geddes was given an axe, a womble (an auger), a piercer and a 'persethrong' (an awl?). Among the items listed which Learmonth wanted sent up to Lewis were: ploughs, irons, iron, horses, powder, lead, 'cornes,' meal, 2 lasts of salt, books, 'aquavitey,' 'deales' [wooden planks], and cloth to make clothing. Letter from William (?) Learmonth to his brother, probably John Learmonth of Balcomie. Dated at Stornoway, 10 February 1601. NRS, RH 15/45/45/2.

191 Obligation by John Mure of Cotland, to pay William Learmonth, brother of Balcomie, for 9 barrels of meal, 3 barrels of malt and 144 barrels of 'briskat' (biscuit) worth £118. 10s. 8d. delivered to Mure's co-portioner, Sir James Sandilands, as well as standing surety for Crowner Stewart's debts owed the Earl of Caithness. Dated at Stornoway 2 March 1599. NRS, RH 15/45/32. Receipt (no monetary value given), James Learmonth of Balcomie to Sir James Sandilands for 7 barrels oatmeal and 4 barrels malt, dated at Stornoway, 18 February 1599. NRS, RH 15/45/28.

Victuals, Grain and the Vulnerable Supply Line

The initial expedition of 1598 must have had a supply of victuals when they arrived in Lewis in early November, but within a month they were forced to nominate a commissioner from one of their number to go and treat with people in mainland Scotland to see if they could secure a supply of food. This suggests, perhaps, either a lack of planning or, more probably the unforeseen loss of some of their own stores of provision at Stornoway. They nominated James Learmonth of Balcomie, 7 December 1598, to go and treat with neighbouring magnates such as George Sinclair, Earl of Caithness, Seòras Ross of Balnagown or Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail to try and buy meal. The first part of this initiative seems to have been successful and Learmonth's brother, William, and John Forret of Fingask negotiated in Thurso, on Balcomie's behalf, a purchase of 24 chalders of victual from the Earl of Caithness at the end of January 1599. The commission which Learmonth had taken bound the signatories, his fellow planters, to 'releiw the said James of all wenture, danger or damage ather be sea or land in transporting and carieng the said victual unto us.'¹⁹² This clearly anticipated an element of danger in Learmonth's mission to secure this victual for the colony. But they did not, perhaps, foresee quite how perilous it would prove to be. Learmonth successfully negotiated a grain shipment with the earl of Caithness but it was probably after his return to Lewis that he was captured at sea by Murchadh Macleod of Siabost and, together with his companions kept hostage in lieu of a ransom payment.¹⁹³ The interception at sea and the kidnap, ransom and eventual death of James Learmonth of Balcomie underlined some of the problems and fundamental structural weaknesses affecting the colony: the lack of good relations with those they dispossessed in Lewis and the inevitable security question this raised, the resulting vulnerability of the supply lines to attack, and the lack of military or fiscal power to address both these issues.

This combination of a failure to establish self sufficiency in agricultural terms in the islands and a complete reliance on the import of foods from Caithness, Sutherland and points south and east meant that the settlement

192 Commission to James Learmonth by the 'barons and gentlemen' dated at 'our campe' in Stornoway, 7 December 1598. The signatories were [William Stewart, commendator of] Pettynwem, S[ir] J[ames] Anstruther, Johne Homme, J[ames] Sandilands, W[illiam] Murray, Jhone Forreit of Fyngask. NRS, RH 15/45/30. NRS, RD 1/67, fol. 323v.

193 For Learmonth's kidnapping, release and death and the subsequent capture and execution of Murchadh Macleod see Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 189–193.

was vulnerable if this supply was threatened or cut by either weather or malicious intent. The series of charitable payments made by the burgh of Aberdeen to stragglers from Lewis, trying to make their way home to Fife in the teeth of an Atlantic and North Sea winter, in January 1599, some having been 'pilleit' (plundered) by 'hieland men,' underline the difficulties faced by the planters.¹⁹⁴ The length of the supply line, however, would not have been such a cross to bear had their harvests been successful. It is unlikely that the planters managed to successfully plant and harvest a crop in Lewis during the first period of plantation, 1599–1601. If they did this it was likely to have been badly disrupted by raiding from the discontented and dispossessed local population, who may have been pursuing a policy, similar to that of the Gaelic Irish in Ulster against the incoming English, of avoiding protracted fighting, spoiling the newcomers' resources and wearing them down materially.¹⁹⁵ The latter attempts at plantation were likely to have been even more unsettled and the minister's account informs us that the planters were being ambushed while harvesting their crop in 1606. To make matters worse, the Lewis men succeeded in setting the settlers' peat stacks alight, thus depriving the settlers of fuel as well as food at the onset of winter in 1606. As the years of the plantation seem to have taken place during a succession of exceptionally hard winters, the lack of fuel as much as the difficulty in securing food supplies may have tipped the balance towards failure of the second attempt at plantation.¹⁹⁶

194 'Accounts of the Dean of Guild of the Burgh of Aberdeen: Discharge: 1598–9,' in, J. Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen. Vol. 2, 1570–1625* (Aberdeen, Spalding Club, 1848), 71, 204. Thanks to Dr Dauvit Horsbroch for this reference.

195 J. Scott Wheeler, 'The Logistics of Conquest,' in P. Lenihan (ed.), *Conquest and Resistance. War in seventeenth century Ireland* (Brill, Leiden, 2001), 177–209, at 177.

196 NLS, Wod. Qu., Vol. xx., fol. 356v (appendix C2). According to Robert Birrell, the end of 1600 and the beginning of 1601 were exceptionally unclement. The 'lyk winter wes nevir sene. It begane the first of November and lastit quhill the first of Maii.' Again, in early 1607, the River Clyde was closed to shipping for sixteen weeks due to a 'vehement frost.' *Birrell's Diary*, 53. J.D. Marwick (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, A.D. 1573–1642* (Scottish Burgh Records Society, Glasgow, 1876), 290. Exceptionally hard winters were also experienced in neighbouring England and across the Atlantic in Jamestown. It has been suggested that this was connected to the El Niño weather patterns. K.O. Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2007), 167–9, 176–177. These sharp winters came at the end of a sixty year long period of climate warming in western Scotland between 1540 and 1604. A.G. Cage & W.E.N. Austin, 'Marine Climate variability during the last millennium: the Loch Sunart record, Scotland, UK' in *Quaternary Science Reviews*, 29 (2010), 1633–1647, at 1645.

One point that historians have made, as if to underline the apparent futility and short-sightedness of the plantation in Lewis, and to underscore the inevitability of its failure, is that the planters changed the payment they owed the crown under the terms of their initial contract from a render of 140 chalders of bere to a render based on fish.¹⁹⁷ This is taken as being symptomatic of the lack of planning and preparedness of the settlers. Similarly, the apparent incompetence and ill-preparedness of the Fife Adventurers is sometimes contrasted with the meticulous preparations made by the English in Ireland in the 1570s and 1580s in Ards and Munster.¹⁹⁸ These early English efforts also ended in disaster. Plantation proved to be an enormously difficult undertaking in many different locations, with the reality often failing to match the planters' expectations.¹⁹⁹ Moreover, the Fife planters did have a fair idea of what they were getting into. They were not going blindly into terra incognita: many of those involved knew the island well personally through fishing or from first-hand reports.²⁰⁰ They timed the arrival of their initial expedition to early November 1598, having brought, presumably, enough supplies to see them through the winter. The timing of their arrival, in early winter, puzzled Donald Gregory, who considered it ill judged.²⁰¹ Yet it was clearly a calculated decision as the second major expedition chose the same time to make their descent on Lewis, in late summer, early autumn 1605. This time of year may have been chosen with a view to the harvest at home in Fife or in settling the colony in readiness for sowing a crop in Lewis the following spring.

Surviving written accounts of the island dating to the sixteenth century, from Dòmhnall Monro (1549) onwards did stress the returns possible from these lands which assured a measure at least of self-sufficiency in oats and bere. The tiny island of Beàrnaraigh Beag in Loch Ròg, alone, on the west coast of Lewis, could, according to Monro, supply up to 200 bolls (12.5 chalders) of bere per annum. If such yields were possible on one small island off Lewis, the entire island might easily be capable of supporting the render of 140 chalders promised by the Fife Adventurers to the Crown in 1598.²⁰² The Macleods on

197 Goodare, *The Government of Scotland*, 226. Lynch, James VI and the 'Highland Problem,' 217 & note 4. *RPS*, 1598/6/5.

198 Wormald, 'The 'British' crown, the earls and the plantation of Ulster,' 22.

199 N. Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 134–145, 161–164. Pluymers, 'Taming the wilderness in sixteenth and seventeenth century Ireland and Virginia,' 610–632.

200 The 'Ewill Trowbles of the Lewis' makes this clear as it states that some of those in Lewis 'had been there before.' *Highland Papers*, ii, 270.

201 Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands*, 290.

202 While Dòmhnall Monro (1549) said that the north part of Lewis was 'well inhabite at the sea coist, ane frutfull cuntrie, for the maist pairt all beir' he did qualify this by stating that

Lewis, as may have been the practice on Lismore and probably on other lands in the Hebrides, apparently used the paring of peat mosses, from the sixteenth century, to try and extend the arable land under cultivation. According to Dòmhnall Monro, priest at Stornoway in the 1540s, the land in Lewis 'all was peitmosland at the sea coist, and the place quhair he wynis his peittis this yeir, thair he sawis his beir the next yeir, eftir that he guidis it weill with sea wair.' This sounds remarkably like a policy of reclamation of the peaty lands that cover much of the island. The machair lands of North West Lewis, however, would have been naturally much more productive.²⁰³ A report prepared probably for James VI sometime before 1595 gives a full appraisal of the produce of the islands including Lewis. This report stated that Lewis was fertile, teeming with wild fowl and fish, and had high yields of bere, returning a yield of between 16–20 bolls for each boll planted.²⁰⁴ While this might indeed have been possible in some locales on well-manured machair land in exceptionally good years, more sober modern estimates suggest a three to fourfold return, with the likelihood that yields would fluctuate considerably.²⁰⁵ Lewis, the report stated, paid or should pay 360 chalders of bere annually as part of its rent return together with 1016 cattle, 640 wedders, 'ane great quantity of fisches' and poultry together with white plaid. All this and more, presumably, had been consumed by the lord of the land, Macleod of Lewis, who made a circuit of his estates being feasted 'quhen he pleises to cum in the cuntry, ilk ane thair nicht or twa nichtis about according to the land and the labouring...' This practice, common throughout the western seaboard and the Highlands, was called 'cuid-oidhche,' or night's render, an imposition on his tenantry which would be uplifted by the lord as he progressed through his estates.²⁰⁶ It was clear to

the land was poorer in the south, especially in the south east, the Lochs area of Lewis. Monro, *Description*, 332, 338.

- 203 Monro's comment, translated into English, reads 'all peat-moss land at the sea-coast, and the place where he cuts his peats this year, he sows his barley there next year, and after that he manures it well with sea-ware.' The evidence outwith Lewis and Lismore is lacking but there seems no good reason why the rest of the islands would not have had similar approaches. Monro, *Description*, 338. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 1603–1788, 69.
- 204 Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, iii, 429.
- 205 Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 1603–1788, 18. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 218–222. See also Shaw, *The Northern and Western Islands of Scotland*, 95–96, 98–99.
- 206 Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, iii, 429–433. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 1603–1788, 20. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 57–60, 85, 90, 103. Shaw, *The Northern and Western Islands of Scotland*, 154.

Lowland eyes that this lordship, geared to the production and retention of fighting men rather than a fiscal-style economy, could and should produce regular rents for the good of the crown rather than ‘idle’ warriors. Siol Torcaill could, according to this report, support and sustain 1040 men from their island territories alone. This estimate did not include potential additional men from the clan’s mainland territories of Assynt, Gairloch and Coigeach which, ideally, perhaps, if the clan were united, could levy an additional 400 men.²⁰⁷ The production and sustenance of fighting men (who could, admittedly bring in revenue from the Irish mercenary market prior to 1596) rather than the primary pursuit of economic profit was the priority of the Lewis and other west Highland and Island estates at this time, a practice that may have been rooted in the ancient kingdom of the Isles.²⁰⁸ This militarised organisation of estates to the detriment of the generation of taxable wealth and the resulting lack of income to the crown from the area was something that James and his councillors were determined to address.²⁰⁹

Agricultural Potential

Even if these sixteenth century reports of the island’s wealth were inaccurate the depth of knowledge of the island which the Fife fishermen had meant that these figures are likely to have been broadly realistic: even if the bere yield would seem to exceed modern expectations. Clearly, however, visitors to the island had been impressed with its potential and real wealth as much as the barbarity of its natives. An account stating that Lewis could produce a yield of 360 chalders of bere was probably what James VI and the planters had to hand when they drew up the contract of June 1598 giving a more modest tax burden of 140 chalders.²¹⁰ The planters, perhaps, believing the propaganda about the brutishness and indolence of the natives, may have imagined they could increase yields. The abandonment of a bere render and the switching of

207 Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, iii, 429–433. MacCoinnich, ‘Siol Torcail and their Lordship in the Sixteenth Century’, 23.

208 This point was made at a public lecture given by Dr David Caldwell on the ‘Lost Kingdom of the Isles’ for *Comunn Gàidhlig Ghlaschu* at Sgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu, 21 February 2012.

209 For James VI’s finances in the lead up to plantation, see J. Goodare, ‘James VI’s English subsidy’, in Goodare & Lynch, eds., *The reign of James VI*, 110–125.

210 A chaldar of bere contained 16 bolls. A boll was roughly around 140 lb (63.5 Kg). Each chaldar of bere in Linlithgow measures was the equivalent of 3386.624 litres. Scottish Archive Network, ‘SCAN, weights and measures guide.’ <<http://www.scan.org.uk/measures/index.asp>> DSL.

the dues to exactions based on fish by 1600, rather than being symptomatic of ill-preparedness and bad planning in terms of the potential returns, may point instead towards the breakdown in relations with the tenants and inhabitant of Lewis. In order to retain the productivity of the land, of which their reports (even if they were overly optimistic) assured them, they would have to have had the co-operation or at least neutrality from the natives. Probably the stereotypes in the Lowlands of lazy Highlanders as 'idill belleis' were well ingrained already by this time: people who, in the minds of southern Scots, were content to lounge about and not work.²¹¹ The planters coming from the rich farmlands of Fife and the Lothians, would no doubt have assumed that they could have made a better fist of the agricultural potential of the island. Many of them such as John Burne, the son of the gudeman of Bowprrie in Fife (see appendix C4), in Lewis in 1601, would have been skilled farmers. Any casual assumptions of Hebridean indolence made by newcomers would have been challenged, however, even if the prejudice remained, once the harsh realities of Hebridean geography set in and they tried to make the plantation work, not least in terms of agriculture.

While reports of the 1580s or 1590s, discussed above, may have placed an emphasis on the fertility of Hebridean soils, the planters, used to the rich productive soils and relatively sheltered climate of the south and east Lowlands would have been disappointed with what they found. The climate on the North West littoral is now, and doubtless was then, much wetter and windier than in Fife.²¹² Hebridean arable and machair land can indeed be truly productive. Despite the size of Lewis, however, such land is in short supply. The earliest surviving estate surveys of Lewis, dating from 1807–1817, measured the land at 274,274 acres, and found that only 10,595 acres or 4% of that was good arable land, another 4776 acres or 2% was 'fine pasture' but that 92% of the island was 'moorish pasture' and moss or uncultivable peat bog.²¹³ Hebridean surpluses

211 'Statutes of Iona' quoted from MacGregor, 'The Statutes of Iona: text and context' 175–6. MacGregor, 'Gaelic barbarity and Scottish identity in the later middle ages,' 25–26. A contemporary English tract talked of the 'idleness of the mere Irish...' R. Gillespie (ed.), 'Three Tracts on Ireland, c.1613' in *Analecta Hibernica* 38 (2004), 1–47, at 16.

212 There seems to be no way of measuring weather patterns in the past, other than extreme events noted by chroniclers. Variations in global climate notwithstanding, it seems reasonable to assume that early seventeenth century Lewis, with an oceanic climate was as rain lashed and windblown from Atlantic storms as it was in the twentieth century in comparison to the dryer North Sea climate enjoyed by Fife. A.C. O' Dell & K. Walton, *The Highlands & Islands of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1962), 38, 41, 47–50.

213 The remaining 2% was fresh water according to Gibbs. These figures are in Scots rather than imperial acres and are from a table on the estate map of Lewis made by Alexander

might not be the norm, but they were not inconceivable, albeit on a smaller scale than that envisaged by the planters. The smaller but comparably more fertile lands of South Uist, Benbecula and Moidart provided Eoin Macdonald of Clanranald, for example, with enough of a surplus to be able to sell 80 bolls of bere to Maclean of Lochbuie in 1621.²¹⁴ This 4–5% of arable land on Lewis, perhaps up to the 10,000 acres mentioned above, is not negligible and may, with good harvests, have afforded a measure of self sufficiency to the Macleods of Lewis in oats and bere, but probably not too much more even on a good year. The planters, moreover, did indeed successfully plant and grow a crop in the autumn of 1606. However, it was neither soil nor climate that spoiled their harvest but native resistance, timed to interrupt the harvest, with the settlers being subject to ambush while they were reaping their crops.²¹⁵

Relations with the Natives: Divide and Rule?

The planters themselves, 23 June 1600, having taken stock of the size of the task facing them in the year and a half since they established a beachhead at Stornoway, drew up a contract at Burntisland. Their stated aims were

to reduce his maiesties peipill thairintill to the knowlege of God, christiane religion and his majesties obedience and utherwayis to establishe guid rewll ordour and pollicie within the samyn...²¹⁶

To this end they had several priorities. Given that ‘reducing’ was the stated aim of the planters,’ security, perhaps not surprisingly, was foremost among these

Gibbs (1817) which is a copy of an earlier map of Lewis, now lost, made by James Chapman (1807–1809). Gibbs's map currently hangs in the offices of Comhairle nan Eilean Siar, Stornoway. I am grateful to Dr Chris Barrowman, Eòradal, Lewis, for this information. Caird found that Gibbs and Chapman's work was inaccurate and underestimated the acreage in Lewis by a margin of up to 16%. It does nevertheless give a good idea of the relative proportions of land. J.B. Caird, ‘Early 19th Century Estate Plans’ in F. MacLeòid (ed.), *Togail Tìr. Marking Time* (Acair, Stornoway, 1989), 51–55, 74. See also Walker's eighteenth century report, M.M. Mackay (ed.), *The Rev Dr John Walker's Report on the Hebrides of 1764 and 1771* (1980. John Donald edition, Edinburgh, 2004), 39–43. Modern surveys put the size of Lewis at 683 square miles (1770 Km²). F. Thomson, *Lewis & Harris* (Newton Abbot, 1968), 15.

²¹⁴ Contract dated 15 March 1621 at Edinburgh and Leith between Eoin MacDonald of Moidart, Captain of Clanranald and Eachann Maclean of Lochbuie. NRS, RD 1/342, fol. 227v.

²¹⁵ NLS, Wod. Qu. xx, fol. 356r (appendix C2).

²¹⁶ Appendix C3.

concerns. Building, as discussed above, was a priority. The camp had been subject to sporadic harassment and attack and James Learmonth of Balcomie, one of the principal planters, had, as noted above, been kidnapped and ransomed by the Macleods with several of his companions having been killed earlier in the year. It is clear from the preparations taken by the planters, the plans for fortifications and the soldiers they brought with them that they anticipated resistance from the very beginning. In October 1598 the gentleman adventurers obtained a parliamentary act giving them a one year exemption from any legal action against them resulting from their actions in the conquest and plantation of Lewis, effectively giving them *carte blanche* to commit any actions they saw fit.²¹⁷ Despite this, the chaplain accompanying the adventurers thought, or wished to think, that the 'cuntry people' or natives of Lewis welcomed the planters as liberators from the tyrannical attentions of the Macleods. This must have been how the incoming planters justified their actions.²¹⁸ All the Lewis people seem, indeed, at various times, to have come into the planters' peace, even if some of them only came in for brief periods. There does seem to have been an uneasy calm before June 1600 when the planters, having pacified the land, now moved onto the next item on their agenda, the division of the lands of Lewis amongst members of their society. Partition clearly had a high priority for the planters once the land was settled and this is reflected in the contract drawn up at Burntisland in June of 1600. Stornoway, due to the nature of its harbour and castle, had always, probably, been the caput or focus of the late medieval lordship of Lewis. All of the portioners seem to have had an equal share of the port and town of Stornoway, designed as the centre of the plantation (appendix C3).

Once the town had been apportioned equally between the ten principal planters, the rest of the island was to be equally divided. The remaining parts of Lewis were to be split firstly into three parts and each third subsequently divided into tenths. Each principal planter would have one of these tenths in each of the three sections, thus each having an equal share in all parts of the island: in other words the island, outwith Stornoway, was to be split into 30 equal portions, the principals having three portions each.²¹⁹ The manner in

217 Parliamentary register, 30 October 1598. *RPS*, 1598/10/6.

218 Appendix C2, at fol. 352v, 353r. This can also be seen in an account from Ulster, a few years later, where one of the planters there, Fynes Morison, sought, perhaps, to convince himself that poor people had been oppressed by the rule of the native Irish who were properly grateful for their liberation under their new masters. Morison said that the native Irish had kept the tenantry under them with 'great tyranny' G. Kew (ed.), 'The Irish sections of Fynes Moryson's unpublished itinerary' in *Analecta Hibernica*, 37 (1998), 1–137, at 49.

219 Appendices C2 & C3.

which the ten principals were to each have a portion in the three sections was probably intended to ensure that they would have an equitable distribution of the lands which varied greatly in their potential productivity in different parts of the island. The traditional measure of the extent of the lands in the island of Lewis itself seems to have been sixteen dabhaichean.²²⁰ Identifying these dabhaichean is not always straightforward not least due to the alternative (or perhaps parallel) measurement of lands in pennies.²²¹ Given that Stornoway, perhaps one dabhach of land, was separated by the planters from the rest of the island, then the remaining lands of Lewis, fifteen dabhaichean, would correspond neatly with the thirty portion division proposed by the planters: each portion consisting, perhaps, of a half dabhach or ten penny lands.²²² Such a thirty-portion division adopted by the Fife planters must relate to the later 300 pennyland division of the lands of Lewis. Stornoway excepted. This later pennyland extent is detailed in a document produced by the Seaforth regime dating to 1754. Despite the late date, this later valuation used by both the Seaforths and by the Fife Adventurers must have its roots in the older, pre-plantation, 15 dabhach, or 300 penny, land division of Lewis.²²³

The partitioning of these lands by the Fife Adventurers, however, although anticipated since June 1600 was delayed until around April 1601. Part of the reason for this delay was the appearance at Stornoway of ‘Turclis wyff,’²²⁴ This was ‘Margaret nein Alasdair vc Angus’ (Mairead nighean Alasdair mhic Aonghais), a daughter of Macdonnell of Glengarry who was married to Torcall Conanach Macleod ‘of Lewis’ and an aunt of Dòmhnall mac Aonghais mhic Alasdair, or Macdonnell of Glengarry. Mairead had been granted a liferent charter jointly with her husband, in 1573 to ten dabhaichean of land in the Macleod of Lewis lordship, a grant confirmed under a great seal charter of July 1590. Torcall, with the help of his kinsmen, the Mackenzies, had been able to

220 ‘The genealogy of the family of Assynt’ (1739). NLS, MS 19308, fol. 4.

221 For a discussion of these and other land measures see W.P.L. Thomson, ‘Ouncelands and Pennylands in the West Highlands and Islands’ in *Northern Scotland* 22 (2002), 27–44. I am grateful to Dr Alasdair Ross, University of Stirling for discussing this with me. He is currently preparing a publication on this topic. A. Ross, *Land Assessment and Resource Utilisation in northern Medieval Scotland* (forthcoming, Brepols, 2015). For the penny lands of Lewis, see below, appendix D8.

222 If this were the case and the town of Stornoway, one dabhach, was separated from the rest of the island, then this would leave fifteen dabhaichean or perhaps the thirty units (half dabhaichean) referred to by the adventurers. These fifteen dabhaichean must have been what was referred to by the Bishop of the Isles in a tack of teinds granted by him to Coinneach, Earl of Seaforth in 1663. NRS, GD 128/23/2.

223 Appendix D8.

224 Appendix C4.

gain possession (probably forcibly) of four of these dabhaichean in the Coigeach district on the mainland.²²⁵

Torcall (and his wife), however, were unable to take any possession of the remaining six dabhaichean of land on the Isle of Lewis: the lands of Tolastadh, Bhaltos, Ùig, Bragair, na Lochan and Gabhsann, having been kept out of the area by the Macleods of Lewis for several decades.²²⁶ The Fife Adventurers, probably due to pressure from the Mackenzies, had been forced to give two of the thirty portions of the rural parts of Lewis to Torcall and Mairead (perhaps one dabhach rather than the six they had originally been granted in 1573). Certainly William Learmonth's letter of February 1601 makes it clear that the presence of Mairead, who he called the 'wyff and commander' of her husband, made the planters extremely nervous. Mairead, on her visit to Lewis, thought to have 'sum freindschip with the cuntrymen' but the planters barred her from going out beyond Stornoway, clearly fearing that she might rally support from the populace. Learmonth, though, was confident that Mairead and her husband would be amenable to reaching an agreement with the planters 'seeing thair is na sta[n]ding for thame heir.'²²⁷ While Torcall Conanach and his wife were a distraction, albeit a potentially troublesome one, it is probable that the main reason for the long delay in partitioning the lands was that the planters wished to establish themselves in a position of strength at Stornoway before proceeding with their plan to divide the rest of Lewis up between them. The minister reported that relations between native and newcomer were cordial in the first phase of plantation, up to around April 1601, before the division proceeded.

The actual parting of the lands which had been mooted since the arrival of the planters does not seem to have been carried out until April 1601. This process was overseen by the minister, Mr Robert Durie, one of whose duties was to 'assist them w[i]t[h] his counsell & in deviding & pairting of the land.'²²⁸ A thorough survey must have been made to facilitate this which unfortunately does not survive, neither has any evidence been discovered which actually names the pieces of land which were apportioned to each of the individual

225 NRS, GD 305/1/1/5. Torcall Conanach Macleod got a grant of the lands of Assynt and Coigeach in 1596. NRS, PS 1/ 68 fol. 208.

226 NRS, GD 305/1/1/5. MacCoinnich, 'Siol Torcail and their lordship in the sixteenth century,' in J. Randall (ed.), *Crossing the Minch: Exploring the Links Between Skye and the Outer Hebrides* (Islands Book Trust, Callicvol, 2008), 7–32 at 19, 20 & note 41.

227 Letter, William Learmonth in Stornoway, to his brother, John Learmonth of Balcomie, 10 February 1601. NRS, RH 15/45/45/2.

228 Appendix C1 at fol. 353r. NRS, CH 2/1132/17, fol. 158, 168.

principal planters. While it is possible that such paperwork may yet be discovered, it is likely that much of the documentation relating to the plantation was burnt in one of the subsequent Macleod attacks on Stornoway. In Ireland, only a few years later when such a partition was made, Biblical precedent was invoked, and comparisons made to the conquest of Canaan by the Children of Israel and the casting of lots among them when it came to sharing the spoils between the planters in Ulster.²²⁹ This also may have been the case in the partition of Lewis given the direction of the proceedings by the minister, Mr Durie.²³⁰ John Learmonth of Balcomie drew up a commission for his brother William authorising him or, in William's absence, Thomas Spens 'presentlie in the Lewis' to act in his place in the 'division of the lands of the Lewis.' This legal instrument was made by the laird of Balcomie with reference to the contract made at Burntisland 19 July 1600 (see Appendix C3) which stated that the division would be conducted by 'lot and cavill,' and a subsequent commission held at St Andrews, 7 October 1600. William Learmonth (or Thomas Spens) was to act in Balcomie's power and 'draw lotts for me anent the division off the lands of the Lewis.' It is possible too that Scripture may have been sought as a precedent not only for the division of lands but also for the treatment of indigenous peoples. Some Canaanites were attacked and cast out and some were allowed to stay and live among their new masters, God's chosen people. The men of Lewis were, presumably, to receive a similar treatment as the Canaanites, either being forced to leave, killed, or else having to accept a new subordinate status.²³¹

229 R. Loeber, 'Certyn notes': biblical and foreign signposts to the Ulster Plantation' in J. Lyttleton & C. Rynnes (eds.), *Plantation Ireland. Settlement and Material Culture, c.1550–c.1700* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2009), 23–42, at, 28–29, 32, 34, 40. N. Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 123, 199. See also a description of the casting of lots for the town portions and lands of Derry and Coleraine in December 1613 orchestrated by Mr William Cockaine, alderman and skinner of London. J.F. Wadmore, *Some account of the worshipful company of skinners of London, being the guild or fraternity of Corpus Christi* (London, 1902), 267–8. G. Hill, *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster at the commencement of the seventeenth century, 1608–1620* (Belfast, 1877), 80, 92, 125.

230 Appendix C2, at fol. 353r.

231 Commission by John Learmonth of Balcomie to his brother, William, made at Edinburgh, November 1600. NRS, RH 15/45/35. There was precedent for the division of land by lots among the Israelites (and also the dispossession and killing of the original owners) in the Old Testament (cf. Loeber, cited above) in Iosua (Joshua), chapters 14–21, Àireamh (Numbers), 26: 55–56 and 33:54, Esceiel (Ezekiel), 47:21–22. *Am Bioball Gàidhlig. Air a tharraing o na ciad chànainean a-chum Gàidhlig na h-Alba* (Comann Bioball Dùthchail na h-Alba, Dùn Èideann, 1992). Dividing and choosing by lot and 'cavill' was commonplace in early modern Scotland. See *DSL*, under the headwords, 'cavill' and 'lot.'

William Learmonth writing from Stornoway to his brother, John Learmonth of Balcomie, shortly before the division of the lands, 10 February 1601, wrote that the ‘cuntrey men ar werry willing to obey in all thingis and we hoip the cuntry being anes dewydit sall agrie to pey reasonable dewtie.’²³² This parting of the people, lands and goods, once it was enacted, however, contained the seeds of conflict at its heart. This had been made explicit in the clause in the contract at Burntisland of June 1600 (appendix C3) which, referring to the conditions agreed by the society of Lewis for holding of their portions, said that no portion of land or tacks, ‘lange or schort’ be sett ‘to ony maner of Hieland man’ without the consent of all (and any such consent would, it was implicit, be exceptional and best avoided). William Learmonth seems to have urged Spens of Wormiston, in February 1601, not simply to take all the best land for his own men, but it is unlikely that he was paid any heed.²³³ It may have been a factor such as this that drove Niall Macleod, who had made an uneasy peace with the settlers, and who reportedly had a quarrel with James Spens of Wormiston, into open rebellion: the chronology in any case suggests a cause and effect relationship between the partition and division of lands (and presumably the expulsion of the old tenants) and rebellion.²³⁴ The partition of the island, in early 1601, depriving the locals of all the best land was never going to win hearts and minds among the local population. Relationships between native and newcomer might even have been relatively cordial, initially, once the planters set up their camp. However, the locals would not have liked what they saw when the planters engaged in one of their primary objectives, the division and parting of the lands, peoples and goods of Lewis. This meant them too: the natives of Lewis were to be disposed of, listed as a resource attached to the lands.²³⁵ This division and expropriation of lands, and the denial of tacks of land to the indigenous inhabitants, may have been one factor which drove the natives into a rebellion which, within a year, was to result in the complete defeat of the planters by the Lewis men led by the Macleods.²³⁶

The vivid and gripping narrative account by William Mackenzie (1903) has focussed on the resistance of the Macleods to the plantation, concentrating on their factionalism, belligerence and indefatigability of Niall Macleod, in particular. Mackenzie puts a great deal of emphasis on the personal qualities of

²³² NRS, RH 15/45/45/2.

²³³ NRS, RH 15/45/45/2.

²³⁴ Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 200–201.

²³⁵ ‘the haill pepill and guidis apone the saidis iland lands..... sall be equallie devidit’ (among the principal planters). Contract at Burntisland, June 1600, NRS, GD 147/45/2 (appendix C3).

²³⁶ Appendix C2 (fol. 352r, 353r).

Niall Macleod. There can be little doubt that his able leadership and cunning and resilience as a guerrilla fighter was one of the single biggest factors in defeating the Fife men. Niall, however, was able to draw on widespread support, both overt in the form of hundreds of men, and probably covert from the tenantry, in his struggles against the settlers. The motives for those supporting Niall have not been considered in such detail.²³⁷ The loss of customary rights, however, is one of the grievances which comes through clearly in ‘the Ewill trowbles of the Lewis,’ which highlighted the driving away of the ‘ancients inhabitants’ as one of the primary grievances. The stress put on ‘ancient’ here was related to the loss of their kindly tenure or *dùthchas*: a customary (if nebulous) right in law to lands obtained through length of possession. Not only did this account stress the ‘ancient’ right and *dùthchas*, but it also questioned the legitimacy of the expropriation of the Macleods by the King and the subsequent grant to the planters. Macleod of Lewis, tenant-in-chief, holding his lands directly off the crown, might have had his lands forfeit but the major tenants on the island might have hoped they could continue in possession of their *dùthchas* or hereditary kindly tenancy.²³⁸ This was no abstract concept. The deprivation of access to cultivable land threatened those so deprived of the means to subsist and thus to exist. Wherever people were deprived of such rights, throughout the Gaidhealtachd, from the early seventeenth century through into the eighteenth century and the age of clearance, there was a sense of grievance and often a powerful reaction.²³⁹ Many of the lands on which the

237 Mackenzie, reflecting his own times, does draw comparisons, however, between the struggle of the Lewismen with the Fife planters, 1598–1609, and the struggle of the Boers against the British Empire, 1899–1902, in his own day. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides* (1903), 189, 200–202, 219, 228–9.

238 ‘The Ewill Trowbles of the Lewis,’ in *Highland Papers*, ii, 270. For the authorship of this source see MacCoinnich, ‘Mar Phòr san Uisge.’ *Iomhaigh Siol Torcail an Eachdraidh*,” 221–222. For *dùthchas* see Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 16, 39, 44. Goodare, *The Government of Scotland*, 269. M.H.B. Sanderson, *Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth century* (Edinburgh, 1982), 51–63. M.H.B. Sanderson, *A Kindly Place? Living in Sixteenth Century Scotland* (East Linton, 2002), 7–11.

239 Other examples from the seventeenth century include Islay, Kintyre and Ardnamurchan in the early seventeenth century and the Maclean lands in Mull later in the century. A. Campbell of Airds, ‘*Fleshed in blood from his verie infancie...*’ *The life and troubled times of Sir Donald Campbell of Ardnamurchan* (Society for West Highland & Island Historical Research, the Isle of Coll, 1992), 14–20. For this, and also a discussion on the relationship between ‘*oighreachd*’ and ‘*dùthchas*,’ see, Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 2–17, 63–64, 69–70, 75–6, 135. For ‘*dùthchas*’ in the Gaelic tradition see, Matheson, *An Clàrsair Dall*, lines 775 & 785. D.E. Meek (ed.), *Tuath is Tighearna. Tenants and Landlords. An anthology of Gaelic poetry of social and political protest from the Clearances*

settlers had attempted to harvest a crop in autumn 1606 were probably taken directly from some of those very same Lewismen who attacked them.²⁴⁰ The Lewismen could be disregarded as they were in Niall Macleod's indictment of 1613 simply as 'barbarus bludie and wikit hieland men, soirneris and avowet maliefactouris, auncient inhabitantis and lawles persones' but the Lewismens' view on this, if anyone had asked them, would have been different.²⁴¹

Studies on plantation in Ulster have shown that the incoming planters, either of Scots or English origin, lacking labour, were reliant on natives to do their labouring on the lands from which they had been dispossessed and thus allowed many of them to remain in the new settlements. This may have been fraught enough when the natives, as was the case in Ulster, lacked political leadership: the elites having taken flight and many of the remaining experienced fighting men having been despatched to Scandinavia in 1609–11.²⁴² Nevertheless, a simmering resentment on the part of the dispossessed natives in Ulster, building since the plantation of the early seventeenth century, probably fuelled the violence which was to erupt later in the 1640s.²⁴³ In Lewis,

to the *Land Agitation, 1800–1890* (Edinburgh, 1995), especially at poems 1:38 and 11:12. M. Newton, 'Chì mi cuimhneachan sgrìobhte nach gabh leughadh le coigreach: Aiteam agus àite, dùthaich agus dùthchas,' in R.A.V. Cox (eds.), *Dualchas agus àrainneach; sin am fearann caoin* (Clò Ostaig, 2009), 83–112. See also the attitude of the tenants of Lewis in 1883 regarding their rights to the land, as recorded by the Napier Commission, such as the testimonies of Ruairidh Ross, Ceòs (17708), Tormod Morrison, Brèinis (13850, 13866–7), Calum Macphail, Siabost (14985, 15061), Iain Macdonald, Cnoc Àrd (15798), Dòmhnall Campbell, Tolastadh (15989) Alasdair Morrison, Stornoway (16427, 16552) *Evidence taken by her Majesty's commissioners of enquiry into the conditions of crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (4 vols., 1884) vol. 2. In Ireland too, pre-plantation tenants, unsurprisingly, demonstrated reluctance to leave their ancestral lands. P. Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest: plantation Ireland, 1603–1727* (Longman, Harlow, 2008), 48.

240 NLS, Wod. Qu. xx, fol. 356v (appendix C2).

241 NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 82v. Pitcairn, *Trials*, iii, 244–247.

242 Some Irish soldiers, who, clearly not of their own volition, were shipped off to Scandinavia attempted to escape when their ship put in at Peterhead and attempted to return to Ireland through Scotland in December 1609. RPCS, viii, 390, 393. It is estimated that around 2000 Irish soldiers were pressed into Swedish service at this time. S. Murdoch & A.N.L. Grosjean, 'Irish Soldiers in Swedish Service, 1609–1613,' in, *The Irish Sword* 24 (2005), 161. Nicholas Canny estimates that 33,000 young men from Ireland entered service in various continental armies between 1603 and 1641. N. Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 183–185, 455–456.

243 For something of the tensions in the relations between groups the Ulster plantation see, A. Horning, 'The root of all vice and bestiality' exploring the cultural role of the alehouse in the Ulster Plantation,' in J. Lyttleton & C. Rynne (eds.), *Plantation Ireland. Settlement*

however, much of the leadership of Siol Torcaill remained intact, if badly bruised, at the end of 1598, after the arrival of the planters, watching, waiting and biding their time. It is unlikely that the planters made the same mistake the second time, on their return in 1605, and all the indications are that a much harder line was taken with the men of Lewis.

The language such as that used by the minister trying to portray an atmosphere of amiable co-existence between incomer and native around 1599–1600 had changed by 1605, in the wake of past experiences. This is underlined by an entry in the Privy Council Register which refers to a ban on the natives in Lewis from carrying any knives with a sharp point, save only a knife with ‘na poynt’ in order to cut their meat.²⁴⁴ The attempt to disarm the natives was paralleled by attempts to force neighbouring clan chiefs such as Mackay, Mackenzie of Kintail, Macdonald of Sleat, and Macleod of Harris to take responsibility and find caution for leading men of Lewis, now explicitly stated to be their ‘enemies.’ These chiefs were charged with taking responsibility to remove and relocate the offending Lewismen on their own lands and to take responsibility for them under the pain of a stringent financial penalty. This, essentially, was an extension of the earlier acts of James VI relating to the Highlands and the Borders (discussed above), whereby leading men were to find caution, and pay penalties for malefactors within their *own* bounds. Here though, such acts were stretched beyond their limits.

Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Harris and Dunvegan, for example, was to take responsibility for the Macaulay (Clann MhicAmhlaigh) kindred in Ùig in west Lewis, 8 October 1605, and to ensure that the planters’ ‘enemies, the men of Lewis,’ would remove themselves from their ancestral lands never to return. These men, the leading men in the Macaulay kindred, were carefully identified by name.²⁴⁵ Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Dunvegan had to find caution for them

and *Material Culture, c.1550-c.1700* (Dublin, 2009), 113–131, at 123–125. Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 224–5, 229, 233–234, 253, 336, 432–439, 455–481.

244 *RPCS*, vii, 204–205. Appendix C2 (fol. 352r, 353r).

245 These men were Alasdair MacAmhlaigh, Dòmhnall MacAmhlaigh, Dòmhnall Òg MacAmhlaigh, Aonghas Mòr MacAmhlaigh, Aonghas Òg MacAmhlaigh, Iain Òg MacAmhlaigh, all brothers, and Somhairle MacAmhlaigh and Dòmhnall Mòr MacAmhlaigh. Their names, rendered here in modern Gaelic form, appear as follows in the manuscript source: ‘...Allester mc Cowle, Donall mc Coull, Do[nal]d og McCowll, Innes moir McCowll, Innes og McCowll, Jon og McCowll all breth[eris], Sorlie McCowll, Do[nal]d more McCowll & thir haill children, tennentis, dependis & followeris sall render themselfis, thir servandis, pre[sen]tlie furth and fra the landis of Wig [Ùig in Lewis] and that thei sall leiv[e] the same voyd and red to Jameis Spens of Wilmerston, George Hay of Nether Liff, Robert Lumisden of Airdrie and remanent portioneris of the Lewis...’ at Stornoway, 8

individually and was liable for a fine of 500 merks for every one of them who defaulted. Ruairidh Mòr's sister had been married to Torcall Dubh the erstwhile leader of the Macleods of Lewis who had been executed in 1597. There were three surviving children from this marriage, Ruairidh Mòr's nephews, Ruairidh, Torcall and Uilleam. The care and upbringing of Torcall Dubh's sons were a matter great concern for the planters as they may well have been viewed by Lewismen as the rightful heirs to the lordship of Lewis.²⁴⁶ The planters, led by James Spens, George Hay and Robert Lumsden of Airdrie forced Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Dunvegan & Harris to take surety for the complete removal of the Macaulay kindred from Ùig in the west side of Lewis, as well as taking responsibility for Uilleam and Torcall, his nephews.²⁴⁷ This deed made no bones about the status of the Macaulay family, who like the other leading men of Lewis, were regarded as 'enemies,' and made it clear that the planters saw, by 1605, that the complete removal of *na daoine uaisle* (the leading men) was the only way in which their endeavour could progress, stipulating that the permanent removal of such unreconciled natives was necessary.

Even had these Macaulays proved willing (which seems unlikely) it would have been difficult for MacLeod of Harris to absorb them and put further pressure on the resources of his own estate. The nature of the links between such leading men of the Macaulays and the remnant of people in Ùig were likely to

October 1605, registered in the books of Council, Edinburgh, 18 March 1606. NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 13–14. A copy of this document is held in the Dunvegan Muniments and has been transcribed by R.C. Macleod with some small errors, the most noticeable being the erroneous transcription of these men as 'McTowell' rather than 'McCowl.' *Dunvegan Book*, i, 116. MacCoinnich, 'Siol Torcail and their Lordship in the sixteenth century.' The planters would have taken great care to have got the names as accurately written as possible given that Mackenzie had challenged a legal action they raised against him in 1599 on the grounds that they got the names wrong and that the accused were not 'lauchfullie designed.' NRS, JC 26/3.

- 246 Torcall Dubh's eldest son, Ruairidh, was kept in custody by the Tutor of Kintail after 1611. Torcall Dubh's other two sons, Torcall and Uilleam, were taken in by their uncle, Macleod of Dunvegan. Uilleam seems to have attended the University of Glasgow in 1619–22. J. Bannerman, 'Gaelic endorsements of early seventeenth century legal documents,' in *Studia Celtica*, 14/15 (1979–80), 18–33, at 20 & notes 1 & 4. *Highland Papers*, ii, 279. Ruairidh Macleod, a son of Torcall Dubh of Lewis is on record in June 1609 when Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Dunvegan & Harris was ordered to exhibit him before the council. *RPCS*, viii, 755.
- 247 I previously (relying on R.C. Macleod's transcription) thought that Robert Arden, a person he named as a planter in Ùig, Lewis, in 1605 was an English adventurer. Having now looked at an original document it is clear this was, in fact, Robert Lumsden of Airdrie in Fife, one of the Scottish planters. MacCoinnich, 'His Spirit was only given to warre,' 138 & n. 25. NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 13–14.

have been so interwoven that a clean break would not have been easy. One suspects that the 'ordinary' people continued to support or sympathise with the likes of the Macaulays or even the hierarchy of the Macleods with whom they would have had long established ties of blood, association and affinity rather than the incoming Lowland tenant farmers which would be placed there by Spens, Lumsden and Hay, thus tearing up their customary rights. The dùthchas, or customary rights, of the ordinary people would have been subject to great change, one imagines, under the new order. Near contemporary evidence from Islay, and Ardnamurchan shows, as in Lewis, that when new land-owners tried to impose novel tenurial exactions on the tenantry, this could lead to rebellion.²⁴⁸

Surprisingly some, at least, of the Macaulays and the Britheamh (brieve) kindreds, and, probably even one or two other of the 'lesser' families of the Macleods of Lewis managed to retain their lands after the withdrawal of the Fife Adventurers and the arrival of the Mackenzies in 1610. That the incoming Mackenzie regime made an accommodation with them, suggests that there was more tenacity in the grip of local kindreds on the land than the records will allow historians to examine. If the Fife Adventurers had thought that a surgical removal of the leading men would remove the problem of resistance they were mistaken. Not much is known about those groups for whom Mackay and Macdonald of Sleat were supposed to find caution. Nor is much known of those for whom Mackenzie was to find caution other than that Mackenzie refused point blank to countenance this arrangement in 1605.²⁴⁹ Mackenzie had, as early as 1601, shown the weaknesses in the legal basis for holding clan chiefs to account for the misdeeds of their neighbours over whom they had no control in his defence against a lawsuit by Thomas Cunningham of Crail.²⁵⁰ This refusal to take responsibility for Lewismen for whom he was not answerable in 1606 would have been a logical extension of Mackenzie's earlier position.

Some tenants probably did come to terms with the incoming planters. There would, undoubtedly, have been many who would have had a grudge with the

248 D. Stevenson, *Highland Warrior, Alasdair mac Colla and the Civil wars* (1980. Saltire Society edition, Edinburgh, 1999), 31. This was also the case when the Campbells moved in on the lands of the MacLains of Ardnamurchan, a branch of Clan Donald, and also when they put pressure on the MacDougalls of Dunollie and the Stewarts of Appin. Macinnes, *The British Confederate. Archibald Campbell, Marquis of Argyll*, 68–69, 77.

249 Appendix C2 at fol. 354v.

250 'Defenss for the pairt of Kenneth McKainzie of Kintail aganis the pretendit summondis persewit be Thomas Cunnyngghame, burges of Craill, befor my lord iustice and his deputis c[on]trair him,' 22 May 1599. NRS, JC 26/3.

dispossessed Macleods. The account of Niall Macleod settling scores once he had retaken Stornoway suggests that he would have little sympathy with collaborators.²⁵¹ The tenants in Lewis, irrespective of whether they supported or opposed the planters, faced a tough set of choices. Many of them would, both in 1601 and again in 1605–06, have been deprived of their lands, some of which would have been in their families' hands for many generations. The cost of resistance can be seen when some forty six of the men of Lewis were identified in the Privy Council Register 31 July 1606, as ringleaders of resistance and put to the horn or outlawed and all their goods escheat.²⁵² They were thus summarily deprived of their kindly tenancy to lands while many of them who had refused to quit their lands were chased by the plantation's companies of soldiers and killed, or, as the minister of God's word primly phrased it, the resisting natives were: 'put out of this world...'²⁵³ For planters, such as Sir James Spens, a party to the deed, noted above, forcing Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Dunvegan to take surety for the Macaulays of Ùig in late 1605, necessity drove this recourse to violence.

Spens and his fellow planters were helped by the factionalism within the ranks of Siol Torcaill: dissension they encouraged wherever practical. One such instance involved members of Siol Torcaill from neighbouring Assynt, led by Iain Beag mac Dhòmhnaill 'ic Ùisdein, a capable and effective warrior who had earlier been a supporter of the Macleod chiefship under Tormod Macleod of Lewis, c. 1601–05. Iain Beag had come across the *brìtheamh* of Lewis, the betrayer of Torcall Dubh Macleod, at Assynt at an inn on the the west coast of Sutherland (c. 1601). Despite being outnumbered five to four, Iain Beag and his men killed the *Brìtheamh* and his followers outright without loss of their own. Soon afterwards, Gillecaluim Mòr mac Iain, the new leader of the *Brìtheamh*'s kindred, traditionally the occupants of Ness in North Lewis and the island of North Rona, then sought out his kinsmen's assailant in order to take revenge, but the luckless Gillecaluim was caught, instead, by his quarry in Coigeach and then sent as a captive to their chief, Tormod Macleod in Lewis, where Gillecaluim Mòr mac Iain was executed (c. 1601). Iain Beag mac Dhòmhnaill 'ic Ùisdein, whose feats had also included the successful capture of Siol Torcaill's nemesis, Torcall Conanach, sometime in 1601–02, must have been on good terms with Niall Odhar Macleod of Lewis at this time.²⁵⁴

251 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 235.

252 *RPCS*, vii, 229–30.

253 NLS, Wod. Qu. Vol. xx., fol. 352–353 (appendix C2).

254 Tormod Macleod of Lewis released the captive Torcall Conanach against the advice of Siol Torcaill who wanted Torcall Conanach executed. Torcall Conanach's captor, and also killer of two leaders of the *brìtheamh* family, Iain Beag mac Dhòmhnaill mhic Ùisdein [Macleod],

However, by mid November 1605, this friendship may have changed or was certainly tested.

Sir James Spens of Wormiston certainly thought that he could persuade Iain Beag mac Dhòmhnaill 'ic Ùisdein in Assynt to track down and kill his erstwhile ally, Niall Odhar, de facto leader of the remaining Macleods in Lewis, 19 November 1605. Spens compelled two of the Assynt man's powerful neighbours, Seòras Ross of Balnagown and Dòmhnall Mackay of Scourie, to take caution for Iain Beag mac Dhòmhnaill 'ic Ùisdein under penalties of £3000. Ross and Mackay were probably forced to pledge that they would stand surety for Iain Beag's agreement to track down, fetch and take Niall Odhar Macleod in Lewis and deliver him to the Fife Adventurers between that date and the following May, dead or alive. In the event that Niall was killed, his head was to be delivered by Iain Beag to Spens or his agents as proof of his death. If Iain Beag mac Dhòmhnaill 'ic Ùisdein could successfully carry out this hunt of Niall Odhar, he would be rewarded by Spens with a tack of the Island of North Rona and certain, unspecified 'uthir landis' in Lewis.²⁵⁵

It is unknown to what extent this particular deed was enacted, but if action was taken it was clearly unsuccessful as Niall Odhar remained on the loose until 1613 (see below) and his putative hunter later settled quietly in Sutherland. This offer, by Spens to Iain Beag mac Dhòmhnaill 'ic Ùisdein, a member of Sìol Torcaill, of a substantial tack of land in Lewis and Rona only six weeks after the deed compelling the Macleod of Dunvegan chief to stand surety for the removal of the Macaulay kindred of Ùig (discussed above), is surprising. It signals anxiety, if not a growing desperation, on the part of Sir James Spens and the planters due to their inability to bring Niall Odhar and the people of Lewis

was the son of Dòmhnall mac Ùisdein mhic Aonghais, tacksman of the Isle of Sanda off the west coast of Sutherland. This family was a cadet of the Macleods of Assynt (part of Sìol Torcaill). Iain Beag mac Dhòmhnaill mhic Ùisdein was at feud with his own kin, the Macleods of Assynt, who had murdered his father. *Highland Papers*, ii, 58, 60. 272–274. Gordon, *Sutherland*, 265, 272–273. Morrison & Mackinnon, *The Macleods, the genealogy of a clan*, v, 115–116. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 203–205.

255 The original document shows the name Iain Beag mac Dhòmhnaill mhic Ùisdein written as: 'Jo[h]n mc Do[na]ld mc Hwcheoun.' NRS, GD 129/1/42/174. I am indebted to Mr John Ballantyne for kindly alerting me to this source. One tradition states that Iain Beag mac Dhòmhnaill mhic Ùisdein married the widow of the brithemh – a family connected with north Lewis. Whether this is true or not the offer of North Rona as an enticement does suggest a north Lewis connection given the known strength of tradition and history linking both areas. Morrison & Mackinnon, *The Macleods, the genealogy of a clan*, v, 115–116. Matheson, ed., *An Clàrsair Dall*, 187, 188. M. Robson, *Rona, the distant island* (Acair, Stornoway, 1991).

to heel by late 1605. This episode also hints at the pressures and impossible choices that islanders and Highlanders were faced with during the plantation period. Former friends were pressured, if not compelled, for whatever reason, to turn against each other, breeding suspicion, fear and mistrust. For many, the process of plantation will have resulted in them being deprived of their lands and, at very least, a diminution in their livings with newcomers replacing them. Given such a context – supporting the ‘rebels,’ and Niall Odhar Macleod, may have seemed to be the only option left to many Lewismen after the division of lands by the planters in 1601–1602 and again in 1605–1607.

The Aftermath for the Planters

The planters too, faced some tough choices and lost a great deal of silver if not blood. The fragmentary nature of the evidence for the costs involved means that it is impossible to arrive at any kind of definite figure for the monies spent on the venture. The ‘dittay’ or indictment of Niall Macleod of Lewis in 1613 attributed him personal responsibility for damage to the extent of £53,000 Scots suffered by the planters between 1605 and 1607.²⁵⁶ Another way of gauging the monetary value of the plantation can be made by noting that shares in the plantation were being exchanged for 6000 merks Scots, in the summer of 1605. Given that there were at least ten of these portions this might give an approximate figure of 60,000 merks or £40,000 Scots as the value placed on the plantation in July 1605, this despite the plantation being dormant, having been destroyed three years earlier, and requiring reconquest at this time. The plantation was sold in 1610 to Mackenzie who, at the time of his death, the following year, owed a debt of 52,000 merks to Hay for Lewis. This was for the two thirds of Lewis controlled by Hay. He would, presumably, have owed Sir James Spens of Wormiston, 26,000 merks for the final third meaning that the acquisition of Lewis, cost the Mackenzies 78,000 merks (Scots), despite the plantation and its buildings having been ruined and spoiled.²⁵⁷ There is no doubt that plantation was an expensive business. The London merchant companies by way of comparison spent £69,416 (sterling) on the towns of Derry and Coleraine between 1610 and 1626, on what was admittedly a much more extensive and extravagant building programme.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Pitcairn, *Trials*, iii, 244–247.

²⁵⁷ NRS, RD 1/192, fol. 305r–314v.

²⁵⁸ Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 214. For the costs incurred by the English plantations in North America at this time see Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock companies*, i, 150–165, 183–5, ii, 288–289.

If the collective costs are hard to determine, the individual costs to the principal planters are no less difficult to divine. Only three principal planters were left by 1609, Sir James Spens, George Hay of Nether Liff and Alexander Drummond of Meidhope, the latter having been granted the escheat of the disgraced Lord Balmerino and having assigned this to Hay. All of these received, as noted above, some measure of recompense for the losses they had incurred in the plantation when they sold their rights to Lewis over to the Mackenzies in 1610.²⁵⁹ Hay, an entrepreneur, was engaged subsequently in several successful enterprises, notably glass, iron and whaling in tandem with a glittering political career, culminating in the chancellorship of Scotland, 1622–34.²⁶⁰ Sir James Spens of Wormiston gambled his estates and fortune on the Lewis venture, wadsetting or mortgaging his estate to raise capital and left a trail of bonds behind him, some of which appear in the Register of Deeds (appendix C8). He had, nevertheless, been preparing to embark on a different career, even while the Lewis scheme was in its second phase, 1605–1607, as a diplomat and fixer in Sweden.²⁶¹ He managed to stay afloat financially despite his persistent borrowing, partly due to royal favour; he was granted some gifts to repair his fortunes at critical moments, and he also managed to endure long enough to sell his stake to the Mackenzies (as noted above) in 1610.²⁶² Three generations of the Anstruther family were involved with Lewis to varying extents: Sir John Anstruther of that ilk the elder (†1610), his son Sir James Anstruther (†1606) and his grandson William (†1649). They do not appear often in the register of deeds (appendix C12), and despite involvement in the plantation as late as 1607 seem to have remained solvent after the collapse of the venture. While the financial circumstances of Sir James Anstruther at his death in 1606 remain

259 NRS, RD 1/192, fol. 305r–314v.

260 J. Goodare, 'Hay, George, first earl of Kinnoull (*bap.* 1570, *d.* 1634),' *ODNB*, entry no. 12717. NRS, PS 1/85, fol. 43. NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1 vol. 7, no. 35. MacCoinnich, 'Cleiffis of Irne: Clann Choinnich agus gnìomhachas iarainn, c. 1569–1630,' 137–152. J. Turnbull, *The Scottish glass industry, 1610–1750: 'to serve the whole nation with glass'* (Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh, 2001), 61–73, 82–92.

261 *SSNE*, 1642, 1156. A. Jönsson (ed.), *The Works and Correspondence of Axel Oxenstierna: Letters from Sir James Spens and Jan Rutgers* (Stockholm, 2007), 11–14.

262 Sir James Spens of Wormiston was granted the escheat of the goods, gear and money of James Dalrymple, Master of Stair, 10 March 1607. NRS, PS 1/76, fol. 31. Spens was awarded a grant of £6000 of crown debts, 2 November 1607. These debts were to be pursued and recovered by Spens himself. Spens was also given a further grant from the Crown of £6000, 12 November 1611. *CSP, James I*, vol. 1, 378. *CSP, James I*, vol. 2., 88. Spens was awarded a pension of £200 sterling per annum for life (2400 £ Scots p.a.) for good service at home and in foreign nations, 13 November 1616. NRS, PS 1/85, fol. 264.

unclear, his family seem to have been free of debt. Sir James's father, Sir John Anstruther outlived him by four years and Sir John Anstruther's testament shows that while his debts at the time of his death, 3 January 1610, amounted to £700, his assets came to £2629.²⁶³

Spens, Hay and Anstruther seem to have come out of the plantation badly bruised financially, but still solvent. While several of the other initial planters, Sandilands, Pittenweem (through his heirs), Hume of Wedderburn, Lennox, Lindores all seem to have bowed out of the enterprise before the final scheme in the Autumn of 1605 and thus to have managed to remain solvent, if considerably poorer, others were not so fortunate. Robert Lumsden of Airdrie invested in the plantation in the summer of 1605, buying out some of the original portioners (including the shares of Hume, Pittenweem and Lindores). Lumsden was clearly wealthy and well backed by his father in law Clement Cor, a merchant burgess in Edinburgh.²⁶⁴ Nevertheless those deeds that have been discovered (appendix C11) relating to Lumsden's transactions show a consistent and stable pattern of borrowing and (presumably) orderly repayments being distorted by the plantation as the costs of investing in the venture began to bite. Lumsden went up to Lewis in the autumn of 1605, but by 28 February 1606, he was coming under pressure financially. Before the Macleods even started to attack the settlement he was pursued by Isobel Hepburne, Lady Pitfirrane, the widow of William Stewart, the Commendator of Pittenweem, for the non-payment of 6000 merks which he had pledged to pay her the previous summer in order to buy out her late husband's share of Lewis. Lumsden settled this case relatively quickly, within less than a week, but this may be indicative of the financial pressure he was under and by late March 1606, shortly before the plantation failed for the second time, he was struggling to service debts of up to 30,000 merks.²⁶⁵ By 1607 Robert Lumsden had lost the lands of Airdrie to William Turnbull of Pittencrieff from whom he had taken a wadset of 30,000 merks using his estate as collateral.²⁶⁶

263 NRS, GD 147/35/5. NRS, DI 53/16. Letters at Coupar, 26 December 1606, show that Sir John Anstruther was involved in business (following the death of his son, James fiar of that ilk) with James Spens of Wormiston, although in this case in a transaction that dated back to 1595.

264 NRS, RD 1/159, fol. 125v. NRS, RD 1/75, fol. 119r.

265 NRS, PS 1/75, fol. 17. NRS, DI 53/19. Letters of horning, at Coupar, 25 January 1606, raised against Lumsden by Issobel Hepburn Lady Pitfirrane, widow of William, Commendator of Pittenweem. Lumsden was relaxed from the horn by 3 March 1606. See appendix C11.

266 NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 163–169. The estate of Airdrie was sold to William Turnbull in 1607 (ratified by Robert Lumsden's widow and son James again in 1620) probably due to default on this wadset. Turnbull's daughter, Elizabeth and son in law, Sir John Preston inherited the

The Forrets of Fingask struggled too. John Forret of Fingask had died in 1601 leaving his son with a great deal of debt although it is not always clear what exactly this debt entailed. Forret, like his fellow planters, clearly borrowed money regularly (see appendix C6) although the precise nature of the debts which got him into difficulty is not clear at present, a wadset of 12,000 merks raised by John Forret of Fingask from Sir John Wemyss of that ilk using his lands of Fingask as surety in March 1600 seems to have been one of the unpaid debts that led to his son losing the family estates between July and October 1603.²⁶⁷ The fact that James Forret took until 1608 to clear his father's debts to the Anstruther family and that it took until 1619 to register his father's testament gives an indication of the scale of his problems. In addition to this, by 1611, one Archibald Dundas, rather than James Forret, was styling himself 'of Fingask.' Not only had Forret lost his lands but also his designation and status.²⁶⁸ One of the minor portioners, John Muir of Cotland was slain in Lewis after a 'sudden incursion' by the natives, probably around 1601. His brother Alexander survived this raid despite 'many dangerous and dead lyke wounds in his body' and inherited a 5% (or twentieth) portion of Lewis, together with his brother's debts. Alexander was still seeking recompense from the Crown thirty years later.²⁶⁹

The transactions which are tabulated in the appendices (C6, C8, C10, C11, C12) registered in the Books of Council and Session or the Register of Deeds, relating to the Spens, Anstruther, Lumsden, Learmonth of Balcomie and Forret families, give only a limited insight into the financial arrangements of the planters and is likely only to have been the tip of the iceberg. It is impossible, given the fragmentary nature of the evidence, to get a full picture of their financial transactions. While a great number of deeds were registered, a great number of financial transactions were not: it cost thirteen shillings and fourpence to register each deed.²⁷⁰ The impetus for registering such a deed or financial transaction may have depended on the confidence of one of the parties on whether the terms of the transaction would be successfully concluded. If a deed were registered it made it much easier to pursue the offending party

Airdrie estate on Turnbull's death in 1615. W. Wood, *The East Neuk of Fife, its history and antiquities* (2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1887), 401–402.

267 NRS, RH 15/114/2. NRS, RS 30/4/202.

268 NRS, RS 30/4/202. NRS, DI 53/18 (5 March 1611). NRS, CC 20/4/7, fol. 276–278. NRS, RD 1/153, fol. 9r.

269 TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 92. Muir is discussed below in chapter 6 and also in Appendix C4 under 'Muir.'

270 *RPCS*, vii, 170.

at law.²⁷¹ A search of this class of documents has produced a small number of deeds relating to the Learmonth of Balcomie (Appendix C10), who managed to remain solvent, but a much larger number of the deeds of the Learmonth of Dairsie, peripheral players in the plantation, who went bankrupt and lost their lands. The Dairsie family were not one of the principal undertakers like their cousins the Learmonth of Balcomie, but they did have a sustained interest in the plantation of Lewis. It was one of the Learmonth of Dairsie that led the voyage back to Lewis in spring 1602 to ransom the hostages taken by the Macleods, and, presumably to deliver the Macleods a royal pardon. A letter of April 1605 states that the Dairsie family did have a stake in Lewis although it is not made clear what that stake was.²⁷²

Sixty six deeds have been discovered involving the Learmonth of Dairsie as a principal party during the plantation period. These deeds related to substantial transactions involving the borrowing of large sums of money ranging from several hundred to several thousand merks.²⁷³ It is quite likely that the principal planters had similar patterns of borrowing. The reason that a disproportionately high number of Dairsie deeds were registered in the Books of Council in Edinburgh may be a reflection of the lack of confidence on the part their creditors that they would be able to recover their debts, rather than a measure of disproportionately higher patterns of borrowing in comparison to their peers. Such fears were realised on 26 December 1606. William Learmonth apparent of Dairsie had been pursued by seven creditors for debts amounting to 27,400 merks and had defaulted. John Learmonth of Balcomie, as cautioner to Dairsie, had to take surety for several of these debts which must have presented a huge challenge to Balcomie who would have had his own debts carried over from his involvement in the plantation.²⁷⁴ Balcomie then had to get

271 P. Goulesbrough, *Formulary of old Scots legal documents* (Stair Society, Edinburgh, 1985), 19.

272 NRS, RH 15/45/45/3.

273 The following references are all prefixed with 'NRS': RD 1/69, fol. 135r, 152v. RD 1/70, fol. 286r. RD 1/74, fol. 261, 268, 271v. RD 1/75, fol. 327r. RD 1/76, fol. 116v. RD 1/77, fol. 35. RD 1/80, fol. 318. RD 1/81/1, fol. 210. RD 1/87, fol. 46v. RD 1/89, fol. 271v. RD 1/90, fol. 1, 126. RD 1/93, fol. 154v. RD 1/96, fol. 59r. RD 1/97, fol. 79v. RD 1/100, fol. 44v. RD 1/107, fol. 352. RD 1/110, fol. 354v. RD 1/119, fol. 339, 341. RD 1/120, fol. 158, 295, 381, 382. RD 1/121, fol. 39. RD 1/122, fol. 105v, 155, 329. RD 1/123, fol. 123, 240v. RD 1/124, fol. 179v, 239, 240, 269, 287, 401v, 410v, 412v, 429, 445. RD 1/125, fol. 41v, 99, 124, 160v, 189, 351. RD 1/126, fol. 52v, 56v, 69. RD 1/131, fol. 322v, 394v, 419. RD 1/132, fol. 371. RD 1/133, fol. 178, 221v. RD 1/136, fol. 36v, 37r. RD 1/141, fol. 268v. RD 1/143, fol. 49v, 50r. RD 1/145, fol. 8. RD 1/146, fol. 172. RD 1/175, fol. 300v.

274 Dairsie's creditors were John Boswell of Baglillie (Balquholly?) 6400 merks, Mr Patrick Bellenden (2000 merks), Sir George Ramsay of Dalhousie (8000 merks), John Wemyss of Craigton (2000 merks), William Balfour brother germane to David Balfour of Balledmonthe

William Sandilands of St Monans as cautioner and surety for him so that he could cover and repay Dairsie's debts. Balcomie sought to recoup his own losses, in part at least, by obtaining possession of the Dairsie estate and lands. The impact on the extended Dairsie family of this debt was keenly felt. John Learmonth of Balcomie was granted the right to the escheat of the lands, goods and gear of 'William Learmonth apperand of Dairsie.' Members of William Learmonth of Dairsie's family found this hard to accept. His brothers, John and David, had to be pursued and put to the horn by the laird of Balcomie in August, September and October 1608, for 'the wrangous violent and maisterful spoiliation, intrometting with, awaytaking... ..of divers and sindrie teind sheaves of aits, wheat, bere, peis, beans, ky and uthairs cornis qlk grew upon the lands of Dairsie.' The brothers were still being pursued for this in January 1610.²⁷⁵ William Learmonth of Dairsie's financial position was unrecoverable and the estate and the style of Dairsie were sold in 1615 to Bishop Spottiswoode of St Andrews.²⁷⁶ Their kinsmen, the Learmonths of Balcomie, although struggling with an increasing financial burden, remained solvent at least until the 1630s, although falling on hard times later in the century. Descendants of this family attempted to claim recompense for their losses in Lewis a century later which, they claimed, totalled 300,000 merks.²⁷⁷

While an analysis of the costs involved in the plantation may not be feasible, the appended lists of the associates of two of the planters, John Forret of Fingask and James Spens of Wormiston (Appendices C7, C9), clearly shows the impact that the plantation had not only on the actual planters but on those with whom they were connected financially either as lenders, cautioners or witnesses. This included not only the mercantile and noble classes in Fife, who were heavily involved with the planters, but also a large number of merchants and nobles in Lothian. While the failure of the plantation resulted in the bankruptcy of several of the leading planters (the Lumsdens and Learmonths were

(1000 merks), George Cunningham merchant burgess of Edinburgh (5000 merks), Edward Edgar merchant in Edinburgh (3000 merks). NRS, RD 1/133, fol. 24.

275 NRS, RH 15/45/34.

276 A.S. Wayne Pearce, 'Spottiswoode, John (1565–1639),' *ODNB*, entry no. 26167.

277 *Retours i, Fife*, no. 492. *SP*, i, 78. There is no doubt that the family suffered great losses in Lewis and elsewhere but the accuracy of the figure quoted, 1706–1707, in the claim by Mr William Gordon of Balcomie is somewhat undermined by the misidentification of his great-grand uncle, James Learmonth of Balcomie (d. 22 March, 1598–99). Gordon's relative is referred to, incorrectly, in his petition, as 'George.' Claims were also made by Gordon for losses suffered by his Learmonth relatives in royal service during the civil wars of the mid seventeenth century. Gordon's petition was successful and he was granted a pension, NRS, GD 124/5/97/2. NRS, CC 8/8/34, 486.

escheat) and resulted in serious difficulty for others, it also must have bit deep into the pockets of those who exposed themselves to risk as cautioners or surety. Paradoxically, some of those who were most involved in the plantation such as Spens, Anstruther, and Hay came out of it the best, partly because of their continuing royal favour and support. Those who were less well connected suffered. The Learmonths of Dairsie went to the wall and lost their estates, the Lumsdens of Airdrie and several of the others, notably the Forrets of Fingask, seem to have been in greatly reduced circumstances following the failure of the plantation.

Plantation: Transferrable Skills

The experience of plantation in Lewis which included having been attacked, captured, ransomed, losing many of his acquaintances and losing his investment did not put Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell off the idea of further plantation. He was granted a patent of 1000 acres of land in Fermanagh, Ulster, 15 October 1610, which he seems to have taken up. However, the debts which had bedevilled Monypenny ever since his initial involvement in the Plantation of Lewis at the beginning of the seventeenth century still haunted him as late as 1625.²⁷⁸ Ludovick Stewart, Duke of Lennox had been involved with the initial phase of plantation in Lewis, 1598–1602. He did not seem to be as closely involved with the second and third phases of plantation. However, he too retained an appetite for further plantation in Ireland although, unlike Monypenny, Lennox never actually went there in person.²⁷⁹ Moneyppenny of Kinkell's father in law, James Spens of Wormiston, was to have a long and distinguished career on the continent as a diplomat. Spens and his brother David seem to have been building up their connections with Sweden even while they were engaged in the plantation of Lewis, 1605–09 and his acquaintance with Highland soldiery, not least with Dòmhnall Mackay of Scourie/Farr/Reay in Stornoway in 1605, may have helped facilitate the later raising of Highland regiments for service in

278 M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* (Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1973), 301–302, 351–2. Thomas Monypenny died sometime between 1625 and 1628 and his debts were inherited by his son, also Thomas. NRS, PS 1/100, fol. 301.

279 Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, 330. Lennox was granted lands in the precinct of Portlough, County Donegal in 1610 which are detailed in Hill, *Historical Account of the Plantation of Ulster*, 293. Lennox's holdings, even if he did not actually go to Ireland in person, were substantial. His son was listed in 1641 as having 4000 acres. D. Dobson, *Scots-Irish Links, 1575–1725*, iv, 57; viii, 91. P. Lenihan, *Consolidating Conquest: plantation Ireland, 1603–1727* (Longman, Harlow, 2008), 46.

Thirty Years War, in the armies of Christian IV of Denmark and then Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden.²⁸⁰ Captain Alexander Mure claimed that as a result of the failure of the plantation of Lewis he had been ‘forced to go in forren cuntries to the wars.’²⁸¹ Similarly, many of the sons of the Lumsden and Learmonth families, having lost their estates in Fife, took to soldiering as a career, many of them achieving high rank in continental armies during the Thirty Years War.²⁸² Less is known of those further down the social scale but they too may have been subject to the same pressures. Captain David Rutherford, from Dunfermline, who witnessed a document at Stornoway in 1599 later served as a soldier in Sweden, Denmark and Estonia, reaching the rank of Colonel in the armies of Gustav II Adolph.²⁸³

Participation, Identity and Casualty Rates?

The thirteen principal participants of the plantation have been well known to historians although their relationships are not readily discernible. Most of those families, living in close proximity to each other in the East Neuk of Fife, were closely related to each other through inter-marriage over several generations (see appendix C1, C4, C5). The less-newsworthy participants in the plantation, those who were poor, and, or, who left little written record, are largely anonymous. It is impossible to arrive at a figure of how many people were involved in the plantation of Lewis. Nevertheless a table can be drawn up of the names which have been recovered from a range of sources, a few of them long in print, others from unpublished manuscript sources, which can identify from documentary evidence people who were present at the plantation in Stornoway (appendix C4). These references are largely chance: people who

280 *RMS*, vi, no. 1805. *SSNE*, no. 1642, 1156,

281 Petition by Muir, 1635, for losses sustained in Lewis 36 years earlier. *TNA*, SP 16/291, fol. 92. See appendix C4 under the heading ‘Muir.’

282 According to Erskine Beveridge, Sir James Lumsden of Invergelly who achieved high rank in Danish and Swedish service and in the army of the Covenant was Robert Lumsden of Airdrie’s eldest son. Two of the laird of Airdrie’s other sons, William and Robert also made a career in Scandinavia. E. Beveridge, *The Churchyard Memorials of Crail* (Edinburgh, 1893), 150. *SSNE*, 514, 515, 3003, 93, 1642. It is not always possible to connect the individuals who appear in the *SSNE* database in the 1620s and 1630s with the Forret, Learmonth and Spens families who had been active earlier in Lewis but there can be little doubt there was a connection. See various entries in the *SSNE* database for members of the Forret, Learmonth and Spens families including, entry nos. 441, 1615, 6267, 2270, 2269, 6267.

283 See appendix C4, below.

witnessed documents at Stornoway, or those mentioned in connection with their occupation in and around Lewis in connection with the plantation. This has yielded a list of over fifty people, many of whom were previously unknown. It includes a number of Highlanders, drafted in on a short term basis as military support. Most of these people are, as one would expect, from Fife or the south east of Scotland and a high number of them, perhaps predictably, were merchants. Many of them such as those bearing the names of Spens, Stewart and Learmonth, will have been there due to the relationship they had with the principal planters. Some, such as the Mures and, probably, the Maclellans were from the south west of Scotland.

Eight of those whose names are known were killed as direct result of plantation in Lewis. Some will have been slain; others may have died of wounds or diseases. Most of the names and even the numbers of those killed remain unknown. The names of the poor were not recorded if they had no transmissible goods or not regarded as noteworthy by the few sources that have survived. A list of the textual references to the unnamed slain or the 'known unknowns' (appendix C5) can add around 83 of the unknown planters as having been killed in or around Lewis, giving a number of 91 persons. Even if one or two of those figures are double counted, the true figure will almost certainly be considerably higher, possibly around 150–300 over the 10 year period of plantation – on the planter side alone. Disease was another factor influencing mortality rates. According to the contemporary Edinburgh diarist, David Moysie, an unknown number of the settlers 'died of the fluxes' and James Learmonth of Balcomie one of the principal planters, captured and ransomed by Murchadh Macleod of Siabost in 1599, died soon after his release due to a 'flux,' possibly dysentery.²⁸⁴ There was no shortage of disease in early modern Scotland. The Fife towns from which most of the planters came suffered from frequent outbreaks of the 'pest' as plague or Black Death was called at this time. Plague wrought damage enough in a settled community, such as the Fife burghs at this time, and the conditions experienced by the planters in a frontier community in the teeth of the first Lewis winter may have been truly appalling and exacerbated in successive years by the Macleod tactic of harassment, and the wasting of fuel and supplies.²⁸⁵ The true figure is unquantifiable

284 J. Dennistoun (ed.), *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland by David Moysie, from the year MDLXXVII–MDCIII*. (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1830), 165. Calderwood, *Historie*, v, 736. NLS, Wod. Qu. xx, fol. 352 v (appendix C2).

285 For plague outbreaks in Perth, 1584–87, see M. Todd (ed.), *The Perth Kirk Session Books, 1577–1590* (Woodbridge, 2012), 54–5, 305–306, 312. The joint testament of William Moreis, burgess of Crail and his wife Barbara Ramsay states that they both died of 'the pest' in

but may thus lie between 150–300 (or more) dead on the planter side alone from either violence or disease over a ten year period.

If the record for the casualties among the planters is hard to discern, the impact of plantation on the population of Lewis is even harder to gauge. Armed raids on local settlements seem to have been conducted when hostilities with their ‘enemies,’ as the planters called the Lewis men, escalated. The casual nature of references found in the chronicle sources referring to summary execution of captured local rebels or their death in fighting or as a result of raiding means that it is impossible to quantify the number of fatalities. Neither is there any way of calculating the impact on the population implicit in the frequent references to the burning of crops and the inevitable food shortages that would result from this in Lewis. A description of the effects of this type of raiding on Ó Dochartaigh’s lands in Donegal around the same time illustrates the effect this type of raiding could have. An English force managed to get onto Inch Island in Loch Swilly in 1600, which:

had in it between 400 and 500 Irish houses, it was a magazine for O’ Doherty’s corn, and was now burned and spoiled by the garrison of Derry which brought away 2000 sheep, 200 garrans, 250 cows [and] slew the people being nearly 150 and burned the corn being adjudged the value of £3000.²⁸⁶

Crail, January 1602. NRS, CC 8/8/36/483. The Presbytery of St Andrews was forced to meet in Pittenweem due to a plague outbreak in Easter 1606. NLS, Wod. Qu. xx, fol. 355r. There had been a previous outbreak of the ‘pest’ in St Andrews in 1605, and Elgin, Ayr, Stirling, Dundee, Perth, Edinburgh and Glasgow are all reported to have suffered from the plague or pestilence around this time (1598–1609). The Privy Council referred to ‘a country desolat due to the universal plague’ in December 1606. NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 1, no. 73. There were 600 deaths in Stirling alone in the 1607 outbreak. The workmen at the silverworks associated with the mint at Hilderston in West Lothian, 1607, deserted for fear of plague. NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 2 no. 52. Richard Oram has pointed out that this was not confined to urban or Lowland areas with rural and Highland districts such as Glenorchy and Glenelg suffering too. Given the nationwide prevalence of the disease it is very possible that this disease may have formed part of the plantation experience in Lewis. Oram, “It cannot be decernit quha are clean and quha are foulle.” Responses to Epidemic Disease in Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,’ in *Renaissance and Reformation/ Renaissance et Réformee* 30 (2007), 13–39. For a discussion of a wider range of maladies see R.D. Oram, ‘Disease, death and the hereafter in Medieval Scotland,’ in E.J. Cowan & L. Henderson (eds.), *A history of everyday life in Medieval Scotland, 1000 to 1600* (Edinburgh, 2011), 196–225. Calderwood, *Historie* vi, 591. *Chron. Frasers*, 236. *RPCS*, vi, 361.

²⁸⁶ A report by Sir Henry Dowcra, 1600, quoted here from D. McGettigan, *The Donegal Plantation and the Tír Chonaill Irish, 1610–1710* (Dublin, 2010), 8 (& n. 5), 64.

No such details survive for Lewis but Scots forces may have pursued much the same tactics – and they were joined by some English forces in the isles after 1603 (see Chapter 6). Raiding over successive years from 1598 onwards evidently did not subdue Lewis people but this must have greatly reduced their capacity to resist.

A rough estimate by the English intelligence services in the late 1590s noted that the Macleods of Lewis had somewhere in the region of 700 men from Lewis alone that they could spare to ship off for the mercenary markets of the Irish wars in the 1590s. This does not (seemingly) include the men from other parts of the Macleod of Lewis lordship, Raasay, Waternish, Gairloch, Assynt, Coigeach and Eddrachilles who were all sucked into the conflict of plantation. The true figure of Macleods involved (at least at the start of the plantation) of fighting age may have been, potentially, up to 1100 men. By 1615, however, Ruairidh Mackenzie, the tutor of Kintail, stated that there were no people from the Lewis estates available to fight. While it is always possible that there was an element of special pleading in this reply, had there been a large number of defeated or militant Lewismen still in situ one would imagine that Ruairidh would seize the chance to be rid of them. By 1651, the amount of men that could be raised from the Lewis estates of the Mackenzies was a mere 240.²⁸⁷ The comment of Captain John Dymes, in 1630, that there had been extensive settlement in Lewis from people on the adjacent mainland after the end of the Fife adventurers' plantation seems a credible one.²⁸⁸ There is no doubt that there would have been high casualties not only among the old elites of Siol Torcaill, but among their tenants too even if the details will remain unknown.

Conclusion

The precise details of the numbers of people involved in the plantation from the planter side, far less the indigenous Lewis people, will probably remain unknown and unquantifiable. Nevertheless, what does seem clear is that the casualty rates among the planters in Lewis, 1598–1602 and 1605–07, were substantial due to native opposition and disease. The impact on the native population of Lewis must also have been considerable. The Planters' condition was also not helped

287 'The Mackenzies engagement to furnish 750 men for the king's service,' Inverness, 18 September 1651. NLS, Adv. MS. 29.2.9, fol. 216. The Lewis contingent, however, had taken heavy casualties at the Battle of Auldearn, six years previously. D. Stevenson, *Highland Warrior: Alasdair mac Colla and the Civil Wars* (Saltire Society, Edinburgh, 1994), 189, 191.

288 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 592–93.

by a frequent dearth of supplies: a problem exacerbated by their long supply chain, exposed to stormy seas and frequent bad weather on the sea road from Fife to Lewis. Native hostility and harrying and the wilful spoliation of planters' goods contributed greatly to the supply problem and, of course, the longer this went on the greater the financial pressure on the principal planters. The financial strain, indeed, perhaps, as much as the sustained Macleod and Mackenzie opposition, contributed to the final abandonment of the project, a conclusion the planters must, themselves, have reached themselves by early 1607. Their royal patron needed more convincing but the remaining Fife Adventurers' had secured royal agreement for a Mackenzie solution to the Lewis problem by 1609.

For most of the planters, the consequences of this failed plantation were extremely serious. Only the Anstruther and Home families, who seem have sold their interest at a propitious time, and Sir James Spens and Sir George Hay, the latter two financially cushioned by the Mackenzie buyout and royal favour, seem to have escaped with their fortunes unscathed. For others, such as the Lumsden, Learmonth and Forret families, in particular, the consequences of the failure were grim. All of these families lost their estates within a decade of the failure of the Lewis plantation. Younger members of these families sought to repair their fortunes in foreign wars, particularly in Scandinavia.

Hindsight has not been kind to the Fife Adventurers and historiography has often been dismissive. The economic rationale for plantation, however, the rich herring fishery of the North Minch, remained a draw for Fife fishermen from the 1560s all the way through into the 1630s and well beyond. Having an established base at Lewis was clearly a rational and feasible idea which seemed to mesh well with the royal agenda for inculcating civility in the Highlands. The Plantation of Lewis was a cornerstone of James VI's Highland, or rather, Hebridean policy and its failure has meant that the episode has tended to be overlooked by historians who have concentrated their attention instead on the Statutes of Iona. Yet this was a serious venture which was well-planned, well-resourced with a radical agenda of recreating a civic, Fifeshire, burghal society in a key location in the Hebrides. Had the venture succeeded, life in the Hebrides might have been transformed or have taken a very different path and questions of culture, language and society would have developed in a strikingly differently way in the North West of Scotland. If the approach of the Fife Adventurers can be faulted it is in that they underestimated the attachment of the Lewis people to their lands and the support that the surviving members of Sìol Torcaill were able to draw on as a result of this. The capacity of the remnants of Sìol Torcaill to cause trouble might catch the eye when looking for causes for the failure of the plantation, but the ambition, the cunning and persistence of Mackenzie of Kintail should not be overlooked.

The Mackenzies and Their Plantation of Lewis

Introduction

The Macleods of Lewis had, by 1609, seen off three invasions and attempts at plantation by the Fife Adventurers. This had been accomplished only at a great cost to their own number. They continued to be subjected to periodic attacks or ‘raids’ from the levies of the British state.¹ Such offensives were now to be orchestrated, however, not by merchants and nobles from distant Fife and the Lowland burghs but by the much closer and equally ruthless Clan Mackenzie. The Mackenzies bought out the rights of the remaining Fife Adventurers, Sir George Hay and Sir James Spens in 1609–1610. This chapter will examine some of the ways in which the Mackenzie plantation differed from the other attempts at settling the lordship of Lewis. The first section will look at the beginnings of the Mackenzie intervention and examine how the Mackenzies sought to control newly acquired Sìol Torcaill lands and the wider area, acting in concert with central authorities. Following sections will look at how the Mackenzies went about consolidating their grip on the area before considering how they then sought to develop the economic potential of their acquisition.

Civility, Plantation, Royal Policy and Clan Mackenzie

The Mackenzies differed from the ‘civil’ Scots-speaking gentlemen of the Lowlands: they spoke Gaelic like the ‘barbarous’ inhabitants in their newly acquired lands and, like their predecessors, the Macleods, organised themselves along clan or family lines, thus having a ‘tribal’ structure rather than the civic model of societal organisation advocated by Jacobean theorists.² On a

- 1 The participants of these ‘raids’ were levied from the ranks of local clans but also included men from the Scottish burghs. The burghs either had to send armed men or else negotiate an exemption by making a cash payment. Marwick (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, A.D. 1573–1642*, 282–283. RCRBS, ii, 299. Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, vol. ii, 1570–1625, 296.NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 2, no. 61.
- 2 For civility in historical discourse see, Lynch & Goodare, eds., *The Reign of James VI*, 14–15, 208. MacGregor, ‘Civilising Gaelic Scotland: the Scottish Isles and the Stewart Empire’, 33–34. For the concept of English civility and Ireland see S.G. Ellis, ‘Reduceing their wildness...unto Civility’: England and the ‘Celtic Fringe,’ 1415–1625’ in B. Smith (ed.), *Ireland and the English*

sliding scale of civility, while the barbarism of the Macleods seemed clear, the position of the Mackenzies (like the Clan Campbell) may have seemed a little more ambiguous to southern observers. Moreover, an account of the Scottish nobility produced in the later 1590s noted that while the clan chief, Coinneach Òg Mackenzie of Kintail, was clearly a Gaelic-speaking Highlander he was, nevertheless, very 'politique,' well-connected and politically astute. He could not simply be dismissed as 'barbarous' in the manner many of his neighbours were.³ The clan may have been Gaelic-speaking but all their surviving writings, since the sixteenth century were in Scots and English.⁴

Members of the Mackenzie clan, such as Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty, the first Mackenzie chamberlain of Lewis, c. 1611–1638, while Anglophone on the basis of their written output and agents of Jacobean 'civility', were prolific in their composition of oral Gaelic poetry.⁵ Although relatively little of this verse survives, the accomplished and polished nature of the poems that remain is

world in the late middle ages: essays in honour of Robin Frame (Basingstoke, 2009), 176–192, at 185–190. A.H. Williamson, 'Scotland and the Rise of Civic Culture, 1150–1650,' in *History Compass*, 2 (2005), 91–123, at 112. R.A. Mason, 'Civil society and the Celts: Hector Boece, George Buchanan and the Scottish past,' in, E.J. Cowan & R.J. Finlay (eds.), *Scottish History, the power of the past* (Edinburgh, 2002), 95–119.

- 3 This source, a description written for English consumption by John Colville around 1600, dismissed Macdonald of Clanranald, and Macdonald of Islay and Kintyre together with Macleod of Lewis (in contrast to Mackenzie) as being 'barbar' or barbarian. One of Mackenzie's most important allies at this time was the influential Alexander Seton, Lord Fyvie (later Earl of Dunfermline and chancellor of Scotland), who had sold Pluscardine to Mackenzie in 1595 and whose daughter, Margaret Seton, would later marry Cailean, Mackenzie's heir. The importance of this connection was recognised by Mackenzie's contemporaries in the Highlands. Laing (ed.), *The Original Letters of Mr John Colville, 1582–1603*, 351–352. M. Lee jun., 'Seton, Alexander, first earl of Dunfermline (1556–1622)', *ODNB*, entry no. 25113. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', 224. *Highland Papers*, ii, 271–272.
- 4 A. MacCoinnich, 'Where was Gaelic written in late medieval and early modern Scotland?' 319–321.
- 5 Upwards of twenty five Gaelic poems, whose composers are known, survive by or relating to the Mackenzie clan from the seventeenth century. This was partially due to the efforts of Donnchadh MacRath, 1689–93, who transcribed a number of poems of this nature in the Fernaig Manuscript(s) and also due to the survival of such poems in the oral tradition through into the nineteenth century when many of them were first transcribed. This number could be revised upwards if the output of MacRath himself, a number of poems by unknown poets, and the 'rannscéal' type of couplets or quatrains embedded in various English language histories related to the clan were added. This is indicative of a much larger, lost, corpus of Gaelic oral verse from the seventeenth century. C. Ó Baoill & D. MacAulay, *Scottish vernacular verse to 1730. A checklist* (Revised edition, Aberdeen University, Department of Celtic, 2001).

clear evidence of a well-established and widespread Gaelic oral (although not a Gaelic scribal) poetic tradition.⁶ For the Mackenzies themselves there was no contradiction in their parallel roles of being agents of Anglophone Jacobean government, civility, Gaelic-speakers and patrons and producers of Gaelic poetry together, of course, with advancing clan self-interest.⁷ The Mackenzies seemed, inasmuch as can be seen from a distance of four centuries, to combine these elements in a seamless package. Indeed, as a powerful and ambitious family and dynasty, the Mackenzies would have, perhaps, just as much in common with some of the magnate families from the Lowlands as with politically-marginalised fellow Highlanders such as the Macleods. If one sets aside the strong Gaelic cultural identity of the Mackenzie clan (or Clan Campbell in the southern Highlands) they appear, from the surviving historical sources, to have been very similar to the Hamiltons, Gordons, Kennedys, Humes or other powerful dynasties with a strong 'Lowland' identity but with a strong unifying dynastic, if indeed not 'clan,' ethos.⁸ It is worth noting that of these latter four magnate families only the Humes are likely to have had no Gaelic speaking tenantry.⁹ King James preferred Anglophone culture with a view to state harmonisation and the building of a British identity focused on his own kingship.

6 For the proliferation of Gaelic poetry among the Mackenzies see the previous note. The absence of any Gaelic script from anywhere in Mackenzie lands and the widespread nature of English literacy in the seventeenth century together with the adoption of English orthography for occasional Gaelic texts (as practised by MacRath and others) suggest a thriving oral poetic tradition but an absence of any Gaelic scribal tradition in Mackenzie lands. For sixteenth and seventeenth Mackenzie (English language) history interspersed with quatrains of Gaelic poetry see MacCoinnich, "Scribis le pen de shenichis". Criomagan de Ghàidhlig ann an Eachdraidhean Bheurla Chlann Choinnich, c. 1550–1710, 149–194.

7 An account produced by a Mackenzie clan member, for example (c.1670), of the conquest by Mackenzie of Glengarry's lands of Wester Ross, 1600–1604, contrasts Glengarry's barbarous usage of his tenants with the 'civil' treatment they could expect if they accepted Mackenzie in his stead as a landlord. ML, MS 591703 (SR. 177), fol. 37. For one of these Mackenzie historical texts (written c.1670) see, *Highland Papers*, ii, 5–68.

8 A.I. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement, 1625–1641* (Edinburgh, 1991), 5. K.M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland. Wealth, family and culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2004), 33–39, 80–82, 107, 124–127, 223.

9 The Hamilton tenantry in Arran remained Gaelic speaking until the nineteenth or early twentieth century. Carrick, the Kennedy heartland in south Ayrshire, was Gaelic-speaking in the sixteenth century and is likely to have remained, at least partially Gaelophone, until the end of the seventeenth century. Gordons are not usually taken as Gaels. Yet, a report of an incident from the mid seventeenth century describes shows a party of Gordons presumably from Banffshire, led by John Gordon of Leitcheston (near Buckie) speaking Gaelic in upland Aberdeenshire in the vicinity of Rhynie. Stuart (ed.), *A breiffe narration of the service done to*

Gaelic and its cultural trappings, while not, perhaps, something to boast about need not necessarily be an obstacle to political integration.¹⁰ Thus for James VI, the abandonment of the policy of Lowland-led plantation in the Highlands and the delegation of this task to a favoured Highland clan was an expedient, rather than a disastrous, change of tack. This has been interpreted as an abandonment of the novel plantation policy and the recourse to a more traditional royal approach to Highland crisis management, with one favoured clan used against another.¹¹

Certainly Sir James Spens of Wormiston and Sir George Hay of Nether Liff, the two remaining Fife adventurers thought this was the way the political wind was blowing following the failure of their second plantation in Lewis by early 1607. They anticipated this volte face in Jacobean Highland policy, albeit a little precipitously, and negotiated a deal by which Mackenzie of Kintail bought them out and gained a charter to Lewis and Vaternish in Skye in May 1607.¹² James VI, however, seemed furious and cancelled Mackenzie's patent. James VI had, as we have seen in the previous chapter, been a strong advocate of plantation especially in Lewis. Royal policy had, however, been thrown into confusion by the defeat of the second Plantation of Lewis in 1606–1607 due largely to the resistance led by Niall Macleod aided, perhaps, by the connivance of neighbouring clans. Indeed, James railed against the 'ewill neighborheid' in the Isles but also blamed the lack of resolve shown by Hay and Spens's former partners for the failure of the second plantation. The king continued to insist on the need for planters to pull their weight and make the plantation work.¹³

James VI also tried, with his council, to put pressure on the Earl of Huntly in the spring of 1607 to get Huntly to take responsibility for the remaining Hebrides, Lewis excepted, but Huntly, as discussed in the previous chapter, was too wary to walk into such a trap.¹⁴ Huntly had seen how the Fife Adventurers

three noble ladies by Gilbert Blakhal, 103–110. MacCoinnich, 'Where was Gaelic written?' 315 & n. 15, 19. N. Holmer, *The Gaelic of Arran* (Dublin, 1957).

10 MacCoinnich & Pons-Sanz, 'The languages of the Scots' (forthcoming). A. MacCoinnich, 'Where was Gaelic written?', 319–320, 322–324.

11 *Chron. Frasers*, 240–241. M. Lynch, 'James VI and the Highland Problem', in M. Lynch & J. Goodare, eds., *The Reign of James VI* (Edinburgh, 2000), 224.

12 Discussed in the previous chapter. Maurice Lee credits the influence of Mackenzie's friend, the Earl of Dunfermline, for arranging this short-lived charter for Lewis. M. Lee jr., *Government by Pen: Scotland under James VI & I* (University of Illinois, Urbana, 1980), 75–76.

13 Letter, James VI to David Murray, 1 July 1607. NLS, MS 20775, fol. 34.

14 Letter, from the Council to the king, asking how far they could press Huntly in this business, 26 March 1607. NLS, Adv MS, 33.1.1, vol. 2 no.14. B. Robertson, *Lordship and Power in the North of Scotland. The Noble House of Huntly, 1603–1690* (Edinburgh, 2011), 38–43, 55–56.

had lost considerable blood and silver. Although his objections ostensibly centred on the high rents he was expected to pay, he had no intention of getting pressured into involvement in the Hebrides against his will. He had, he wrote to the king, 'few freindis in this errand.'¹⁵ King James, notwithstanding his failure to draw Huntly into pacifying the Uists, pressed, publicly at least, for a fresh conquest of Lewis by the planters as late as 29 July 1607.¹⁶ By the beginning of 1608, however, the the Privy Council in Edinburgh was carefully monitoring developments in the north of Ireland, and in close communication with English forces there due to the news of Ó Dochartaigh's rebellion and the burning of Derry.¹⁷ Although this Ulster rising was swiftly crushed, Lewis remained in the hands of rebellious islanders who had ejected the planters and something needed to be done. The answer in the first instance was a summer raid, with a levy of 500 paid soldiers to meet at Islay and then proceed to Trotternish at Skye by 24 July where they were to rendezvous with the 'northland forces,' such as the Mackays and Mackenzies, and which they then intended to use as a staging post, presumably, for action against the Macleods of Lewis.¹⁸

While the Statutes of Iona and developments in the southern Hebrides have benefitted from several detailed studies, less attention has been paid to Lewis and the Northern Hebrides. Ostensibly the Fife Adventurers were still, between 1607 and 1609, the solution to the problem posed by the former Macleod Lordship. However, James was nothing if not pragmatic and while apparently in favour of a third and final attempt, granting a portion of one third of the plantation to Lord Balmerino in 1607, he may have been reconciled to an alternative arrangement. This was possibly connected to Balmerino's fall from grace in a political scandal in the autumn of 1608 and early 1609.¹⁹ By November 1609 Balmerino's share had passed to his fellow adventurer, Sir George Hay, who then held two-thirds of the Lewis plantation.²⁰ The lack of determination with

15 Letter, Earl of Huntly to the king, 26 March 1607. NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 2 no.16.

16 Mackenzie, *The History of the Outer Hebrides*, 225–227. M. Lynch, 'James VI and the Highland Problem,' in Goodare & Lynch, eds., *The Reign of James VI*, 224.

17 Letter from the Earl of Dunfermline, Edinburgh, to the King in England, 24 April 1608. NLS, Adv MS, 33.1.1, vol. 2 no. 58. Cathcart, 'The Statutes of Iona, the archipelagic context,' 17–21, n. 56 & 58. *RPCS*, viii, 518–520. J. McCavitt, *The Flight of the Earls* (Dublin, 2002), 134–150.

18 NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 2, no. 61 – Counsell to King, 25 May 1608. Duntulm castle in Trotternish, mentioned elsewhere in this period, would probably have been the most convenient location for this rendezvous.

19 R.R. Zulager, 'Elphinstone, James, first Lord Balmerino (1557–1612),' *ODNB*, entry no, 8746. M. Lee Jr., *Government by Pen*, 92–94.

20 *RMS*, vi, no. 1982; vii, nos. 149, 167. Goodare, 'The Statutes of Iona in context,' 44.

which the third and final plantation of Lewis was pursued during 1609 by the Fife Adventurers and the alacrity with which the final effort was dropped, together with a silence on the alleged raiding of the 1609 plantation in the charges brought against Niall Macleod of Lewis is curious. When taken together such circumstantial evidence indicates that the final 'attempt' at plantation in 1609 may have been a face-saving exercise (as suggested in the previous chapter). The circumstances of the collapse of the final effort at plantation in 1609 remain obscure. Any disappointment James may have had with the failure of the final attempt at Lowland plantation in Lewis was tempered at the end of 1609 by the threefold realisation that a solution for Lewis looked to have been found in the Mackenzies whose chief was rewarded with a peerage, that James's strategy of sending Bishop Knox after the remaining Hebridean chiefs had been successful and equally importantly, that the plantation of Ireland promised a comprehensive resolution of the wider Gaelic 'problem' on the wider north-western littoral of Jacobean Britain, sundering the links between the unruly elements in the Gaidhealtachd of James's native kingdom and the Gaeltacht of Ireland in a way that had been out of the reach of the English crown.²¹

The royal view or the state perspective with regard to the Hebridean 'problem' was first set on the historical agenda by Donald Gregory (1803–1836), in his pioneering and influential study of Clan Donald and the western Highlands and Islands published in 1836. This identified a series of measures set out by agents of James VI's government, 1608–1609, as being fundamental to the reform of the Highlands and Islands, calling them the 'Statutes' of Iona.²² More recently, Allan Macinnes placed a different interpretation on the evolution of James VI's Highland policy and argued that this was part of a longer term process that had its beginnings in 1587.²³ Julian Goodare, although accepting

21 Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail was given a parliamentary lordship, 17 November 1609, two days after Sir George Hay had been confirmed in the forfeited portions of Lewis which had been held by Lord Balmerino. The main reasons for this, specified in Lord Kintail's patent, were that he would civilise the Isle of Lewis and reduce the inhabitants to obedience. Mackenzie's patent of peerage was read before the Privy Council, of which he was a member, 25 May 1610, shortly before his conquest of Lewis. *RMS*, vii, 167–168. Brabourne Manuscripts, Centre for Kentish Studies, U 274/F7. *RPCS*, viii, 470. MacGregor, 'Statutes of Iona: text and context', 116–126, 137–138. Cathcart, 'The Statutes of Iona: the archipelagic context', 4–27.

22 The dedication in the frontispiece of Gregory's book and the way the work is structured make the nature of his focus on Clan Donald explicit. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 330–333. See also an introductory foreword by Dr Martin MacGregor, in a recent reprint of this work (John Donald edition, Edinburgh, 2008), v–xvii.

23 Macinnes, 'Crown Clans and Fine', 31–32. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 51, 65–68, 72–75.

Gregory's idea viewing these measures as pieces of legislation, suggested that the Statutes were a flawed programme and contained inherent inconsistencies. Michael Lynch echoed this, emphasising the longer time frame over which these measures were enacted, 1608–17, and the evolution of a mercantile relationship and dependency of Highland chiefs on Edinburgh.²⁴ Martin MacGregor, partially in response to Goodare, argued instead a greater role for Bishop Knox in the process of Hebridean pacification, and that the statutes instead represented an attempt by the Jacobean polity to check the long term aggrandisement of the Clan Campbell. Alison Cathcart, in turn, has emphasized the importance of the British dimension, arguing that these statutes need to be viewed in the light of James VI's wider British agenda, not least the pacification of Ireland.²⁵ All of these arguments looking at the state's engagement with the Highlands have their merits. These interpretations, however, are plugged into the narrative of state formation, engaging in the debate largely on the agenda set by Edinburgh or London. While all these commentators briefly note the Mackenzie acquisition of Lewis, this attracts surprisingly little discussion. Yet it will be argued here that the Mackenzies made a major contribution to the Jacobean settlement of the Hebrides north of Ardnamurchan. The orthodox historical approaches to state formation and the Highlands, outlined above, can be complemented by considering the process from the alternative perspective offered by the Mackenzie settlement of the Northern Hebrides.

For the Mackenzies, their plantation of Lewis was the cusp of a remarkable period of expansion, having quadrupled the territory under their control over the preceding three generations. They were instrumental in the growth and consolidation of royal power in Ross-shire at the expense of Clan Donald, the former Lords of the Isles and Earls of Ross, following the royal forfeiture of Macdonald titles in 1475. The Mackenzies were installed as tenants in chief of the crown (rather than their former Macdonald masters) in a strategically important location in western and central Ross, created the barony of Eilean Donnan, as a check to Macdonald power in 1508. The Mackenzies, benefitting from royal favour as well as competent and aggressive leadership, continued to expand their lands and power during the sixteenth century and eclipsed the rival Munro clan in Easter Ross in the 1570s and 1580s. By 1594 they had become crown tenants in the rich Lordship of Ardmannoch, royal demesne lands, administered for the Queen by Alexander Seton.²⁶ The timing of this grant of

24 Lynch, 'James VI and the Highland Problem,' 208–227.

25 Cathcart, 'The Statutes of Iona: the archipelagic context,' 4–27.

26 Queen Anne was granted the lands of the Earldom of Ross and the Lordship of Ardmannoch (the Black Isle) together with the Lordship of Dunfermline and Ettrick forest in 1589. These

the Ardmannoch, together with their acquisition of Pluscardine in the central Highlands, also from Alexander Seton, indicates that James VI sought to promote the Mackenzies as a counterbalance to the unreliable Gordons of Huntly who had recently risen in rebellion against crown forces.²⁷ The swathe of castles and tower houses they built across Easter Ross at this time were an expression in stone of burgeoning Mackenzie influence.²⁸ They had recently, by around 1604, militarily defeated the neighbouring Macdonalds (or Macdonnells) of Glengarry, taking their lands of Lochalsh and Lochcarron, and thus removing the last Clan Donald foothold on the mainland of Ross. This was recognised with a royal charter granting these lands to Mackenzie in March 1607.²⁹ This was the culmination of a process whereby the Macdonnells of Glengarry, as a part of the wider Clan Donald, lost their final toehold in the lands of the earldom of Ross, from which they had been forfeit in 1475. The king must have disapproved of Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail's plotting, especially his role in undermining the Fife plantation in Lewis. On the other hand, his position in the north as a potential counterweight to Huntly and his especially his role in the ongoing war against the Macdonalds of Glengarry, meant that Mackenzie's actions needed to be tolerated: the alternative was destabilisation in the region and a potential recrudescence of Macdonald power in Ross.

lands were administered on her behalf, from 1593, by Alexander Seton, Mackenzie's ally. Seton also had been granted the lands of Pluscardine as a baptismal gift from Queen Mary around 1568 and his sale of this to Mackenzie in 1594 must also have been carried out with royal approval. M. Lee jr., 'King James's Popish Chancellor, 173–174. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', 138 (n. 458), 177, 180–184, 206, 211–221, 236. A. MacCoinnich, Strathconon, Scatwell and the Mackenzies in the Written Record, c. 1463–c.1700. in: *A Project to Identify, Survey and Record Archaeological Remains in Strathconon, Ross-shire. Report of Phase Three: Loch Meig to Dalbreac, Feb 2008 to June 2008, Aug 2009* (North of Scotland Archaeological Society, Conon Bridge, 2010), 11–31, at 11–15. RMS, vi, no. 410. NRS, GD 94/41. J. Fullarton (ed.), *The History of the House of Seytoun, to the year M.D.LIX. By Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, Knight: With the Continuation by Alexander Viscount Kingston, To M.D.C. LXXXVII* (Maitland Club, Glasgow, 1829), 63–66. SP, iii, 369–373. NRS, PS 1/74, fol. 290.

27 The Gordons defeated a Royal lieutenant, the Earl of Argyll, and his forces at Glenlivet, 3 October 1594, but succumbed to a parallel expedition led by the king, in person, against them. S. Murdoch, 'James VI and the formation of a Scottish-British Military Identity', in S. Murdoch & A. Mackillop (eds.), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience, c. 1550–1900* (Brill, Leiden, 2002), 9–10. Robertson, *Lordship and Power in the North of Scotland, the noble house of Huntly*, 27–35.

28 J. Munro, 'The Mackenzies', in R. Oram & G. Stell (eds.), *Lordship and Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2005), 273–291.

29 NRS, PS 1/76, fol. 44.

The Mackenzie victory over Glengarry by 1605 did not fully extinguish long-held Clan Donald aspirations at recovering Ross, together with the Lordship of the Isles. However such ambitions became increasingly unrealistic as the Mackenzies consolidated their hold on these lands and few, other than the Macdonalds themselves, wished to see them returned to power in Ross.³⁰ The Mackenzie leadership already, by 1605 × 1607, had considerable experience in conquering and assimilating territory even if the means by which they exercised such control are not always apparent. In addition to this expansion on the mainland of Ross at the expense of the Munros and the Macdonnells of Glengarry, the Mackenzies had simultaneously been collecting, piecemeal, superiorities over the possessions of the Macleods of Lewis: Coigeach (c. 1555–1605), Assynt (1592–1672), Gairloch (1494–1611), Vaternish, Raasay and Lewis (1608–11). Although disgruntled elements of Sìol Torcaill still continued sporadic resistance to the incoming Mackenzies, especially in the south-west of Lewis, they were all but eradicated as a cohesive clan saving only the Assynt and Raasay branches who held their lands as vassals of the Mackenzies.³¹ By 1611 the Mackenzies controlled a wide stretch of land (and sea) ranging from

30 MacCoinnich, 'His Spirit was given only to warre': conflict and identity in the Scottish Gaidhealtachd, 148. Dòmhnall mac Aonghais mhic Alasdair, the chief of the Macdonnells of Glengarry still referred to himself as the heir of Gilleasbuig/Celestine (d. 1491), the brother of the Earls of Ross in a deed as late as 1631. The only time, however, when it seemed possible that the Mackenzie engorgement of former Macdonald lands might be reversed was in the later seventeenth century when a Glengarry chief, enjoying royal favour, pressed unsuccessfully to have his former clan lands reinstated and even to be created Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles. NRS, CS 7/438, fol. 188. P. Hopkins, *Glencoe and the end of the Highland War* (Edinburgh, 1986), 40, 42. Mackenzie (ed.), *Òrain Iain Luim*, 18, 124–126. Stevenson, *Highland Warrior*, 274, 277–278.

31 The Macleods of Assynt were reluctant at best, if not truculent, vassals to the Mackenzies of Seaforth. Matters seemed cordial, at least from the Mackenzie perspective, under the leadership of Cailean, Earl of Seaforth (1621–33). However, his successor, Seòras, Earl of Seaforth (1633–51), had a much more problematic relationship with the Macleod of Assynt family. The laird of Assynt laboured under huge debts he was unable to pay Seaforth by the later 1630s. Relations soured further the following decade, aggravated, perhaps, by the conditions of war. Seaforth laid siege to, and captured, Assynt's castle of Ardvreck castle in 1646. The Mackenzies, perhaps, regarding this as unfinished business, had dispossessed the Assynt family by 1672 and continued to hold the Assynt estate afterwards despite subsequent attempts by the Macleods to contest this on legal grounds. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', 50. Gordon, Sutherland, 276–277, 484, 534. Hopkins, *Glencoe and the end of the Highland War*, 23. Fraser, (ed.), *The Sutherland Book*, ii, 163–164, 166–167. NRS, GD 248/120/2.

Chanonry point on the Moray Firth in the east to Àird Ùig and the Atlantic Ocean in the west.

The Acquisition of Lewis

Little evidence has survived about the means by which Lewis was actually taken over by the Mackenzies. Even the timing of this is difficult to ascertain. The Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan (see below), who had posed a persistent threat to the previous plantation, had close links of affinity with their Sìol Torcaill namesakes and their leader, Ruairidh Mòr of Dunvegan, may also have had ambitions regarding Lewis. They had to be neutralised before any attempt was made on the island. The royal remission granted to Macleod of Dunvegan in May 1610, must have been held out as an olive branch, no doubt accompanied by a warning of the dangers of further interference.³² According to a late seventeenth century Mackenzie account, Coinneach Mackenzie, lord Kintail, bought Lewis from the remaining Fife Adventurers, Sir James Spens and Sir George Hay and then went over to make good his claim with a force of 700 men. It would seem that that Kintail's forces had a mixed reception. According to some seventeenth century accounts, most of the inhabitants, after having suffered 'hairship' or plundering raids at the hands of Mackenzie forces, submitted to the new arrivals with the exception of the remaining leadership of Sìol Torcaill and those that still followed them.³³

Mackenzie's contracts with the former planters to take Lewis off their hands can be dated to 9 & 12 July 1610.³⁴ A further clue to the timing of the Mackenzie invasion lies in the emergence of complaints by the Lowland burghs, from July 1610 onwards, about the rates Mackenzies were exacting for ground leave from fishermen visiting the North Isles. Fishermen putting ashore on Mackenzie lands to mend their nets, cure their fish, or take on fresh water, were charged by Hebridean landowners. Such levies were resented by the Lowland fishermen and their discontent is reflected by their complaints expressed in the records of the convention of royal burghs over several years. This is a clear indication of the Mackenzie presence: they had effectively supplanted Sìol Torcaill's role

³² NRS, PS 1/79, fol. 18.

³³ ML, MS 591703 (SR. 177), fol. 72. *Highland Papers*, ii, 62–63, 277.

³⁴ NRS, RD 1/192, fol. 305r–314v. NRS, RD 1/220, fol. 430v, 450. The transaction by which the Mackenzies acquired Lewis from Sir George Hay, Sir James Spens and Alexander Drummond of Meidhope (the latter granted the escheat of Lord Balmerino) passed under the Great Seal, 20 July 1610. *RMS*, vii, no. 341.

at extracting revenue from visiting Lowland fishermen. Unlike their Macleod predecessors, however, the Mackenzies took care to (un)scrupulously follow the forms of law.³⁵ The naval support provided for Mackenzie birlinns and shipping in their conquest of Lewis is hinted at in a complaint by Captain John Mason of King's Lynn, which stated that he had served in the 'redshank isles,' or Hebrides, for fourteen months in 1610 and 1611, with two pinnaces, two frigates and 80 marines, without pay. Mason complained that he had to bear the costs of the expedition himself, having served in the area with 'certaine gentleman volunteers in warlike manner.'³⁶ The gentlemen most likely to have served in such a 'warlike' manner in the redshank isles, or Hebrides, in 1610 and 1611 were the leadership of the Mackenzies. They were almost certainly accompanied by levies drawn from the Scottish burghs, several of whom, 5 July 1610, made a cash payment in lieu of their failure to send men to the 'raid' on the isles.³⁷

This indicates that the invasion of Lewis by the Mackenzies can be dated with confidence to July 1610. The Mackenzies enjoyed some advantages that the previous planters had lacked. The Fife Adventurers had struggled with the long sea route to Fife and Lothian which made it difficult to replenish supplies (particularly in winter) and to react quickly to difficulties as they arose. The proximity of Mackenzie lands in Wester Ross to Lewis meant that the new planters had no such logistical issues. The remaining Lewismen also realised that they would now be 'vexed' with continual Mackenzie incursions, until they yielded and this was a factor, identified by a Mackenzie chronicler, that differentiated their attempt at subjugating Lewis from that of the Fife men.³⁸

35 This cause of contention between the Lowland fishermen and their burghal representative on the one hand and the Mackenzies on the other regarding the ground rates levied by the latter continued to rumble on until at least 1616 if not beyond: a sign, perhaps, that the Mackenzies were driving a hard bargain with the visiting fishermen. *RCRB*, ii, 300, 304, 312–313, 343, 354, 374, 410–411.

36 C.W. Tuttle & J.W. Dean, eds., *Captain John Mason, the Founder of New Hampshire including his tract on Newfoundland, 1620, the American Charters in which he was a Grantee, with Letters and Other Historical Documents. Together with a memoir / by Charles Wesley Tuttle; edited with historical illustrations by John Ward Dean* (Prince Society, Boston, 1887), 264. TNA, SP 16/154, fol. 20a.

37 Several burghs abstained from sending people on the raid to the Isles, 5 July 1610: Nairn, Elgin, Montrose, Pittenweem, Lanark, Whithorn, Forfar, Rothesay, Ru[ther]glein, Lauder, Kilrennie, Annand, Lochmaben and Sanquhar. By inference this means those burghs not so fined, such as Edinburgh, Ayr, Dundee, Aberdeen, Inverness, Perth, Haddington, Linlithgow, Stirling, Dysart, Crail, Dunbar, Burntisland, Dunfermline, St Andrews and Glasgow had either sent contingents of men on this raid or else made cash compositions to the crown in lieu of their levy. *RCRBS*, ii, 299.

38 *Highland Papers*, ii, 277.

The Lewismen subjected to these punitive expeditions had, in the past melted away into neighbouring clan lands and then re-appeared to attack the Fife men. To make sure this tactic was not repeated the Mackenzies first made sure that each neighbouring clan was under a caution not to 'reset' or succour fugitives under heavy financial penalty.³⁹ The Fife Adventurers had attempted similar measures but had lacked the strength in the locality to follow punitive sanctions through, hampered by a lack of co-operation from neighbouring clans. The Mackenzies, however, had the presence in the locality and the strength necessary to follow such measures up. Although details are lacking, the terms of the remission given to some of the Mackenzies in 1614 for all killings and 'crymes capital' committed by them and around the North Isles, in Skye and Lewis against Siol Torcaill and their associates is an indication that the sharp end of the plantation process could be a bloody business. Iain Mackenzie of Gairloch and his four sons, Alasdair, Coinneach, Donnchadh and Uilleam were given a full remission by James VI antedating his departure for England (1603), for the slaying of all the killings they had committed in Skye and Lewis against all 'broken men, vagabondis, and lymmeris,' as they had

slane sindrie of the saidis invaderis and lymmeris, tane utheris of thame and thairefter put thame to death... ...to the great comfort of his ma[jestei]s guid, honest and trew subjectis...

Such licenced violence could, provided it was in the interests of the crown, be regarded as 'guid and acceptable service done to his hienes'.⁴⁰ The Mackenzie of Gairloch family had a tense relationship with the senior Kintail family throughout the sixteenth and the early seventeenth century, but here they contributed to the wider clan Mackenzie aim of weakening Siol Torcaill. Eachann Ruadh Mackenzie of Gairloch, the founder of that branch of the family, had originally acquired one third of the lands of Gairloch in 1494. The remaining lands of Gairloch had remained in the hands of Siol Torcaill, closely related to the Raasay branch of the Macleod family. The cover of conflict allowed the Mackenzies a legitimate pretext to forcibly eject Siol Torcaill from and move in on the remaining two thirds of the lands of Gairloch by 1610–1611.⁴¹ The deployment of the

³⁹ *RPCS*, viii, 480.

⁴⁰ Remission, dated at Theobalds, 2 April 1614. 'Unpainted deed box, no 51, miscellaneous papers' NRA(S), 0143. Gairloch Muniments, Canon House. I am grateful to John Mackenzie of Gairloch for kindly allowing me access to his papers.

⁴¹ Gordon, Sutherland, 276–278. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', 122, 125–126, 185–188. MacCoinnich, 'Scribis le pen di shenchis,' 160, 170. See also, Ruairidh Mòr a' Chnuic,

Mackenzies, especially the way in which they were backed up with crown military and legal authority changed conditions in the Northern Hebrides adjacent to Lewis. The lesson was not lost on neighbouring clans such as the Macdonalds of Sleat, Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan and the Macdonalds of Clanranald. While many royal or royally sanctioned expeditions had attempted to impose control in the past none of these attempts had lasted for any length of time. The Mackenzies were now, from July 1610 onwards, a major presence in the area, their conquest followed by the settlement of large numbers of incoming tenants from mainland Ross-shire. For those on Mackenzie lands, the new plantation in Lewis will have offered opportunities many of their countrymen sought further afield. Indeed, the majority of tenants in Lewis in the first century of plantation bore names of a mainland origin.⁴² Royal government in the Northern Hebrides would now be facilitated by a force with a vested interest in maintaining Stewart rule. James is famously said to have ruled Scotland by pen but, in this case, those so governed will have been aware that the sword was not far behind.⁴³

The Wider Gaelic World and the Broader Hebridean Context

If the traditional Stewart approach, of turning to a favoured clan to deal with troublesome kindreds, was adopted, from necessity, to deal with the Northern Hebrides, matters may have not been so clear-cut in the south. Martin MacGregor has suggested that various interests, represented most visibly by Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles, sought to supplant Campbell hegemony in the south, and sought a 'Campbell free future' for the Isles – or at least the southern Hebrides. The Islay rising of Clan Donald, 1614–15, put an abrupt stop to this.⁴⁴ Only the Campbells, or a force working in co-operation with the

'Cia-mar a thainig Clann Choinnich a Ghearrloch,' in, *The Celtic Magazine*, 2 (1876), 61–66. N. Macleod, *Raasay*, 39–40, 222–230.

42 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 592–593. See also Appendix D5. T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600–1815* (London, 2004), 1–30.

43 The issuing of commissions of fire and sword were the tried and trusted means used by the Scottish Crown to ensure compliance from those who disobeyed them. It did what the name suggested, giving the holders of such commissions carte blanche to use force against those so targeted. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 45, 48, 61, 107.

44 MacGregor has recently stressed Bishop Knox's role in supplanting Campbell hegemony and building up his own influence. In a sense this is correct but Knox operated at the behest of James VI, whose complex, multifaceted, and occasionally contradictory agendas included not only building up state control, but also the imposition of episcopacy.

Campbells, had the wherewithal to conduct an effective prolonged military campaign against the Macdonalds in the south western Hebrides.⁴⁵ There can be no doubt that James was disappointed with the failure of his initial policy of plantation in Lewis. However, with regards to the Northern Hebrides, if not the south, James VI's rule could, arguably, be seen less, perhaps, as a 'failure' of royal policy and of royal responsibility, than a practical and typically pragmatic Jacobean response to what had long seemed an intractable problem.⁴⁶ The long term strategy of forcible expropriation under the cover of the 'need' to impose 'civility' was simply farmed out for the benefit of the Campbells in the south and the Mackenzies in the north and both groups took full advantage of the opportunity.⁴⁷ Neither was Mackenzie power restricted to Lewis: their power and influence was projected across the region and directly affected neighbouring clan lands.

In Ulster the crown was unable to work with native Gaelic elites in the wake of the the Nine Years War, 1603, leading, as is well known, to the Flight of the

Knox, recently appointed to the diocese of the Isles, was a bishop without a functioning see or at least without any mensal revenue. Knox often gets praised for capturing and kidnapping most of the Hebridean chiefs ahead of the Statutes of Iona. One of Knox's less appreciated achievements was to build up a functioning church and a diocesan structure, bringing in a modest income by the 1620s in an area where this had not existed effectively for centuries. Knox was certainly critical of Campbell obstruction but others were too. Opposition to Campbell interests in the southern Hebrides also came from people like Archibald Primrose, clerk of his majesties taxations, who sought lead and copper mining rights on Islay and other islands (1616) and from Chancellor Dunfermline, who may have been angling after Islay himself. Dunfermline's agent, George Graham of Drynie in Ross, played a prominent role in the Islay rising. Another critic of the Campbells was Alexander Hay, Lord Clerk of Register in Scotland, who insinuated in December 1615, that the Earl of Argyll had been behind the Islay rising. Martin Macgregor, 'Statutes of Iona: text and context,' *Innes Review*, 57 (2006), 111–181, at 146–147, 153–154, 163–166. MacGregor, 'Civilising Gaelic Scotland: the Scottish Isles and the Stewart Empire,' 41, 43–44. M. Lee jr., *Government by Pen*, 22, 62–65, 158–162. NRS, GD 188/31/12. *RPCS*, x, 525. NRS, PS 1/79, fol. 93v. NRS, GD 176/245. Stevenson, *Highland Warrior*, 40–41, 45–47. *Highland Papers*, iii, 161–162, 172, 270–271, 302. E.J. Cowan, 'Clanship, Kinship and the Campbell acquisition of Islay,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 58 (1979), 132–157 at 154–155.

45 R. Black, 'Colla Ciotach', *TGS*, 48 (1972–74), 201–243, at 205–215. D. Stevenson, *Highland Warrior: Alasdair mac Colla and the Civil Wars*, 35–41, 46–47. The importance of the Campbells was further emphasized, albeit later, when Gilleasbuig Campbell, Lord Lorne, crushed the rebel Maclains of Ardnamurchan in 1625. A.I. Macinnes, *The British Confederate* (Edinburgh, 2013), 68–69.

46 For a differing interpretation, see. MacGregor, 'Civilising Gaelic Scotland,' 45, 49.

47 Macinnes, *The British Confederate*, 60–61.

Gaelic Earls in 1607, opening the province up to large scale Anglo-Scottish plantation. This does not, however, seem to have been what James VI & I originally intended for Ulster. There are indications that James sought instead to work with native elites, who welcomed the news of his accession to the English throne 1603. Circumstances and sustained pressure from victorious English interests together with growing suspicion of royal motives on the part of the defeated Gaelic lords, made accommodation impossible.⁴⁸ This was further complicated by a deepening of religious division. That James may have sought a different route is also suggested both by his treatment of the Macdonnells in Antrim and also by his approach to the Northern Hebrides.⁴⁹ Here, except for Lewis, where relations had not been irrevocably poisoned as they had in Ulster by war, English conquest and its aftermath, James worked with rather than against native kindreds. Neither was confessional division such as issue in the Northern Hebrides as it was in Ulster. Although some kindreds, notably the Macneils of Barra and the Macdonalds of Clanranald remained steadfastly Catholic, most of the inhabitants were, it seems, Protestant – albeit not quite the right kind of Protestant from James's point of view.⁵⁰ The measures outlined in the Statutes of Iona were augmented by using trusted favoured native elites, especially the Campbells and the Mackenzies, to help bring disaffected elements into the fold. In the Northern Hebrides this meant that clans in the area were not only brought under closer and sustained crown scrutiny but they also had to work with crown agents. In the Hebrides north of Ardnamurchan this meant they had to co-operate with the Mackenzies.

The dispute between Clan Donald of Sleat and Macleod of Dunvegan is a case which demonstrates the ways in which Clan Mackenzie had an effect on the wider North Minch area. Both the Macleod and Macdonald chiefs and clansmen were veterans of warfare in Ireland although the Macdonalds may

48 B. Ó Buachalla, *Aisling Ghéar. Na Stíobhartaigh agus an tAos Léinn, 1603–1788* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1996), 3–4, 14.

49 A. Cathcart, 'The Statutes of Iona: the Archipelagic context,' 15. Wormald, 'The "British" crown, the earls and the plantation of Ulster', 18–32, at 23–27. Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 181–191. B. MacCuarta, *Catholic revival in the north of Ireland, 1603–41* (Dublin, 2007), 29–48. J.H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the three Stuart Kingdoms. The career of Randal MacDonnell, Marquis of Antrim, 1609–1683* (Cambridge, 1993), 23–25.

50 A significant minority in the Scottish Gaidhealtachd remained Catholic. While most of the Gaidhealtachd were Protestant they often did not follow Lowland Jacobean ecclesiastical norms. J. Kirk, 'The Jacobean Church in the Highlands, 1567–1625,' in L. Maclean (ed.), *The seventeenth century in the Highlands* (Inverness Field Club, Inverness, 1986), 24–51, at 30–48. J. Dawson, 'Calvinism and the Gaidhealtachd in Scotland,' 231–253.

have outnumbered the Macleods by nearly two to one.⁵¹ Dòmhnall Gorm Macdonald of Sleat had been married to 'Mareon', sister to Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Dunvegan, and both men had been amicable in the past and had worked together in Ireland in the 1590s. In early 1601, however, Macdonald repudiated his spouse sending her back to her brother, the chief of Macleod. According to tradition Marion Macleod had a defective eye and she was rather cruelly returned to her family at Dunvegan Castle on a one-eyed horse, led by a one-eyed lad and accompanied by a one-eyed dog.⁵² The one-eyed theme may sound like a folk-tale motif that has attached itself onto memories of the event through oral tradition but the slighting of Marion was probably real enough. Whatever her eyesight was like, she was repudiated by her spouse in a public manner calculated to cause maximum offence not only to her personally but to her relatives. If this had been Macdonald's intention it worked. Macleod felt this insult to Marion (and his own family's honour) keenly and raided Macdonald lands in retaliation.⁵³ The Macdonalds in turn took the fight to the Macleods resulting in heavy fighting and casualties on both sides, with the outnumbered Macleods getting the worst of it.

This conflict also, seemingly, sucked in some of the men of Lewis in the summer of 1601 despite the plantation being simultaneously being enacted in their own lands by Lowlanders. Dòmhnall Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, while ostensibly outraged by the execution of Torcall Dubh Macleod of Lewis at the hands of Mackenzie in 1597, had cynically taken advantage of the void left by the death of the Siol Torcaill leader to launch a raid or *creach* on Lewis, sometime perhaps between the late summer of 1597 and mid 1598. Dòmhnall Gorm was,

51 According to reports from the 1590s the lands of the Macdonalds of Sleat would raise a nominal 1600 men. Macleod of Harris and Dunvegan could (not counting Glen Elg) raise a total of 680 men. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1880), iii, 438–433.

52 Tradition and the clan genealogist, Mr Alick Morrison, called this lady 'Margaret' but a contemporary source relating to her divorce calls her 'Mareoun' (see note below). Morrison & Mackinnon, *The Macleods, the genealogy of a clan*, i, 92–93. A. Nicolson, *The History of Skye* (2nd ed., Aird Bhearnasdaill, 1994), 63. NRS, RD 1/148, fol. 172v.

53 The Macdonald of Sleat and Macleod feud seems to have had a strongly personal nature relating to the circumstances of those involved but may have had other underlying factors including disputes over land. For arguments placing seventeenth century Highland feuds in the context of competition over land, see Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart* (1996), 36–46. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 8, 106. For feuding in its wider Scottish context see J. Wormald, 'Bloodfeud, Kindred and Government in Early Modern Scotland' in *Past & Present*, 87 (1980), 54–97, at 55, 68. J. Wormald, *Lords and Men. Bonds of Manrent, 1442–1603* (Edinburgh, 1985), 98. K.M. Brown, *The Bloodfeud in Scotland, 1573–1625* (Edinburgh, 1986), 23–26.

seemingly put to flight by Niall Odhar Macleod, tutor of Lewis, but this would have done little to endear Macdonald to the Macleods of Lewis, who stood, on the losing side, with their outnumbered Harris and Dunvegan namesakes against a Clan Donald force at the battle of Coire na Creiche, in Skye, 1601.⁵⁴

Although such feuding between competing factions was relatively commonplace in Scotland during this period, both Highland and Lowland, this seems to have been an exceptionally violent dispute.⁵⁵ The bitter fighting between the Macdonalds and the Macleods during 1601 resulted in their lands in North Uist, Skye and Harris being so thoroughly wasted that the population in these areas were, it was said, reduced to eating 'horses, doggs, catts and other filthie beasts'.⁵⁶ Hostilities commenced even while the combatants were well aware that the expropriation being meted out just to the north in Sìol Torcaill territory could well be extended to their own lands.⁵⁷ Indeed, the superiorities of large tracts of lands in Skye, Trotternish (if not Vaternish) had already been granted to the Fife planters. Although it is not known if the Fife Adventurers had taken actual physical possession of the Skye lands at this point, 1601, the threat implicit in this was an extension of the treatment given to Lewis.⁵⁸ Although a sullen truce between the Macleods of Dunvegan and the Macdonalds held from late 1601, the underlying issues at the heart of the

54 *CSP Scot*, xiii, 182, 191. *Clan Donald*, ii, 757–758. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 180. A. Nicolson, *The History of Skye*, 66. Gordon, *Sutherland*, 245. Coire na Creiche is in the Cuillin Hills, Skye, OS, NG 439254.

55 K.M. Brown, *The Bloodfeud in Scotland, 1573–1625*, 19–33, 276–279.

56 Sir Robert Gordon, the source of this quote, was contemporary with these events and well informed on Hebridean matters. Gordon, *Sutherland*, 244.

57 For Cogadh na Cailliche Caime, or the 'war of the one-eyed woman' as this episode was remembered in oral tradition see A. Nicholson, *History of Skye* (2nd ed., Àrd Bhearnasdail, 1994), 23, 28–29, 32–34, 47, 49, 63–70. Gordon, *Sutherland*, 244. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands*, 295–296. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 205–208. Macdonald & Macdonald, *Clan Donald*, iii, 39–46 and Grant, *Macleods*, 196–200. MacGregor, 'The Statutes of Iona: Text and Context,' 133–136. One episode from this conflict, the 'battle' of Cairinis, North Uist in 1601, is remembered in the (still) popular Gaelic song, 'Mhic Iain 'ic Sheumais.' Ó Baoill & Bateman (ed & transl.), *Gàir nan Clàrsach*, 50–53, 217–218.

58 Unish House at Vaternish, traditionally belonging to Sir James Spens, was built either at this time, 1598–1601 or between 1605 and 1607 (see figure 9). Documentary evidence shows that houses were built (including one by Spens) at Stornoway during the latter period. V. Donaldson, 'Who Built Unish House, Skye?' in *Notes & Queries of the Society of West Highland Historical Research* 28 (1996), 21–24. NLS, Wod. Qu. xx, fol. 352v–353v, 355r, 357r (appendix C2). Appendix C3.

dispute which included possession of Trotternish, awaited settlement.⁵⁹ Both of these groups, moreover, had their fortunes bound up with the Mackenzies. Indeed, the venue at which the contract of reconciliation was concluded, 19 September 1601, was the Mackenzie stronghold at Eilean Donnan castle.⁶⁰ Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail, ever a skilled angler in troubled waters, arranged for Dòmhnall Gorm Macdonald's divorce from 'Mareoun NcLeod' and even paid for the lawyer's expenses in 1605. He then arranged for Dòmhnall Gorm to marry his own sister, Màiri Mackenzie, instead as part of an attempt to re-orientate Macdonald's allegiances, marriage alliances being one of many levers used by the Mackenzies to influence political alignment.⁶¹

The Macdonald and the Macleod of Dunvegan ambitions to own Trotternish had their roots in the recent history of the area, and this land had changed hands between them several times during the course of the sixteenth century. These aspirations continued despite the inclusion of Trotternish in the original grant to the Fife Adventurers in 1598. Indeed the inclusion of Trotternish, in Skye, in the Planters' portfolio may have exacerbated the covert and overt opposition to the Lewis Plantation from both the Macleods of Dunvegan and Harris and the Macdonalds up until 1609.⁶² It is worth noting too that the conflict of 1601 was resolved not by central intervention and by diktat from the king or from the Fife Adventurers just to the north, but by the traditional Highland (and Scottish) mechanism of dispute-resolution: the mediation of mutually trustworthy friends and arbitration, in this case Aonghas Macdonald of Kintyre and

59 Gordon, *Sutherland*, 245. Martin MacGregor suggested a date sometime between 19 August and 19 September in 1601 as the date when the reconciliation took place. MacGregor, 'Statutes of Iona: text and context,' 136.

60 MacGregor, 'The Statutes of Iona: text and context,' 135. Gordon, *Sutherland*, 245. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 46–47.

61 Macdonald & Macdonald, *Clan Donald*, iii, 470–472. Mackenzie, *Mackenzies*, 177. Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail gave an obligation dated at the Chanonry of Ross, 10 November 1605, to pay 500 merks to John Dunbar of Avoch to cover the services of 'wrytares and men of law' in Edinburgh to obtain 'ane decreit of deworcement betuix Donald Gorreme of Slete and Mareoun NcLeod his umq[uhi]le spous.' Màiri Mackenzie, Kintail's sister, married Dòmhnall Gorm, presumably sometime in 1606. Màiri had died, however, by 1612, when Marsaili Macintosh, daughter of Lachlann Macintosh of Dunnachton (and a cousin of Mackenzie) married Dòmhnall Gorm as his third wife. NRS, RD 1/337, fol. 150v. NRS, RD 1/148, fol. 172v. The use of marriages to help bind political and dynastic alliances was a well established strategy among the Mackenzies and other kindreds. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', 236–248, 257–260. K.M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland*, 129–130.

62 *RPCS*, v 462–463. *APS*, iv, 160–164. *RMS*, vii, no. 149, 167. Appendix C3.

Lachlann Maclean of Coll, a meeting facilitated by Mackenzie.⁶³ Few had their interest served by a continuation or escalation of this dispute, not least the beleaguered planters in Stornoway. The question of Trotternish, put on hold, perhaps, in 1601, was to be finally resolved in 1609–10, not by the Statutes of Iona, but through Mackenzie brokerage. By this time, Siol Torcaill, who had had a long, intermittent, involvement with Trotternish themselves had been all but eradicated as a force. Only some of the Siol Torcaill cadet families, the Macleods of Assynt and Coigeach, technically vassals of the Mackenzies since the 1590s, and Sliochd MhicGhillechaluim or the Macleods of Raasay, vassals to the Mackenzies from 1608, survived as landholding families. Indeed, the presence of Gillechaluim, younger of Raasay, at Chanonry of Ross, as a witness to an obligation to the Mackenzie chief, 10 November 1605, suggests that the Raasay branch of Siol Torcaill had made this switch to the Mackenzie side some time earlier.⁶⁴

The Mackenzies and the Settlement of the Northern Hebrides

The role of the Mackenzies in crown policy and as an integral part of the wider settlement of the Hebrides, at least from 1608 onwards is further underlined by the assent of Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles, to the transfer of the superiority of Raasay from the bishopric over to Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail on New Year's Day 1608.⁶⁵ Moreover, Mackenzie also bought the remaining Fife Adventurers out of the superiority of neighbouring Trotternish in North Skye,

63 Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 7–8. Gordon, *Sutherland*, 245. MacGregor, 'Statutes of Iona: text and context,' 136. M. Godfrey, 'Arbitration and dispute resolution in sixteenth century Scotland', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, 70 (2002), 109–135 at, 125–129, 122–135.

64 The chief of the Macleods of Raasay, c.1596–1616 was GilleCaluim Garbh mac Alasdair Macleod. He was succeeded as chief by Alasdair mac GilleChaluim Macleod in 1616–17. It may have been this Alasdair who was present in Mackenzie's company at Chanonry in November 1605. NRS, RD 1/148, fol. 172v. MacCoinnich, 'Long, fion is fine,' 133–134.

65 The Mackenzies assumed overlordship of Raasay in 1608, and became feudal superiors of the MacGilleChaluim of Raasay family thereafter. The charter of the superiority of Raasay to Mackenzie confirmed by Bishop Knox, 27 April 1609. Mackenzie stipulated that galley service was due to him from MacGilleChaluim whenever he required it together with a rental payment and this was reiterated in a deed from 1622. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', Caib. 4.34, tdd. 228–334, 422–424. 'Inventory of the Writtis and evidentis dely-verit be Alex[ande]r Mc Gillichallum of Rasay To ane Nobill Lord Coline earle of Seafort upone the 27th day of April 1629 yeirs,' in, NRS, GD 128/23/ (Bundle) 2. RMS, vii, no. 298, pp. 110–112; cf. NRS, RS 37/1, fol. 19. NRS, RS 37/5, fol. 32v. NRS, GD 305/1/166/7.

the territory formerly contested between the Macdonalds and the Macleods of Harris & Dunvegan.⁶⁶ Mackenzie's superiority of Trotternish was unlikely to have been an abstract one and was probably reinforced by a presence in the area, possibly at Duntulm castle.

This was further strengthened by the acquisition of the escheat of the goods of a member of one of the leading local families in Trotternish, from the kin of the late Dòmhnall Dubh mac Ruairidh mhic Gillechaluim. This family in Trotternish may, in fact, also have been a branch of Siol Torcaill who had held lands in Gairloch and been ejected by the Mackenzies. The escheat of their goods was granted to Alasdair Mackenzie, fiar of Gairloch, as another means of increasing Mackenzie pressure on the area.⁶⁷

Mackenzie of Kintail's acquisition of Lewis also included title to Vaternish in North Skye, the former Siol Torcaill land that bordered both Trotternish and the Dunvegan estate. Kintail sold Vaternish to Ruairidh Mòr MacLeod of Dunvegan, 18 July 1610, for 'a certane sum of money', 9000 merks, at least, if not more.⁶⁸ Macleod, in return, gave up his claim on Trotternish and agreed to accept and respect the infefments that the Fife Adventurers had to Trotternish and recognise that they had now been transferred to Mackenzie. Macleod, in addition to this, bound himself by accepting Mackenzie and Mackenzie's rights to these lands for all time coming. This deed placed a great emphasis on the need for the recognition and acceptance by Macleod of the legitimacy of the original grant to the Fife Planters of Trotternish and other lands, and the

66 GilleChaluim Macleod of Raasay had made a submission to Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail at the Chanonry of Ross, 1 January 1608, and again at Eilean Donnan castle, 21 August 1610, recognising Kintail as his superior for the lands of Raasay and the lands of Eyre he held in Trotternish. NRS, GD 128/23/2-3.

67 'Ane l[ette]re maid [At Edinburgh, 27 January 1610] to Alexander Mackenzie fear of Garloche his airis and assignais ane or mair of the gift of escheat of all and sindrie guidis geir... ..quhilk pertieit of befoir to umqle Donald dow mcRorie mcGillechallum in Trontarnes, Allane mcDonald Dow vc Rorie eldest sone to the said umqle Donald Dow, Johnne mc Allane vc Rorie brother sone to the said umqll Donald Dow, Johnne Holmoche mc Rorie brother to the said Donald Dow mc Rorie in Troutarnes and Donald bane mc Eane vc Rorie thair...' This had been granted against the Trotternish men due to failure to find caution from the 'inland men' (the Fife planters) and also for slaughter of Dòmhnall mac Alasdair Ruaidh which they had committed in Diabaig, Applecross parish. NRS, PS 1/78, fol. 310v. The connection of this family with the Siol Torcaill of Gairloch is made by Norma Macleod. Macleod, *Raasay*, 39.

68 Ruairidh Mòr Macleod made a payment of 9000 merks to Ruairidh Mackenzie, the Tutor of Kintail, 30 May 1612, presumably as payment, or part payment for the deal by which the Macleods bought Vaternish off the Mackenzies. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 38-39, 78-81, 216.

subsequent transfer of this to Mackenzie.⁶⁹ This indicates nervousness on the part on the planters and the Mackenzies regarding the legal basis of their expropriation of Hebridean lands. Indeed, the dubious manner in which the king had stripped the Macleods and others of lands and granted them to planters, overthrowing ties of kindness, *dùthchas* and association was openly questioned not only by a Macleod source dating from the later 1620s but also by Campbell of Achinbreck in 1630.⁷⁰

The Macleods of Lewis were in no position to raise legal challenges against their expropriation. The Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan, however, while under great pressure from Edinburgh, and struggling with a growing burden of debt, nevertheless remained a strong, unified, clan. Their chief, Ruairidh Mòr, could ask awkward questions on the legitimacy of the plantation consensus. The close personal association of Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Dunvegan with many of the Lewis kindred, together with his ambiguous occupation of Stornoway castle for three weeks in August 1607 (see Chapter 3, above), may also be an indication that he might, briefly, have held his own ambitions regarding the Lordship of Lewis. It was certainly becoming increasingly clear by late 1607 that a solution other than Lowland plantation needed to be found to the problem of Lewis. Despite Ruairidh Mòr's undoubted talents as a clan chief and as a skilled political operator, the Dunvegan chief could not have been countenanced in Lewis by either the King or the Adventurers. Ruairidh Mòr had simply been too intimately and evidently connected with his Lewis namesakes. Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail, on the other hand, while clearly implicated in undermining the Fife scheme, 1598–1600, was extremely well connected politically, both at court and even, from around 1605 onwards, with the Fife Adventurers (see Chapter 3 above). Mackenzie, as a new broom, could also sweep away all the old Macleod ties of association relating to Lewis in a way that the Dunvegan chief could not.

While Ruairidh Mòr's abandonment of his claim to Trotternish, inherited from his father, must have been painful the purchase of Vaternish allowed the Dunvegan chief a way out of this impasse while saving face, albeit at a price.

69 *RPCS*, xiv, 539. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 38–39, 78–81. NRS, RD 1/220, fol. 430v.

70 *Highland Papers*, ii, 270. The Macleod interpretation of the expropriation of Siol Torcaill lands is discussed in more detail, above, in the chapter on the Macleods and below in the section 'winning hearts and minds.' Dùbghall Campbell of Auchinbreck, probably encouraged by his chief, Lord Lorne, revived a claim against the Macleod estate in right of his mother in 1630 which had been settled between both parties in 1570. This claim, ultimately unsuccessful, included consideration of the validity of the title Ruairidh Macleod had transferred to him from the Fife Adventurers. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 96. I.F. Grant, *The Macleods, the history of a clan* (London, 1959), 273.

Mackenzie then granted Trotternish to Macdonald of Sleat as his vassal for these lands in July 1611. Macdonald paid Mackenzie 50,000 merks for the possession of Trotternish in May 1611, a sum that was not fully paid off until May 1622.⁷¹ Although the Macdonalds retained their lands in North Uist and Sleat as direct tenants of the crown, the Mackenzie position as their superior for the lands of Trotternish was re-iterated in a number of deeds throughout the early seventeenth century.⁷² This move to 'civilised' values did little to remove the underlying animus between Clan Donald and the Macleods. The fight now, however, had moved to the courtroom. Ruairidh Mòr energetically pursued a variety of cases against Dòmhnall Gorm, attempting to undermine Macdonald's title to various units of land. While this may have gained Macleod some measure of satisfaction the main beneficiaries are likely to have been Edinburgh advocates if not moneylenders.⁷³

Traditional historical narrative places the Macdonalds of Sleat (and other west Highland and Island chiefs) in the orbit of Edinburgh and does not consider the role of the Mackenzies in this process. There is no doubt that Hebridean chiefs regularly attended the Privy Council from 1616 onwards. Ostentatious expenditure on in southern cities is sometimes perceived as one mechanism by which clan chiefs fell into an unsustainable cycle of spending and became hopelessly indebted. There is certainly a lot of truth in this, and it is clear that commercial contacts between the Isles and the centres of the south (and chiefly indebtedness) greatly expanded in this period.⁷⁴ However, the emergence of the chief as a consumer of Lowland goods is far from the whole story. James VI, had, as early as 1587, started forcing Highland clans to find caution or surety for their good behaviour and from the early seventeenth

71 NRS, RD 1/324, fol. 336.

72 NRS, GD 188/31/bundle 12. NRS, PS 1/79, fol. 91r–93v. NRS, RD 1/220, fol. 430v, 450. NRS, RD 1/324, fol. 336. NRS, RD 1/337, fol. 150v. 'Inverness,' *Retours*, i, 53.

73 Macleod appealed to the King against Sleat and pursued both Sleat and his tenants at law several times in 1613, 1614, 1615, 1620. Macleod even managed, briefly, to get a grant under the Privy Seal of the superiority of the lands of Sleat, the core territorial base of his rival in 1618. NLS, Adv MS, 33.1.1, vol. 4, fol. 76 (no. 42). NLS, Adv MS, 33.1.1, vol. 6, no. 1. NLS, Adv MS, 33.1.2, vol. 14, no. 33. NRS, DI 62/4, fol. 129. NRS, DI 62/6, fol. 134. NRS, PS 1/88, fol. 133. Gordon, *Sutherland*, 245. See also, for the wider context, D.A. Watt, 'Chiefs, lawyers and debt: a study of the relationship between Highland elite and legal profession in Scotland, c.1550 to 1700' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998), 83, 88–91, 206–208.

74 *RPCS*, x, 579, 605–606, 773–778. *RPCS*, xii, 430–431. Macinnes, *The British Confederate*, 12. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 72–74. Watt, 'Chiefs, lawyers and debt', 87–89, 199–202.

century onwards this led to increasing pressures on clan finances.⁷⁵ And, as was noted, above, both Macdonald and Macleod were forced to find large sums of money to buy out Mackenzie and the Fife planters and secure their holdings in Trotternish and Vaternish respectively. In addition to this Hebridean chiefs not only became regular taxpayers for the first time, but the levels of money being demanded from them by Edinburgh had risen greatly, at rates which may have outstripped tax rises elsewhere. On one level this simply reflected the wider fiscal trends within Scotland, if not Britain, but this would have been felt particularly keenly in the Hebrides, hitherto insulated from the demands of Edinburgh and London. The tax being demanded from the Macdonalds of Sleat rose six fold from £152 per annum in 1601 to £952 by 1630.⁷⁶ Ruairidh Mòr Macleod's cumulative tax bill stood at £10,000 by July 1609. This debt was one of several levers used by the Privy Council to exert pressure on Macleod.⁷⁷

Macleod's failure to pay this to the Exchequer, on an action that had been started against him in 1595, resulted in an apprising being raised against him for his lands of Glenelg. Glenelg was then forfeit to the crown and granted to James Spens of Wormiston and the remaining planters in November 1609, together with Macleod's other lands. These rights to Glenelg were then transferred to Mackenzie of Kintail the following year to enable him to impose further sanctions on Macleod if he so chose.⁷⁸ Ruairidh Mòr Macleod then had to fend off another competing claim to Glenelg from Fraser of Lovat in 1612, by

75 MacCoinnich, 'His spirit was given only to warre': conflict and identity in the Scottish Gaidhealtachd, c.1580–1633,' at 156.

76 In a similar fashion the tax burden of the Macleans of Duart, which paid £118 in 1601 paid £1032 by 1630, an increase by a multiple of over 8.5. The lands occupied by Clann Iain Mhòir or Clan Donald South in 1601, Kintyre, Islay and Jura paid a combined £187., 9 s., 8d in 1601. By 1630 these lands had changed ownership and paid £2446 in rent, a thirteen fold increase. NRS, E 59/3, 'General Taxt Rolls, 1601'. NRS, E 59/8, 'General taxt rolls, 1630'. I.D. Whyte, *Scotland's economy and society in transition, c. 1599–c.1760* (London, 1997), 12–13.

77 NRS, PS 1/79, fol. 104v. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 149.

78 NRS, PS 1/78, fol. 307r. NRS, PS 1/78, fol. 170. RMS, vii, no. 119. The case of Ruairidh Mòr's debts with regard to Glenelg (and two Tirungas of Trotternish) was complicated by an agreement made by him with the Earl of Argyll, at Stirling, 7 July 1606. The terms of this, seemingly forgotten, agreement were resurrected by Lord Lorne in 1628–34. Ruairidh's son, Iain Macleod (in common with many of his southern Hebridean neighbours) was forced to accept Lord Lorne as a superior by 10 January 1634. In Macleod's case this related to his lands of Glenelg (although not Trotternish), complete with a swingeing payment to Lorne of 20,000 merks. ICA, Bundle 87. Macinnes, *The British Confederate*, 76–77. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 226.

finding yet another 12,000 merks.⁷⁹ The royal confirmation of the transfer of Sir George Hay's rights to superiority of the core lands of Harris and Dunvegan itself to Ruairidh Mòr did not take place until 24 July 1612. This had been withheld until the Mackenzie conquest and settlement was well established, another indication of the pressure that Macleod had come under.⁸⁰

Most historians have rightly concentrated on the measures outlined in the Statutes of Iona which seem to encompass a comprehensive approach to the Gaidhealtachd. There is no doubt that these statutes outlined the direction Edinburgh wished Hebridean society to travel. There is little in this agenda, moreover with which James VI's grandfather or great-grandfather would have disagreed. A number of factors differentiated the 1609–16 period from earlier Stewart attempts at curbing the Highlands. The British dimension, the crushing of Ireland, the maintenance of pressure over a sustained period, the ramping up of pecuniary pressure on clanship, backed up with the full force of law, and the ultimate threat of expropriation, were, arguably, what gave these measures their potency. Moreover, the pecuniary offensive, regarding the regular payments of taxes and other exactions to Edinburgh must have had an impact on the internal mechanisms of clanship itself.

The practice of the traditional chiefly collection of food renders from their tenants, known as cuid-oidhche, quartering fighting men on villages (sorning) and the practice of soliciting gifts known as thigging – which seems to have been, in part, a mechanism for alleviating poverty – and connected to traditional hospitality might have been expected to have withered quickly in the Hebrides during the decades after 1609, given the pressure to produce cash rents.⁸¹ The abandonment of old practices may, however, have been a slower process. An intriguing glimpse of the pressures being exerted by the new system is offered by a document 1636, concerning the lands of Vaternish, formerly Siol Torcaill lands but now under the control of the Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan. Ruairidh Mòr Macleod, sometime before his death in 1626, set the lands of Vaternish to his younger son, Dòmhnall. Dòmhnall gave a bond in 1636 to his eldest brother, Iain Mòr, now chief, more than twenty years after the Statutes of Iona. This bond to Iain Mòr Macleod of Dunvegan, expressly stipulated that

79 Fraser claims to Glenelg, or parts of Glenelg, dated back to the mid fourteenth century and had been the focus of discord between them and the Macleods throughout the sixteenth century. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 16–17, 26–28, 31, 41, 66–76, 263.

80 NRS, PS 1/79, fol. 77.

81 Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 57–60, 85, 90, 103, 105–106. Grant, *The Macleods, the history of a clan*, 212, 235, 260. Black, *An Lasair*, xxix–xxxii. MacGregor, 'Statutes of Iona', 130–131, 138–142, 175, 179.

neither Dòmhnall Macleod, his tenants, servants and followers, would 'trespass on the hospitality' of his brother and that he would need to uphold the law of Scotland prohibiting the 'abuse of sorening, cudeachis, oppressioun and thiggingis usuallie done bypast within the yles of Skey.' The phrasing of this deed suggests that despite the move towards a more intensive monetary economy such features of traditional clanship continued to be a part of life in the Islands well into the 1630s and beyond.⁸² Indeed, evidence from Lewis seems to show not only that thigging continued to be a common practice among the tacksmen in Lewis, but that the materials gained in this way could be transferred for a monetary value. John (Iain) Mackenzie, probably one of the tacksmen in Lewis, transferred the livestock he accumulated through the custom of thigging over to an Iain Maciver in return for a cash payment of 400 merks in 1655. Thigging might have been frowned upon in official circles earlier in the century, but this deal assigning a cash value to the proceeds of the practice was witnessed both by the local minister and by the Earl of Seaforth's servitor and registered in Sheriff Court books of Ross.⁸³

Rental payments in kind continued, particularly for cattle and other livestock, which might not necessarily be indicative of a cashless economy but rather an indication that the chiefs were exploiting their position as landowners, taking the livestock as rent from their tenants and selling them to southern markets to maximise their profits. Cattle droving must have been more widespread, 1600–1630, than the surviving evidence allows.⁸⁴ Cattle, indeed, were

82 Dogshon notes that the Macdonalds of Clanranald still routinely extracted cuid-oidhche from their tenants into the 1630s. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 183. NRAS, survey 2950, Macleod of Macleod family, Dunvegan, 734. Dogshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 90.

83 'that is to say the s[ai]d Jon Mckenzie doth heirby assigne the s[ai]d Jon McIver to all the thiggings he gott within the Lewes, aither of horss, cowes or bulls or wictuall and doth by these pre[se]nts give him full pow[e]r to receave or uplift the same as his owen proper meanes from everie persone, se[ver]allie whose promised thigging of horses, cowes, oxin, bulls or wictuallis, the sd Johne Mckenzie lykeis the s[ai]d Jon McIver in pey[men]t & recompence for the fors[ai]d thiggings, doth heirby bind & obleidge himself and is airs, exe[cutori]s or assi[gnaye]s to pey & deliver to the s[ai]d Jon Mckenzie, the soume of ffoir hundredth merks mo[ni]e & that tuo se[ver]all termes, viz, two hundredth merks....' This was dated at Stornoway, 1 November 1655 and registered at Fortrose, 14 October 1668. NRS, SC 34/19/1/1 fol. 95v.

84 A.R.B. Haldane recognised the existence of a cattle trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth century in outline but had few details. Only after the Union of 1707 with England, according to Haldane, did the trade settle 'at last' on a fixed course, only then it became 'possible to construct a clear picture' of the cattle and droving trade. Haldane, *The Drove Roads of Scotland* (Birlinn, Edinburgh, 1997), 14, 45. Frances Shaw has highlighted more instances of cattle trading, albeit largely towards the end of the seventeenth century. Some examples

used as a crude measure by the Privy Council in the Statutes of Iona to identify those in Highland, particularly Hebridean, society they wished to target for cultural and political reorientation: anyone owning over 60 head of cattle was to be schooled at the burghs. This not only guaranteed that all of the wealthiest

follow which give some indication of the commonplace nature of the cattle trade in the first three decades of the seventeenth century. Most of these instances are drawn from the Register of Deeds, but this was probably the tip of a much larger iceberg: many more commercial contracts will not, in any case, have ever been registered. Andrew Donaldsone, merchant burghess of Perth, bought 120 cattle off Sir Seumas MacDonald of Knokramsay, Islay in August 1599. Gilleasbuig 'MacConneil' of Largie sold 20 'sufficient fat martis of Kintyre' to William Simson merchand burghess of Glasgow, in 1602. An attempt by MacDougall of Dunollie to exact a toll on cattle being ferried to the market from Mull in 1622 together with references to a cattle impost on West Highland and Island cattle at Dumbarton in 1607, 1625, 1639 and a reference from cattle being driven furth of 'Ergyle' in 1565 hint at a well-established practice of droving from Argyll and the isles towards Glasgow and points south and east. In the north too there is some surviving evidence of cattle droving. Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail had sent men to the markets in Alyth and Glamis in successive years 1598–1600, losing 154 of his cattle in one predatory raid. Lachlann Mackintosh of Dunnachton sold 100 cattle to James Curle, burghess of Edinburgh and had to deliver them at the on the 'south sydd of the watar mount of Almond rynnand in Tay narrest the burghe of Perth' in 1606. Dòmhnall Gorm Macdonald of Sleat contracted to supply the planters of Lewis with 30 head of cattle in October 1605. Macdonald of Clanranald married Mór, daughter of Macleod of Dunvegan in 1613, and received 200 cattle as part of the tocher. Eachann Mackenzie in Lochalsh bound himself to deliver 69 head of cattle to Patrick Pitcairne, flesher burghess of Perth in 1615. James Anderson, flesher burghess of Crail, paid Donnchadh Mackenzie, of Dalmartine, 1340 merks for 'certane mairt ky' in 1615. Niall Macleod of Assynt delivered 128 'gude & sufficient greatt fatt goldin ky' to James Broun, merchant of Burntisland in 1624. Seaforth sold 200 cattle to David Buchan, merchant burghess of Aberdeen in 1626. Lachlann Mackinnon of Strathordell paid Alasdair Macleod of Talisker a tocher of 140 cattle for his daughter in 1619. Murchadh McGillechrist [Macrae] received 4000 merks from Thomas Robertson, flesher burghess of Edinburgh, for the price of 'certane ky' in 1624. Lachlann Maclean of Morvern paid, as part of the tocher price for his sister, Màiri Maclean, 140 cattle, on her marriage to Niall Macneil of Barra in 1619. Seaforth sold 1500 head of Lewis cattle to James Barnes over a five year period in 1641. Cattle, after fish, were also one of the main products mentioned in sources for the island of Lewis from this period. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 9, 21, 71–73. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 113. *Dumbarton Burgh Records, 1627–1746* (Dumbarton, 1860), 28, 38. I.F. Grant & H. Cheape, *Periods of Highland History* (London, 1997), 157–158. L.B. Taylor (ed.), *Aberdeen Council Letters* (Oxford, 1950), iii, 144. *Collectanea*, 154. *RPCS*, i, 401. *RPCS*, vi, 184. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 1903, 593. NRS, GD 176/188. NRS, RD 1/94 (reg. 14 April 1603). NRS, RD 1/133, fol. 200v. NRS, RD 1/159, fol. 49v. NRS, RD 1/238, fol. 398. NRS, RD 1/245, fol. 128v. NRS, RD 1/357, fol. 103. NRS, RD 1/376, fol. 443v. NRS, RD 1/382, fol. 54. NRS, RD 1/398, fol. 393. NRS, RD 1/401, fol. 297. NRS, RD 1/434, fol. 40v.

and most influential members of society had Scots language competence (many of the chiefs and their children had such abilities already anyway prior to 1609) but crucially ensured they would absorb Lowland mores in a Lowland environment.⁸⁵ Such acculturation would go hand in hand with the reorientation from a semi-autonomous, semi self-sufficient economy to an economy increasingly centred on the Lowlands, to the benefit of Lowland markets and not least (as noted above) to the exchequer. The processes of commercialisation, for which Allan MacInnes has demonstrated such abundant evidence for the mid to later seventeenth century, may already have been making an impact in the Highlands a generation or two earlier. Certainly the indebtedness which necessitated such commercialisation was endemic and few in the Highlands, apart, perhaps, from Clan Campbell, and, possibly the Mackenzies, were able to profit from this to any great extent in the decades following 1609.⁸⁶

The Financial Implications of Plantation

The problems facing the Mackenzies when they finally got title to Lewis were considerable, not least in financing the invasion and plantation of the island. Buying out the rights of the planters, George Hay, Sir James Spens and Alexander Drummond of Meidhope, the latter having received the escheat of the disgraced Lord Balmerino, cost the Mackenzies something upwards of 78,000 merks.⁸⁷ Financing this was clearly an issue even before they began the invasion of Lewis which, according to clan historians, involved a force of 700 men.⁸⁸ No details have been discovered of the specific costs arising from this, although a deed mentions debts connected to the ‘conquies of certane landis’ which probably means Lewis but could also refer the recent acquisition

85 D.U. Stiùbhart, ‘An Gàidheal, a’ Ghàidhlig agus a’ Ghàidhealtachd anns an t-Seachdamh linn deug’ (Tràchdas PhD, Oilthigh Dhùn Èideann, 1996), 55–59. For an argument that Scots language literacy (and thus the education that facilitated this) had taken root among Highland elites before the Statutes of Iona, see MacCoinnich, ‘Where and how was Gaelic written?’ 319–322, 338–339, n. 32–38.

86 The Marquess of Lorne proved particularly adept at manipulating the indebtedness not only of neighbouring chiefs but also of his own kinsmen in the 1620s and 1630s. MacInnes, *The British Confederate*, 72–77.

87 Mackenzie owed Sir George Hay 52,000 merks for two-thirds of Lewis, together with further costs of £3000 (4500 merks). A further 26,000 merks, presumably, was owing to Sir James Spens although no deed has been traced for this, suggesting that the total cost of acquiring title to the island may have been over 82,500 merks. NRS, RD 1/192, fol. 305r–314v.

88 ML, MS 591703 (SR. 177), fol. 73. *Highland Papers*, ii, 62–63.

by the clan of Lochcarron and Lochalsh from Macdonnell of Glengarry.⁸⁹ Even allowing for levies from the Scottish burghs and neighbouring clans drawn in to assist them, the costs associated with putting armed men in the field against the remaining Macleods must have been extensive. Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail, newly created Lord Kintail in November 1609 in recognition of his conquest of Lewis, and in anticipation of his pacification of these lands, did not enjoy this triumph long.⁹⁰ He died in February 1611, leaving a trail of debts for his teenage son, Cailean. The conquest of the island had not been completed and it was left to Coinneach's brother, Ruairidh Mackenzie of Coigeach, as tutor or administrator of the clan lands to finish the job off. Many of Mackenzie's Edinburgh creditors, clearly wanting to protect their loans promptly named Ruairidh as his late brother's executor and registered eight deeds, in June 1611, showing that Mackenzie had borrowed a total of 52,700 merks from them in the summer of 1610.⁹¹ Registering these bonds simply meant that it was easier for Kintail's creditors to pursue Ruairidh Mackenzie for his late brother's debt through the courts in the event of a default.⁹² This is likely to be only a glimpse of a much wider pattern of financial transactions. The causes for this borrowing of 52,700 merks are not stated in these deeds but they are likely to have been to raise money for the invasion if not the plantation of Lewis. The sum corresponds closely with the debt owed by Coinneach Lord Kintail, at the time of his death to Sir George Hay for the purchase of two thirds of Lewis, also for the sum of 52,000 merks.⁹³

In sharp contrast to isolated clans such as the Macleods of Lewis, however, the Mackenzies enjoyed strong political support from the south. The language

89 NRS, RD 1/192, fol. 305r–314v.

90 RMS, vii, no. 168, pp. 61–62. RPCS, viii, 470.

91 The following deeds were all registered 16 June 1611 naming 'Rorie' (Ruairidh) Mackenzie of Coigeach as executor to the late Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail. The two biggest sums owed were to brothers William Neisbit (15,766 merks) and James Neisbit (33,333 merks & 3360 merks), the latter a prominent Edinburgh burgess. Others registering debts owed them by Mackenzie were Donald Thornton (2500 merks), John Russel (1000 merks), William Rig (860 merks), James Ingliss (1000 merks), Adam Rea (1440 merks), Mr William Forbes of Meane (3360 merks), and John Nasmyth, chirurgeon to His Majesty (3360 merks) and Mr Iain Mackenzie, Archdeacon of Ross (1000 merks). NRS, RD 1/185, fol. 305–318. For James Nisbet, Mackenzie's largest creditor, see M.D. Young, *The Parliaments of Scotland*, 545.

92 RPCS, vii, 166–177. P. Gouldesborough, *Formulary of Old Scots Legal Documents*, 19. A. Rosie (et al. eds.), *Guide to the National Archives of Scotland*, Scottish Record Office (Stair Society, Edinburgh, 1996), 206–208.

93 NRS, RD 1/192, fol. 305r–314v.

in the contract made between the leading men of the Mackenzies with Sir George Hay, 4 August 1611, transferring him rights to lease their woods, some land and their iron works of Wester Ross in partial payment of their debts, made it clear, not only that Hay bore the deceased Mackenzies chief 'lowe and affection,' but also that he was concerned to show his 'guid will and desyr' to the 'standing' of Lord Kintail's family.⁹⁴ Hay, who was to become chancellor of Scotland in 1622, was clearly a good political ally to have. The nature of the political and financial support that the clan had received in the acquisition of Lewis is also made clear in the deed by which Lord Kintail received formal title to Lewis from his uncle Ruairidh in 1619. Ruairidh Mackenzie, the Tutor of Kintail, had formally taken title of Lewis in 1615 as a security against the clan's debts for the island of 40,252 merks, in his role as administrator to Cailean, his nephew, the young Lord Kintail. Here, Ruairidh Mackenzie's backer and creditor was none other than Alexander Seton, Lord Fyvie, Earl of Dunfermline and Chancellor of Scotland. This instrument of sasine followed on from the recent marriage of Cailean to Seton's daughter, Margaret, the previous summer. By the time Cailean succeeded to his inheritance and took these debts off his uncle's hands, in June 1619, they would have remained as a substantial burden.⁹⁵ Such financial pressures doubtless not only increased the social tensions and strained the bonds of claniship, but also provided a considerable stimulus to the development of Mackenzie resources, not least the Lewis fishery and the Wester Ross ironworks as a path towards easing them out of their debts (below).⁹⁶

Clan chiefs also, presumably, reacted to these increased costs by passing them down the social structure, thus undermining some of the main pillars of claniship, especially the traditional generosity of the chiefs to their followers and their ability to provide protection.⁹⁷ The workings of this within a clan

94 NRS, RD 1/192, fol. 305r–314v.

95 Cailean Mackenzie, Lord Kintail, married Margaret Seton, Chancellor Dunfermline's daughter, 5 June 1614. Cailean attained his majority of twenty one years of age by 21 February 1618. He took over this debt from his uncle, 28 June 1619. NRS, RD 1/304, fol. 128r, 129r. NRS, RS 37/1, fol. 149v. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', 224 & n. 809.

96 For the Mackenzie ironworks see MacCoinnich, 'Cleiffis of Irne': Clann Choinnich agus gnìomhachas iarainn, c. 1569–1630, 137–152.

97 For the traditional values of chiefship as expressed through Gaelic poetry towards the clan system, in the mid eighteenth century, see D. Macaulay, 'Reconstructed heroes? The profile of the virtues in the panegyric verse of Rob Donn', in S. Arbuthnot & K. Hollo (eds.), *Fil súil nglais – a grey eye looks back: a festschrift in honour of Colm Ó Baoill* (Ceann Drochaid, 2007), 73–82. See also, Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 2–24, Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 7–15.

such as the Mackenzies remain largely opaque but it may have been such pressures which reputedly drove Fearchar mac Iain Òig, a Kintail man, into outlawry around this time (c.1610–20). According to tradition, Fearchar had held the lands of Muchd in Letterfearn, Wester Ross, from the Mackenzie chiefs for some time, giving his chief one cow per annum and 20 merks. When Fearchar's lease expired Ruairidh Mackenzie, the Tutor of Kintail, is said to have imposed a novel entry fee for a renewed five year lease of 1000 merks which Fearchar regarded with little enthusiasm. The Tutor's factor arrested his goods, presumably for not having moved his goods out of the lands in question. Fearchar is said to have responded by tracking down the factor and shot and killed him. Fearchar then had to take to the hills, spending seven years there as a fugitive.⁹⁸ His clan chief, the tutor's nephew, the Earl of Seaforth, was apparently given a pointed reminder by his tenants when he raised his host for armed service, that one of his best fighting men had been outlawed.⁹⁹ The earl then realised that he needed Fearchar's skills both as a fighting man and as a cattle drover and rehabilitated him sometime before October 1623. A more Machiavellian interpretation of this tale might suggest that the Earl recognised that Fearchar attracted considerable sympathy, if not support, from his neighbours. Rather than leave Fearchar's cause as a potential focal point for unrest at unpopular rent rises by leaving him unreconciled, the Earl may have thought it politic to make amends. This episode, drawn from Gaelic tradition, may accurate in sentiment if not in precise fact, and does seem to be partially corroborated with contemporary written material showing Fearchar mac Iain Òig as Seaforth's (rehabilitated?) servitor and cattle drover in 1623 and 1624.¹⁰⁰ While traditions such as this are impossible to substantiate, they may, nevertheless, serve to

98 Mackenzie, *Mackenzies*, 242–243. For a discussion of this in its historical context see, Stiùbhart, 'An Gàidheal, a' Ghàidhlig agus a' Ghàidhealtachd', 191, 357. E. NicNeacail, 'Fearchar mac Iain Òig. Sgeulachd air a h-innse le Ealasaid NicNeacail à Camus Loinidh an Gleann Eilcheig an Ceann t-Saile,' *An Gaidheal*, 58/5 (Ceitean 1963), 50–51. 'Fearchar mac Iain Òig' in *Tocher*, 1 (vol. 5), 1971–1972, 142–147. Recordings of songs and tales collected from Gaelic oral tradition in the twentieth century associated with Fearchar can be heard at the *Tobair an Dualchais* website. Iain Friseal (1974), 'Òran Fearchair Mac Iain Òig / Cha b'e dìreadh a' bhruthaich,' (#88228). Eddie MacRath & Fionnlagh MacRath (1972) 'Fearchar mac Iain Òig agus mar a fhuair e dioladh air a' bhàillidh' (#67644). Iain Fionnlasdan (1958), 'Naidheachdan's fiosrachadh...' (#95380). Calum MacIain (1948), 'Chaidh maille air mo lèirsinn' (#62593). Seumas Clèireach (1972), 'Am murtair a fhuair mathanas' (64984). <http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/gd/>.

99 'Fearchar mac Iain Òig' in *Tocher*, 1, vol. 5, (1971–1972), 142–147.

100 Fearchar mac Iain Òig is on record as droving cattle for the Earl of Seaforth to the tryst at Crieff in October 1623. 'Fearchar mac Iain Òig' in *Tocher*, 1 vol. 5, (1971–1972), 142–147. NRS,

illustrate some of the many competing pressures faced by chiefs in this period, pushed to commercialisation by spiralling costs and expenses, yet needing to retain a good relationship with people on the land who would serve and fight for them.

Ruairidh Mackenzie, the Tutor of Kintail, also administered the Maclean estates for his nephew, Eachann Òg Maclean of Duart. Normally one of the Macleans themselves would have been appointed tutor during the young chief's minority, but this was not possible here due to the insolvency of that clan. The hardnosed approach taken by Ruairidh Mackenzie to reclaiming revenue from tenants on the Maclean estate in lieu of debts, 1617–21, shows the impact of these new commercial pressures on localities. Here, some of the costs of Maclean's debts were borne by the tenant farmers on Tiree who directly contracted with Mackenzie, not, one suspects, to their advantage.¹⁰¹ They may have struggled to meet the exactions imposed on them. When the tack of Tiree was renewed only two years later in 1619, perhaps significantly, one of the names of the tenants holding parts of the island had changed and several others had been added to help shoulder the burden. Nevertheless, the sums do seem to have been ultimately recovered by Mackenzie.¹⁰² Much the same processes will

GD 112/1/462, GD 112/1/466. Fearchar mac Iain Òig (MacRath), 'Cha b' e dìreadh na bruaich' (1623 × 33), *An Gaidheal*, 28/5 (1933), 73.

101 Contract drawn up at Edinburgh, 22 December 1617, between Ruairidh Mackenzie of Coigeach (the Tutor of Kintail) on one part and 'Donald mc Neall in Ballymartin [*Dòmhnall mac Nèill am Baile Mhàrtainn*] in the Ile of Tery, Lauchlane mc Lauchlane vc Eane dowy in Corniebeg [*Lachlann mac Lachlainn mhic Iain Dhuibh-shithe, ann an Còrnaig Beag*] in Terie, Ewin mc vic Ewin vc Gillichallum vc Lauchlane in Heyins [*Eòghan mac mhic Eòghainn mhic Gillechaluim mhic Lachlainn, ann an Haoidhinis*] in Terie on the uther part...' Ruairidh, as tenant in chief, holding the lands directly off the crown, set these men the whole Isle of Tiree in tack. The tacksmen were to pay to Rorie 3500 merks for crop 1617 and 1618 together with 300 bolls victual (100 of these meal, 100 bere, and 100 malt), 20 marts (cattle) and 40 muttons to be paid Martinmas, 1618, and to pay to the said Ruairidh at the feast of Martinmas, 1619, the sum of 4000 merks money together with 300 bolls (as stipulated above), part bere, part malt, part meal, 20 mairts, 40 muttons. NRS, RD 1/291, fol. 395v.

102 The tack was set again, by Ruairidh Mackenzie in person, at Am Bàgh in Tiree, 11 October 1619. This time he set the island to 'Donald mc Charles in Killes [*Dòmhnall mac Theàrlach, an Caolas*], Donald mc Lauchlane in Howe [*Dòmhnall mac Lachlainn ann an Hogh*], Hector Roy mc Allane Oig in Balliwullin [*Eachann Ruadh mac Ailein Òig am Baile Mhuilinn*], Charles mc Allane og in Kilamolowak [*Teàrlach mac Ailein Òig an Cille Moluaig*], Hector mcRorie in Kennisbay [*Eachann mac Ruairidh an Ceann a' Bhàigh*], Donald mc Neall in Ballimartane [*Dòmhnall mac Nèill am Baile Mhàrtainn*], and Lauchlane mc Lauchlane vc Eane Dowie in Corinkbignonche' [*Lachlann mac Lachlainn*

have been at work on newly conquered Lewis. Here, however, Ruairidh had a freer hand. Unlike his administration of Maclean lands, or Mackenzie clan lands in Kintail where he would, despite his innovatory charges and fees, have respected customary rights to some extent and left the existing kindly tenants where they were, in Lewis he could do as he wished. Although detailed memory of the deeds which engendered this have faded, Ruairidh's ruthlessness in extracting increased rentals from tenants has become, and remained, proverbial in Gaelic tradition.¹⁰³ Ruairidh, on the other hand, was himself under great pressure variously in his role as administrator for the Maclean estates and through the great burden of debt left to the Mackenzie estate on the death of his brother – not least through the acquisition of Lewis (below). His brother's debts will have been taken off his hands by his nephew who reached his majority in 1618. Despite this, the number of deeds – and debt – that Ruairidh Mackenzie left in his wake following his premature death in 1626 seems to underline the complex nature of the financial transactions which had, no doubt, always been important but which had now become an ever more central part of Highland clanship.¹⁰⁴ In this, the experience of the Mackenzies and their neighbours underline the growing interconnectedness of the Highlands with the wider Scottish economy, where increasing credit and indebtedness among the wider Scottish nobility was endemic.¹⁰⁵

The expansion of commercialism in the Highlands was accompanied, necessarily, by the expansion of the reach of the law. Most sixteenth century clan chiefs could react to a letter of horning and diligence, or outlawing, of their

mhic Iain Dhuibh-Sithe an Còrnaig Beag]. They were to pay Ruairidh, 9400 in three instalments: 4000 merks on Martinmas 1619, another 4000 merks, Martinmas 1620 and a final payment of 1400 merks in 1621. Maclean's lands in Tiree, Mull, Jura and elsewhere which had been in Mackenzie's hands were restored to Maclean, 12 August 1623. NRS, RD 1/294, fol. 20v. RD 1/384, fol. 254.

103 'Cìod iad trì mallachdan an tuathanaich? Reothadh Cèitin, ceò Iuchar agus an Taoitear Tàileach' (what are the three curses of the farmer? May frost, July mists and the Tutor of Kintail). D. Macdonald, *Lewis: the history of an island* (London, 2004), 42. A. Nicolson, *Gaelic riddles and enigmas: toimhseachain agus dubh-fhacail* (Glasgow, 1938), 68–69.

104 Ruairidh died aged only 48 in the autumn of 1626. He had debts owing to him by two creditors amounting to 1600 merks. He himself, however, left debts in his 'legacie' to various creditors (including some debts of 13,000 merks to two of his children) amounting to 57,000 merks. A document with the title 'The inventar of the bondis belonging to Sir Rorie McKenzie of Cogaich, knight, Inventared at Cultaleod the tuentie ane day of September 1626 years,' lists no fewer than 25 bonds, many of which will have been fulfilled and are thus not mentioned in Ruairidh's testament. AUL, MS 3470/15/1/8. Fraser, *Cromartie*, i, li–liii. NRS, GD 305/1/167/8.

105 Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland*, 92–109.

followers with a shrug of their shoulders. This had changed by the second decade of the seventeenth century: they were now forced to co-operate with the law and give up their clansmen to crown authorities, greatly undermining their ability to shield their followers: another key aspect of chiefship. Even the powerful chiefs of the Macdonalds of Clanranald and the Macdonalds of Sleat were forced by external pressure to put some of their own clansmen to the horn by the 1620s and have them pursued under law, a situation which was unthinkable in earlier decades.¹⁰⁶ The ground-breaking studies of Allan Macinnes and Robert Dodgshon have done much to explore the details of the pressures at work across Highland society in this period, emphasising the evolving rather than the static nature of clanship in this period. Further insights might yet be obtained from a study of cases where parties sought recourse to law especially in cases involving debt or violence. A detailed survey of the cases in the relevant registers of diligence, horning and inhibition from the Highlands and Islands across the period might yet yield fresh insights into the pressures brought to bear on society.¹⁰⁷

It is indisputable that the balance of the relationship between the Privy Council and Hebridean clans had been irrevocably altered in favour of the former. Jean Munro has demonstrated the regularity with which Hebridean chiefs, such as the lairds of Sleat, Clanranald and Dunvegan, reported to Edinburgh and appointed legal agents in the city, particularly in the decades following 1614.¹⁰⁸ Edinburgh, however, was not the sole destination on the itinerary of Sleat chiefs. Despite difficulties with the survival of documentation, a perusal of some of the extant papers from the period makes it clear that the Macdonalds of Sleat, Dòmhnall Gorm and especially his nephew, and successor, Sir Dòmhnall Gorm Òg (1617–43) can be seen regularly in the company of Cailean Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth, the Mackenzie chief. A variety of documents, 1619–43, show the Sleat chiefs regularly in the company of the Mackenzie Earls of Seaforth as participants in a transaction or as witnesses placing them

106 See also Lynch, 'James VI and the Highland Problem,' 225. NRS, RD 1/304, fol. 128r, 129r.

107 This would be a rewarding, if time consuming, exercise given the number of extant volumes from the period, 1590 to 1630 alone. Some 17 volumes survive with letters of horning (outlawry) and inhibition (a writ prohibiting someone selling their property to the prejudice of the debtor) for Inverness, Ross, Sutherland & Caithness alone between 1597 and 1630 (NRS, DI 52 & DI 53). Such an investigation could be widened considerably if its scope was widened to include other jurisdictions with Gaidhealtachd areas, such as Argyll, Perthshire, Stirlingshire, Dumbartonshire, Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, and areas in Angus (under Dundee & Forfar).

108 J. Munro, 'When Highland chiefs come to town,' in *West Highland notes & queries*, 19 (December 1982), 11–19.

at Chanonry eight times, Edinburgh three times and Duntulm, twice. This reflects their close alignment with the Mackenzies, their superiors for the lands of Trotternish, and now allied closely with ties of kinship: both Dòmhnall Gorm and his successor, Dòmhnall Gorm Òg, were married to sisters of successive Mackenzie chiefs.¹⁰⁹ The other major chief in the Northern Hebrides, Ruairidh Mòr Macleod, was also brought into the orbit of the Mackenzies. Ruairidh Mòr seems to have often been in the company of Seaforth and, indeed, died and was buried in Chanonry, at the seat of the Mackenzies. His eldest son and heir, Iain Mòr Macleod, married Iseabail, another sister of Cailean Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth. Iain Mòr paid Seaforth a pension to represent his interests at court in London in 1628.¹¹⁰

The Costs of Accommodation with the New Regime

For Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Dunvegan and Harris, the Mackenzie settlement of Lewis, 1609–1611, came at a high price, not only in monetary terms, as noted above, but also in the impact on his personal relationships. Niall Odhar Macleod of Lewis, who had hoped to appeal, no doubt, to long standing ties of friendship, fled to Ruairidh Mòr in 1613 after he had been forced to relinquish his stronghold on Dùn Bearasaigh, in a last desperate attempt to gain support. Ruairidh, however, had some tough choices to make between supporting Niall and defying his new masters or ensuring the survival of his own clan. He may,

109 Dòmhnall Gorm Macdonald of Sleat had died sometime between August and December 1616. His second wife had been Màiri Mackenzie, sister to Coinneach Mackenzie, first lord Kintail. Sir Dòmhnall Gorm Òg Macdonald, the chief of Sleat's nephew and successor, was married to Seònaid Mackenzie, a sister of Cailean Mackenzie, second Lord Kintail & first Earl of Seaforth. Documents place Sir Dòmhnall Gorm Òg at Chanonry of Ross, the seat of the Mackenzies of Kintail and Seaforth, in June 1619, May and October 1622, June 1624, May 1626, April 1629, March 1631, March 1632, February 1633, and with Iain Mackenzie, at Tarbat in Easter Ross, January 1636; and at Edinburgh in the company of the Mackenzies in February 1621, August 1626, August 1630. Macdonald was in the presence of Cailean Earl of Seaforth at Duntulm Castle, September 1628, and in the presence of Seòras, second Earl of Seaforth at Duntulm Castle in December 1643. Warrand, *Some Mackenzie Pedigrees*, 13, 17. AUL, MS 3470/27/67. BL, Add Ch. 61378. NRS, GD 46 /20/6/3/6, NRS, GD 201/1/28. NRS, RD 1/324 fol. 336, RD 1/337, fol. 150v. RD 1/342, fol. 186. RD 1/346, fol. 300r. RD 1/387, fol. 130v. RD 1/401, fol. 129v–137r. RD 1/408, fol. 216, 389. RD1/429, fol. 101. RD1/462, fol. 270. RD1/491, fol. 40v. RD 2/32/356. NRS, RS 37/3, fol. 62v. RS 37/3, fol. 233. RS 37/4, fol. 145.

110 Warrand, *Some Mackenzie Pedigrees*, 18. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 223. W.R. Macdonald, 'The heraldry in some of the old churchyards between Tain and Inverness,' PSAS, 36 (1901–02), 688–732, at 708–709.

due to conflicted loyalties, have agreed to take Niall to London to make a final desperate plea to James VI & I. Ruairidh Mòr, however, was either forced to hand Niall over or else simply betrayed Niall in Glasgow. Niall, after a trial at Edinburgh, was executed at the beginning of April 1613. Ruairidh Mòr carried on down to London, receiving a knighthood as a reward for the betrayal of Niall. A letter from Ruairidh Mòr himself, written in his own hand, states that he had delivered Niall up and indicates that he had few qualms in doing so. He also seems to have managed to ingratiate himself with James VI and convinced the king, by June 1613, that he had 'ane earnist desyre to be repute civil' and to reform his tenants and servants.¹¹¹ While this betrayal of the trust of Niall Macleod of Lewis might appear redolent of treachery, Ruairidh Mòr will have had little choice. The preservation of his own clan was at stake. Defiance or indifference to the wishes of the crown and their Mackenzie agents was no longer an option.

Ruairidh Mòr Macleod's sister had been married to Torcall Dubh of Lewis (d. 1597), leaving at least three sons who survived to young adulthood. Ruairidh Mòr Macleod, who had gone to war with the Macdonalds over their mistreatment of another sister, 'Mareon,' was clearly concerned with his nephews' safety and managed to offer two of them, Torcall and Uilleam, shelter after the Mackenzie plantation. The third brother, Ruairidh, was passed from the custody of Dòmhnall Gorm Macdonald to the Tutor of Kintail around 1610.¹¹² Young Ruairidh Macleod was kept close by the Tutor thereafter, appearing on record as a servitor for Mackenzie in a legal document from 1619.¹¹³ In order to secure his two nephews' safety, however, and, more pressingly, to obtain a pardon for his own past harbouring of rebellious Lewismen, Ruairidh Mòr Macleod was forced by the Tutor of Kintail to make a comprehensive renunciation of all of the rebels of Lewis with whom he had had dealings in the past and

111 Letters, James VI & I, the first and sixteenth of June 1613. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 140–141.

112 One of these, Uilleam mac Thorcaill Dhuibh, was educated at the University of Glasgow and another, Torcall, was a 'youth of good expectation.' *Highland Papers*, ii, 279. Gordon, *Sutherland*, 276. J. Bannerman, 'Gaelic endorsements of early seventeenth century legal documents', in *Studia Celtica*, xiv/xv (1979–80), 18–33, at 20 & note 1. The third brother was in the custody of Ruairidh Mackenzie the Tutor of Kintail, 1613. *RPCS*, ix, 12–16. Matheson, *An Clàrsair Dall*, 233. See also, W. Matheson, 'The Pape riot and its sequel in Lewis,' *TGSI*, 48 (1972–74), 395–434, at 404–405.

113 Instrument of sasine, 4 January 1619, by George Munro, younger, Chancellor of Ross, granting all the church lands of Kynnettes, to Ruairidh Mackenzie which contains a reference to 'Rodoricus mc Leoid nepos honorabilis viri Torquillii mc Leoid de Lewis tanq[ua]m certus actornatus do[mi]ni Rodorici mcKenze de Cogeach...' NRS, RS 37/1, fol. 109.

who had been companions to Niall Odhar, at Edinburgh, 4 March 1613. Niall's former comrades who were still at large were named in this deed as

...the p[rese]nt outlawis & rebels of the Lewis and in speciall Malcolme McRory McCloyde, Wm McRory McCloyd his brother, Gillicallim mcEny vc InTagart, Murdo mcAngus vc Eane vic an Tagart, Donald mc Angus vc Gillimichell, Johne Dow mc Angus vc Gillimichell, Johne mc Eane Ruhy, Donald mcCoull vc Gillicallum vcAngus, Gillicallum mc Eane Reoche vc Eane vc Rory, Rory and Murdo sones to Neill McCloyd traitor of the Lewis, Angus mcEvir, Angus Dow mcHorle vc Conquhy, Angus mcGillicallum vc Eane vic intagart, Angus Dow vc Eane vc Gillicallum vic Allaster, Donald McEane Duy Breve, Neill McCoull vc Angus vc Gillemichell or ony uthir that sall happin to be rebel...¹¹⁴

Ruairidh Mòr was to be fined £6000 if any of these individuals were discovered in his bounds and a further £1000 for each of those persons on this list should they appear in his lands. Ruairidh Mòr was only allowed to keep Torcall and Uilleam, sons of his late brother-in-law, Torcall Dubh Macleod referred to in the deed as 'sumtyme usurper of the Lewis,' under strict conditions and heavy penalties that they would never, under any circumstances, interfere in Lewis again.¹¹⁵ Ruairidh Mòr Macleod clearly had long standing ties of affinity with various families within Lewis, especially Clann MhicAmhlaigh, the Macaulay kindred of Ùig in south west Lewis, for whom he found surety in 1605 (see Chapter 3, above). Indeed, the men of Lewis had come to Ruairidh Mòr's assistance during his conflict against Macdonald of Sleat in 1601, as mentioned above, and the severing of such ties of long association will not have been easy. Ruairidh Mòr, if this had not been enough, also had to pledge, 4 March 1613, to help the Tutor of Kintail and Lord Kintail with his whole forces and to serve in the Lewis against his former friends when called. Ruairidh Mòr delegated much of his dirty work to his younger brother Alasdair Macleod of Talisker.¹¹⁶ Alasdair Macleod of Talisker not only worked closely with the Mackenzies but was drawn more closely into their sphere of influence through his marriage to Mairsaili a daughter of Ruairidh Mòr Mackenzie of Redcastle.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ NRS, RD 1/207, fol. 159v–161r.

¹¹⁵ NRS, RD 1/207, fol. 159v–161r.

¹¹⁶ NRS, RD 1/207, fol. 159v–161r.

¹¹⁷ Ruairidh Mòr of Redcastle (d. 1615) was an uncle of Coinneach, Lord Kintail (d. 1611). For Alasdair Macleod of Talisker see MacCoinnich, 'Long, fion is fine: dàn le Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh, fear Aicheallaidh', c. 1639 × 1643, 133.

Alasdair Macleod of Talisker reported to the Privy Council that he had lately captured 'four of the principal abet[ori]s of the Lewis' in April 1613. Despite this, and perhaps as a measure of continuing Mackenzie anxiety, a legal letter was raised by the tutors of Cailean, Lord Kintail, 14 May 1613, reiterating the terms of the earlier deed of the fourth of March and also expressly prohibiting Ruairidh Mòr Macleod or any of his tenants from receiving any 'off the tenentis of the tutorie of the Lewis...'¹¹⁸ Further pressure continued to be exerted on the Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan to work with the Mackenzies and track down their former friends, the men of Lewis, and more specifically the late Niall Odhar's surviving accomplices such as 'Malcolm McCleud and utheris tratouris'.¹¹⁹ Another letter of horning was raised against Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Harris again in July 1614, stating that ten of the former associates of Niall Macleod were still at large, urging Ruairidh to hand them over to the Privy Council if they resorted to his lands.¹²⁰ It is not clear that they were still actively in rebellion. The Mackenzies and their allies in the Privy Council nevertheless wished to give them a taste of legal process similar to that meted out to their former master, Niall Odhar Macleod of Lewis, the previous year. They also feared, probably with good reason, that Niall's former associates whether lurking in the wild lands of Harris or elsewhere, would get 'lyff and currage for new rebellion' and re-ignite Macleod resistance to the Mackenzie plantation.¹²¹ Despite these continuing worries on the part of the new planters of Lewis, by February 1615 they felt secure enough to release two of the captured leadership of Siol Torcaill. Tormod Macleod, the sole surviving legitimate son of the late Ruairidh Macleod, last chief of Lewis, had been imprisoned in the tollbooth in Edinburgh since late 1605. Tormod was given a pardon, together with Ruairidh, the son of the executed Niall Odhar. They were both only released on condition that they would be exiled from the country for life, on pain of death if they ever returned.¹²² This was paralleled by (and probably linked to) the granting to

118 Lord Kintail contra Macleod of Harris, 14 May 1613, NRS, DI 63/2, fol. 58–59r.

119 *RPCS*, x, 90–91, 256, 259, 715, 727–728. *RPCS*, x, 715, 727–728. *NLS*, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 4 No. 26 (fol. 49).

120 Those still at large, 19 July 1614, were named as 'Rorie mc Neill McCloud, Do[nal]d mc Angus vc Gillimichell, Ean mc vc Do[nal]d Intagart, Malcolme Cogache mc Ean vc Intagart, Malcolme mc Rorie vc Cloud, Dod mc Angus vc Gillimichell, Callum Dow mc Allester vc Allester, [blank] mc Do[nal]d vc Gillimichell, ____ mc Angous vc Ewir & Do[nal]d mc Eane Dow Breife.' NRS, DI 62/4, fol. 134.

121 NRS, DI 62/4, fol. 134.

122 *RPCS*, x, 302. For the circumstances of Tormod's imprisonment see previous chapters. Tormod then joined the army of the Netherlands where he remained until his death. Ruairidh, son to Niall Odhar Macleod, is possibly the man referred to by Raibeart Monro

Ruairidh Mackenzie, the Tutor of Kintail of sweeping powers of justiciary through all of mainland Ross-shire and beyond this westwards, through into Assynt, Lewis, Raasay and Trotternish.¹²³

The Last of the Free

By 1615, there were very few members of Siol Torcaill's hierarchy left and of these only one remained conspicuously defiant. Gilleanuim (or Malcolm) mac Ruairidh Macleod, a grandson of Ruairidh, the last undisputed Macleod chief of Lewis, proved particularly adept at evading capture but he was forced to flee his native island. He joined Colla Ciotach Macdonald's band in the ill-fated Islay rising of 1615–16. After government and Campbell forces defeated the Macdonald rising 'Gillechallum McRorie McCleude' then fled to the continent with a price of 3000 merks on his head. There he joined the Dunkirker pirates in the Spanish Netherlands, where piracy on Dutch shipping was encouraged although Gilleanuim, like his new allies, do not seem to have been overly exercised about the origins of their prey.¹²⁴ Sailing in an armed French bark that he had captured, he returned to his homeland where he tried to revive old friendships in May 1616, persuading some of his former Siol Torcaill comrades from Vaternish (now under Macleod of Dunvegan's control) and Harris to join him on a raid to Lewis.¹²⁵ Gilleanuim was accompanied by a band of forty men,

in his account (1637) of a soldier who had been killed at a fight at Kiel, Holstein, northern Germany, April 1628, between Mackay's Regiment, in Danish service, and the forces of the Holy Roman Empire. Macleod had been a sergeant in Captain Thomas Mackenzie's company and was described by Monro, a lieutenant in that same company, as 'an old expert soldier, and a diligent sonne to Neal Mac-Clawde.' *Highland Papers*, ii, 275. W.S. Brockington (ed.), *Monro, his Expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment called Mac-Keyes* (Praeger, Westport, 1999), 66–67.

123 Commission of Justiciary to Ruairidh Mackenzie, at Edinburgh, 24 February 1615. AUL, MS 3470/27/67.

124 Gilleanuim seems to have been the Gaelic form used for the personal name Malcolm and these appear to have been interchangeable. *Highland Papers*, iii, 251. Stevenson, *Highland Warrior*, 41. MacCoinnich, 'Long, fion is fine,' 133. For the Dunkirkers see Murdoch, *The Terror of the Seas*, 155, 158–160, 186–188. J.I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic, its rise, greatness and fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1998), 314.

125 Some of the Harris and Vaternish men were named using Gaelic patronymics, here rendered in Gaelic orthography rather than the Scots forms found in the Privy Council Register: Iain mac Aonghas mhic Dhòmhnaill mhic Iomhair (alias Johnne Schaw), Murchadh mac Iain mhic Iain, Niall Bàn mac Iain mhic Nèill, Gilleanuim mac a' Bhaird mhic Mhurchaidh, Fionnladh Fiar (?), Dòmhnall mac Iain Gairbh, Iain mac Iain Gairbh

some of whom had been with him in Islay. They pirated three vessels anchored in Stornoway skippered by Robert Alexander of Burntiland, Andro Sym and James Kay from Kinghorne. They gave the skippers and their crews a rough handling but did not kill them, plundering their cargos and making off with Alexander's ship. While Macleod and his men assaulted, but spared, the sailors, the Mackenzies they attacked were treated differently. Gillegaluim and his men made a night raid on the house of John Mackenzie, alias Iain Òg mac Iain mhic Mhurchaidh mhic Uilleim, 'a gentleman of the clan Vurchie,' who had become a tenant in Ràinis, east Lewis. Mackenzie and several of his servants were killed outright (although Iseabail, Iain Òg's wife was spared), and all the goods and the gear they could find were spoiled or taken in this hit and run attack. No doubt Mackenzie had replaced a Macleod man in these lands and while there may have been a personal grudge or motive in this killing (revenge, perhaps) it may simply have been opportunism. Gillegaluim also raided Mackenzie lands at Kinlochewe on the mainland, killing Iain mac Dhòmhnaill, Lord Kintail's piper, before returning, presumably, to Dunkirk. Gillegaluim returned in 1622 and again in 1626 when the Mackenzies sought new commissions to pursue him.¹²⁶ Few, though, if any, on Lewis were persuaded to join him. Lewis had become 'dispeopled,' according to Ruairidh Mackenzie the Tutor of Kintail, to the point where he claimed no men could be spared for enlistment there by June 1615 for a national levy, a claim that is given some corroboration by a slightly later English source (1630) which stated that a great part of the population of Lewis, given as 4000 people, had been brought over by the Mackenzies from the adjacent mainland.¹²⁷

Fir Innse Gall

From the Mackenzie perspective, if not, perhaps, for those now under their direction, the new settlement, post 1609 was an amicable affair. They enjoyed a good relationship with *Fir Innse Gall*, or the chiefs of the Hebridean seaboard. In the words of Cailean Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth, 1631, his vassals, such as

(his brother). The Vaternish men were named as Niall mac Iain mhic Iain, Alasdair mac Iain mhic Alasdair, Uilleam mac Iain [mhic] Iain Riabhaich ('officer there'), Dòmhnall Bàn mac Nèill mhic Shomhairle, Iain mac Iain Ghairbh, Iain mac Thormoid mhic Iain Bhàin, Iain mac Iain mhic an t-Sagairt and Toirdhealbhaich Ó Muirgheasain. *RPCS*, x, 634.

126 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 262–263, 270–271, 290. *RPCS*, x, 634–635. *RPCS* (2nd ser.), i, 403–405. *RPCS* (2nd ser.), i, 450. *Highland Papers*, ii, 56.

127 *Highland Papers*, iii, 250. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 592–593.

Macdonald of Clanranald and the Macleods of Assynt, who seem to have proved a little less biddable and were not (like the Sleat and Dunvegan families) bound to him by explicit ties of kinship or marriage, should be ruled by both 'love and fear': taught a sharp lesson, if necessary, and then brought into the fold.¹²⁸ It is unknown what 'Fir Innse Gall' thought of the new relationship they had with the Mackenzies but an intriguing Gaelic poem composed by Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh Mackenzie of Achilty, the first Mackenzie chamberlain of Lewis, 1611–c.1638, provides a unique Gaelic language insight into the attitudes of the Mackenzie leadership towards Northern Hebridean chiefs in the post Statutes of Iona world. *Is tìrsach dhuinn ri poirt*, laments the passing of the various chiefs in the world of the Mackenzie clan, 1611–43.¹²⁹ The poem begins in hierarchical fashion by listing the chiefs of the Mackenzies and praising their attributes, then in similar fashion listing the leaders of cadet families of the clan. Having established the hierarchy of clanship, with the chiefs of Mackenzie and cadets at the top, the poem then goes on to lament the passing of the leaders of the Macdonald, Macleod, Maclean, Mackinnon and Macleod of Raasay families and it invokes not the Lowland, 'civility' ethos of the Statutes of Iona but instead the quite different values of Gaelic society drawing on the motifs used in panegyric praise poetry.¹³⁰ Macdonald of Sleat, d. 1618, is praised for his leadership, Macleod of Dunvegan, d. 1626, for his drinking horns and goblets. Macleod of Talisker (above), d. 1626, who was tasked with cooperating with the Mackenzies in hunting down the remaining recalcitrant elements of Siol Torcaill, is praised for his patronage of Gaelic poets and Macleod of Raasay, d. 1616, and Mackinnon of Strath are both, similarly, praised for their generosity.¹³¹ These relationships were not merely abstract: Ruairidh Mackenzie of Kintail had been the administrator for the estate of Maclean of Duart (above). Eoin Macdonald of Clanranald, whose father was praised in the poem, along traditional lines, for the splendour of his silver cups and for the sails of his galleys, also borrowed money from the poet. A list of Clanranald's debts in September 1634 includes an (undated) bond of 460 merks owed by him to Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty.¹³²

128 MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', 442–446.

129 A transcription and translation of this poem can be seen in Appendix D1. For a full discussion of the poem, the people involved and its context see MacCoinnich, 'Long, fion is fine'.

130 J. Macinnes, 'The panegyric code in Gaelic poetry and its historical background,' in, M. Newton (ed.), *Dùthchas nan Gaidheal. Selected Essays of John Macinnes* (Edinburgh, 2006), 265–319. R. Black (ed.), *An Lasair: Anthology of 18th century Scottish Gaelic verse* (Edinburgh, 2001), 525–527.

131 MacCoinnich, 'Long, fion is fine,' 133–134. Appendix D1.

132 Appendix D1, AT, xi, 615. MacCoinnich, 'Long, Fion is fine,' 134.

The image presented in this poem is of a culture of feasting, dining and harp-playing accompanying the recitation of Gaelic poetry revolving around the chiefs and cadets of Clan Mackenzie. This provides one insight into why they were so successful in Lewis where their Fife predecessors had failed. Successive chiefs of Clan Mackenzie were members of the Privy Council and were adept at presenting themselves as 'civilised' men in a Lowland context but this poem demonstrates their Gaelic context in a way that eludes most historical sources. The Mackenzies, in common with the two other major Scottish Gaelic kindreds who made such a transition to 'civility', the Macdonnells of Antrim (albeit in Ireland rather than Islay) and the Campbells, had a similar ability to operate in two cultural worlds.¹³³ Such a relationship as the hierarchy and tacksmen of the Mackenzies had with *Fir Innse Gall* was unthinkable for the men of Fife, who not only came from a different culture but also raised a bar to the free intermarriage of Lowland colonists and Highlanders during their earlier attempt to plant Lewis. The Mackenzie clan, on the other hand, forged cultural links with islanders and bound these more tightly with ties of marriage and the mutual fosterage of children. Such links between some of the leading families on Lewis, such as the Mac a' Bhritheamh or MacGilleMhoire kindred (known from around the 1640s as 'Morrisons') and the Macaulays of Ùig on the one part and with the Mackenzie tacksmen on the other part, were monitored if not regulated by their chief. The Earl of Seaforth carefully managed the arranging of such ties of fosterage and marriage, the better to direct patterns of allegiance to his own regime's benefit and also, perhaps, as a means of defusing local tensions.¹³⁴ This micro-management of the affairs on Mackenzie estates has not left much of a paper trail and is almost lost to history. The Mackenzie view of interclan relations in the Northern Hebrides at more of a macro level, as seen in Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh's poem (c. 1643, appendix D1), receives additional corroboration from a slightly later, internal, clan Mackenzie source, the Ardentoul MS, written, c. 1680, by Mr Iain Macrae. This, essentially, was a Mackenzie clan history and it echoes and elaborates on some of the themes in the poem and refers to the same families. Cailean, Earl of Seaforth made a circuit of the bounds of his extensive lordship annually (1626–33), and, when he went to the Hebrides he took with him:

133 Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the three Stuart Kingdoms* 22–27. Macinnes, *The British Confederate. Archibald Campbell, Marquess of Argyll, 1607–1661*, 44–69.

134 *RPCS*, xiv, p. cxxix–cxxx. MacCoinnich, 'Daltachas, fineachan agus Alba anns an t-sia-thamh agus an t-seachdamh linn deug', 41–43. A. MacCoinnich, 'Dùn Èistean, and the Morrisons of Ness, the historical background,' in R. Barrowman (ed.), *Dùn Èistean: the excavation of a late medieval clan stronghold* (Acair Press, Stornoway, forthcoming).

what might be called a small navy, having as many boats, if not more, loaded with liquors, especially wine and English beer, as he had under men. He remained in the Lewis for several days until he settled all the controversies arising among the people in his absence and settling the land. From thence he went to Sleat in the Isle of Skye, to Sir Donald Macdonald who was married to his sister, Janet, and from that he was invited to Harris, to Macleod's house, who was married to his sister Sybilla. While he tarried in these places the lairds, the gentlemen of the Isles and the inhabitants came to pay their respects to him including Maclean, Clanranald, Raasay, Mackinnon and other great chiefs.

Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty, Seaforth's chamberlain in Lewis may well have been responsible for chartering such vessels and importing wine and several documents survive which detail this in connection with his duties in Lewis from the 1620s and 1630s.¹³⁵ In addition to this Achilty's close relationship to *Fir Innse Gall* and the Mackenzie dimension of the Iona settlement is highlighted in a bond made in Edinburgh, 26 July 1628. Hebridean chiefs resorted annually to Edinburgh but on this occasion Dòmhnall Gorm Òg Macdonald of Sleat was unable to attend through sickness. Iain Macleod of Dunvegan, Lachlann Maclean of Morvern, Eachann Maclean, younger of Duart, Lachlann Mackinnon of Srathwordale and Eachann Maclean of Lochbuie, people from the very same families who are mentioned in Achilty's poem, all drew up a bond at Edinburgh on Macdonald's behalf and sought permission to return home in the mean time. The first name in the witness list was Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty indicating his role in facilitating Seaforth's lordship, emphasising his close relationship with *Fir Innse Gall* and providing further context for some of the themes found in this poem. Achilty, who regularly chartered ships and freighted goods through Stornoway as part of his duties, may even have provided transportation to and from Edinburgh for these chiefs.¹³⁶ The Mackenzies, unlike the Fife Adventurers, were able to work effectively with the remaining Hebridean clans, although their relationship with *Fir Innse Gall* was to be challenged by Lord Lorne, seeking to revive Campbell influence by the end of the 1620s (Chapter 5, below).

¹³⁵ MacCoinnich, 'Long, Fion agus Fine,' 139–143.

¹³⁶ *RPCS* (2nd ser.), ii, 623. For Achilty's role as a merchant and his activities in chartering ships, see below and also MacCoinnich, 'Long, Fion agus Fine,' 139–143.

Backs to the Wall – The End of the Macleods of Lewis

Having neutralised opposition from the surrounding clans in a way that had been outwith the reach of the Fife Adventurers, the Mackenzies could turn their full attention back onto the remaining Macleods of Lewis. Most of the tenants of Lewis, weary of conflict, made their peace with the new order. A significant number of the Macleods of Lewis, however, would not or perhaps could not, accept the new regime. By the summer of 1610, MacLeod resistance to the invading forces was penned up in Dùn Bearasaigh, a sea stack on Loch Ròg to the west of Lewis. For Niall Odhar Macleod, who continued to lead a defiant band of malcontents, the outlook was grim. Later folklore related how Niall took provisions from relatives in Scandinavia. This may seem unlikely but should not be completely discounted. He may also have been supplied sporadically by Clanranald or the Macneils of Barra, both of whom were warned by the Privy Council not to interfere.¹³⁷ Although Niall's stronghold was impregnable and well organised, securing supplies was problematic and he and his band were reduced to raiding the villages of neighbouring west Lewis.¹³⁸ An unexpected and extremely timely lifeline arrived for Niall arrived in the shape of an English pirate.

Peter Love, originally from Sussex, England, accompanied by a crew of seven, had been plundering ships all the way from the coast of France, across to Devon in western England, and northwards, through Irish waters, as far north as Shetland. They had come to Niall Macleod's hideout in Loch Ròg in west Lewis, possibly to escape from naval squadrons in the Orkneys and in Ireland or hoping, perhaps, to capitalise on its strategic location to prey on passing shipping.¹³⁹ Although initially content to make common cause with a fellow outlaw, Macleod quickly sought to make the best of the situation. The hapless Love and his crew were seized by Niall's men. These pirates, as well

137 The nature of the source suggesting a Scandinavian connection was written down from a seanchaidh after 200 years in oral tradition, may be unreliable in detail and may have conflated separate incidents. There were, however, well attested connections between Scandinavia and northern Scotland in the early seventeenth century. T. Brochard, 'Exile and return from the far north of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution,' *Études Écossaises*, 13 (2010), 19–39, at 21–22, 24–26. S. Murdoch, 'More than just "Mackay's" and mercenaries; Gaelic influences in Scandinavia, 1580–1707,' in the *TGSI*, 60 (1997–8), 161–186, at 174–176. N. Macdonald (ed.), *The Morrison Manuscript. Traditions of the Western Isles*, by Donald Morrison, *cooper, Stornoway* (Stornoway, 1975), 31. *RPCS*, ix, 533–534.

138 Pitcairn, *Trials*, i, 246.

139 Love's crew were an Irishman, two Welshmen, a Cornishman and three other Englishmen. Pitcairn, *Trials*, iii, 99–102.

as their ship and its treasure, were used by Macleod as a gambit to try and make peace with the Privy Council. The Council and the King, who had struggled with the problem of piracy in Scottish waters for some time, were elated. They sent a pilot, Patrick Grieve from Burntisland, up to Loch Ròg, to take the pirate ship, its treasure and the captives down to Leith. The pirates were tried and executed on Leith Sands. For Alexander Hay, clerk of Register of the Council, expressing, perhaps the view in Scottish Privy Council circles, this was bad news. Would that Scotland's other notorious Highland outlaws, Clan Gregor, he wrote, not also wish that such a similar prize 'such as the pirattis of Breadalbane,' could fall into their laps so that they too could bargain for a pardon. Hay expressed the idea that the best thing to do with Niall would be to transplant him elsewhere, a common policy in Jacobean Scotland particularly with troublesome kindreds in the Borders such as the Grahams. In Niall's case Virginia, rather than Ireland would be far enough away.¹⁴⁰ If Macleod's coup had been unpalatable for the Edinburgh political classes it was anathema for the Mackenzies. The Mackenzie campaign to crack down on the Lewis rebels, armed with a Privy Council commission, 19 July 1610, was now stayed by a letter issued by the same Council, 28 August 1610, protecting Niall.¹⁴¹

Niall Macleod's appeal to the Privy Council asked not only for a cessation of the pursuit by Mackenzie forces but also, crucially, that he would be able to retain some lands. Indeed the council, together with granting Niall a protection, had also instructed Mackenzie to give Niall lands on 'reasonable conditions', 29 August 1610.¹⁴² This will have been seen as a setback by the Mackenzies. Niall's survival and continuing defiance gave a focus for resistance to the Mackenzies in Lewis. It made a mockery of their investment of time, blood and money in the conquest of Lewis and from a Mackenzie point of view Niall had to be eliminated. Niall's protection from the Council made them stay their hand initially, but further raids by Macleod on the adjacent Isle of Lewis, such as his 'theft' of cattle and other goods from Gillecaluim mac Alasdair mhic Amhlaidh and Gillecaluim mac Dhòmhnail in west Lewis, harassment of visiting fishermen, together with his political isolation meant that the Mackenzies

140 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 248–252. Alexander Hay, Lord Clerk Register, Edinburgh, to a friend at Court in London, 3 September 1610. *Collectanea*, 48–49. Murdoch, *Terror of the Seas?* 127–137. Pitcairn, *Trials*, iii, 100. J. Goodare & M. Lynch, 'The Scottish State and its Borderlands, 1578–1625,' in J. Goodare & M. Lynch, eds., *The Reign of James VI* (East Linton, 2000), 186–207, at 205.

141 *RPCS*, ix, 12–16, 55, 578–581.

142 *RPCS*, ix, 578.

were able to overturn Niall's reprieve. By the end of May 1612 the Mackenzies were given a fresh commission to hunt down Niall and his followers.¹⁴³

It took, however, a prolonged siege to wear Niall down. Niall's morale and resolve may have been given a lift in the mean time by the news of the untimely death of Coinneach Mackenzie, Lord Kintail 27 February 1611.¹⁴⁴ Having invaded and conquered Lewis in July 1610, the Mackenzies, now led by late Lord Kintail's brother, Ruairidh Mackenzie, the Tutor of Kintail and a half-brother, Alasdair Mackenzie of Coul. They only, reputedly, managed to dislodge Niall from his stronghold at the end of 1612 or early in 1613 by placing his relatives on a tidal rock and threatening them with drowning unless he moved.¹⁴⁵ Niall, having fled Dùn Bearasaigh, made a last desperate attempt to secure a royal pardon through the intercession of Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Dunvegan. Ruairidh Mòr, as noted above, instead handed Niall over to the authorities in Glasgow, Ruairidh being commended by the Privy Council, 2 March 1613, for his 'good service.'¹⁴⁶ Niall was tried and executed at Edinburgh later that month on an impressively lengthy list of charges. His enemies grudgingly conceded that he had died 'very christianlie.' According to one of the Mackenzie clan histories the natives in Lewis then became 'very submissive' to the new regime, except for 'some oppressions' that were perpetrated by 'Rorie Oig and his sons called Will[ia]m and Don[al]d whom the Tutor [of Kintail] caused apprehend and were execute as rebels.' This source, written some 50 years after the event, is muted on the resistance encountered by the Mackenzies in Lewis, not only in the period leading up to Niall's capture, 1611–13, but for several years afterwards.¹⁴⁷

One of the groups of the followers of Niall Macleod had been a family bearing the epithet 'mac an t-sagart'. Several of these men remained at large following Niall's capture and execution until 1614. Some, such as 'Neill McIntaggart in the Lewis', almost certainly related to this group, clearly had had enough and came over to the Mackenzie side by June 1611, the Tutor of Kintail standing 1000

143 Pitcairn, *Trials*, i, 246. *RPCS*, ix, 380.

144 Adam (ed.), *The Calendar of Fearn: text and additions, 1471–1667*, 173. *Highland Papers*, ii, 63, 277. *RPCS*, ix, 239–240.

145 This account is from the near contemporary 'the Ewill Trowbles of the Lewis', a source sympathetic to the Macleods. The Mackenzie histories do not contradict or even mention the threatened drowning, and are conspicuously silent on the issue of Niall's departure from the rock, suggesting that it may be true. *Highland Papers*, ii, 277–278. ML, MS 591703, fol. 73.

146 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 250–258. *RPCS*, x, 3, 691.

147 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 252–258. Pitcairn, *Trials*, iii, 246–247. NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 80–84. NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 6, no. 27. *Highland Papers*, ii, 62–4.

marks surety for his appearance at the Privy Council.¹⁴⁸ The series of commissions obtained by the Mackenzies against unreconciled Lewismen, June 1613–1616, 1622 and 1626, such as Gillecaluim mac Ruairidh (above), suggest a persistence of native discontent and the need to resort to force or the threat of force to suppress it. This is hardly the amicable settlement claimed by Mackenzie chroniclers showing the men of Lewis embracing Mackenzies rule.¹⁴⁹ Although this unrest focused on elements of the old Siol Torcaill order and their associates, the fact that they continued to rebel when they had no hope of prevailing suggests that their situation was desperate.

With the benefit of hindsight we can see that the plantation of Lewis, 1610, brought the Macleod lordship irrevocably to an end and ushered in a period of Mackenzie control which was to last for 230 years. This was not quite as apparent to contemporaries despite the dominant position of the Mackenzie clan. The incoming Mackenzies already had some experience in the conquest and assimilation of new lands. Although little is known about the processes by which the Mackenzies went about securing their control of Lewis, comparisons can be drawn with their acquisition of Lochalsh and Lochcarron, won from the Macdonnells of Glengarry just three years earlier. The Macdonnells had been a formidable, determined, foe who could also, in conjunction with other branches of Clan Donald, such as Clanranald could muster a war-fleet of up to thirty seven 'boats and great galayes' on plundering raids against the Mackenzies.¹⁵⁰ A feud which had its roots in conflict in the early 1580s flared into life again sometime, in the Spring of 1602. The Macdonnells took advantage of the absence of Coinneach Mackenzie who had accompanied the Duke of Lennox to France.¹⁵¹ They besieged Eilean Donnan Castle, the Mackenzie stronghold in Kintail. This was successfully defended by Sìne Ross, Lady Kintail, who was in command of the castle and who directed the defence, distributing powder and lead to her men.¹⁵² Soon afterwards the Mackenzies hit back and besieged Strome Castle, the centre of Macdonnell strength in Wester Ross.

148 *RPCS*, ix, 192. *RPCS*, x, 256, 259, 697.

149 *RPCS*, x, 90–91, 692, *RPCS*, x, 256, 259, 270–271, 609–611, 634–5, 697, 715, 727–728, 817. *RPCS*, xiii, 83–86. *RPCS* (2nd ser.), i, 403–405, 450. *ML*, *MS* 591703, fol. 73. *Highland Papers*, ii, 62–63.

150 *Highland Papers*, ii, 43. *ML*, *MS* 591703 (SR. 177), fol. 44–45.

151 The French episode can be used to help date the start of the conflict. Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail was described in a deed made at Chanonry, 15 April 1602, as being 'out of this realme.' *Highland Papers*, ii, 39. *ML*, *MS* 591702, fol. 38r. *NRS*, *RD* 1/95, fol. 284v. A. Macdonald (ed.), 'Fragment of a Mackenzie MS,' *TGS*, 36 (1931–33), 187–212, at 195–196. MacGill (ed.), *Old Ross-shire*, i, no. 746–747, pp. 294–295.

152 *ML*, *MS* 591703, fol. 48. Macdonald (ed.), 'Fragment of a Mackenzie MS,' 206–207.

After a lengthy siege, the castle fell. As soon as Coinneach Mackenzie captured it he demolished the structure, thus removing the last Clan Donald stronghold on the western seaboard north of Ardnamurchan.¹⁵³

The fighting between the Mackenzies and Glengarry had been a protracted and bloody struggle although this conflict attracted surprisingly little attention in surviving contemporary accounts and records. What we do know of this conflict affords a clue of the way in which the Mackenzies took an approach (or was able to take an approach) which differed from that of his neighbour. Crucially Mackenzie not only managed to get legal backing but also, through the granting to him of letters of fire and sword, he was empowered to use substantial levies from neighbouring clans against the Macdonnells. For Sir Robert Gordon (c.1630), who dated this episode to 1602, the struggle highlighted the naive approach of Glengarry, 'unexpert and unskillfull in the lawes' and bent solely on revenge. Gordon contrasted this with adroit approach of the Mackenzies, who 'easieie entrapped' Glengarry with a legal 'snare.' Thus, Gordon said, 'do the tryb of Clankeinzie become great in these pairts, still inroaching upon ther nighbours, who are unacquented with the lawes of this kindome.'¹⁵⁴ The Mackenzie clan were probably of a similar strength and power as their MacDonnell neighbours but the numerical advantage offered by a levy of an extra 400 men was enough to tip the balance decisively in their favour.¹⁵⁵ The Mackenzies were to repeat this tactic in Lewis, a surge, or the use of superior numbers to achieve a quick result.

Only the Mackenzie clan histories, written between 40–60 years later provide details but from this it can be seen that sporadic hostilities took place for several years between the two clans between 1602 and 1604. One one occasion, according to later (and partial) Mackenzie source, not only were fighting age men targeted by the Macdonnells, but women and children, the male children, in particular, were put to the sword.¹⁵⁶ The Mackenzie source, naturally, makes no such claims regarding their own treatment of Macdonnell males. Although there is no evidence it is possible that the Mackenzies were involved in reciprocal killings. There is an absence of information on how the Mackenzie campaign

¹⁵³ ML, MS 591703, fol. 54.

¹⁵⁴ Gordon, *Sutherland*, 248.

¹⁵⁵ The Mackenzie reinforcements came from the Gordons of Sutherland, the Munros of Foulis and the Rosses of Balnagown. John Gordon of Embo led 120 men from the Earldom of Sutherland. Alasdair Ross of Invercharron led 180 men and Anndra Munro of Teanovar led an unspecified number, probably not less than 100 men. ML, MS 591702, fol. 42. Macdonald (ed.), 'Fragment of a Mackenzie MS,' 197–198.

¹⁵⁶ *Highland Papers*, ii, 43. ML, MS 591701, fol. 41–42.

proceeded but certainly by May 1604, one contemporary wrote that Mackenzie had brought Glengarry to a 'very low estate' and it is likely that hostilities ceased soon after this.¹⁵⁷ In Lochcarron and Lochalsh, as soon as he had secured the defeat of the Macdonalds of Glengarry, Coinneach Lord Kintail moved into the area and reviewed the tenantry and he put: 'all Glengarryes tenents out of Lochelsch and Lochcarron except those he was sure of to be for his intrist and these he made swear fidelitie to him and to act with him contrar his enemies.'¹⁵⁸ According to another Mackenzie clan history's account of the conquest of Lochalsh and Lochcarron, c. 1602–06, the chief of Mackenzie not only ejected Glengarry's men from the area but remained very wary of those that remained:

Such of the inhabitants as submitted to himself he would cause them [to] try their hand in the enemie's blood before he gave them anie trust.¹⁵⁹

In other words the tenantry were forced to swear allegiance, screened to eradicate any potential future troublemakers, and forced, ideally, to undertake an action, either real or symbolic, that would irrevocably sunder the connection between them and their erstwhile masters. Much the same technique will have been applied to the people of Lewis, although such an offer was not, seemingly, extended to the surviving members of Siol Torcaill.

Niall Macleod's forlorn request to the Privy Council in August 1610, noticed above, that he and his followers be allowed to hold on to land at 'reasonable conditions' off Mackenzie offers one clue as to why such resistance continued.¹⁶⁰ Landholding clearly, was now to be denied to the surviving leading men of the Macleods of Lewis. Almost all of the members of Siol Torcaill were ejected from the tacks of Lewis they had held since time immemorial and they were replaced mainly with incoming tenants from Mackenzie lands in Ross-shire. The records of landholding from seventeenth century Lewis are fragmentary. Nevertheless a table collating names of the occupants of the lands of Lewis in the first century of Mackenzie plantation, 1610–1716, makes it clear that a great change in the landholding patterns occurred (appendix D5). Only in a few

157 Pitcairn, *Trials*, ii, 413. Letter, Iain Macintosh, Culloden, to Alexander Hay, Edinburgh, 21 May 1604. [Elphinstone Papers, no. 75.] *HMC, Appendix to the 9th Report, part II* (London, 1884), 197. The legal resolution to the dispute was well underway by May 1606. W. Fraser (ed.), *The Chiefs of Grant* (3 Vols., Edinburgh, 1883), iii, 405–406.

158 ML, MS 591702, fol. 42r.

159 *Highland Papers*, ii, 42. ML, MS 591702, fol. 41. W. Matheson, 'Traditions of the Matheson,' *TGSI*, 42 (1953–59), 153–181, at 170–171.

160 *RPCS*, ix, 578.

instances can the personnel or families involved in the pre and post plantation landholding patterns be directly compared. Murchadh Macleod held Siabost prior to 1600. By 1626 this land was held by Murchadh Mackenzie. A Gilleanuim mac Iain mhic Gilleanuim was important enough in the Siol Torcaill Lordship in 1572 to be included as a witness to his master's sasine. Gilleanuim held the tack of the relatively rich lands of Mealbost near Stornoway in 1572. By the 1620s this family had disappeared from the record and the land was held by Murchadh Mackenzie, uncle to the Earl of Seaforth. Eilean Chaluim Chille was held by Macleod's gardener in the sixteenth century but held by the Mackenzies of Achilty in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Five of the leading men of Pabail were named in a sasine of 1572.¹⁶¹ Another document, some two generations later, names some of the men of Pabail and some surrounding townships in the point area of Lewis, c. 1634. These seem to be people from new families in the Pabail area (appendix D2 & D3) shown here in their capacity as fishermen. Some of these men bear Gaelic patronymics, such as 'mak Carquhaker', (mac Fhearchair), Huchean mcPadrick (Ùisdean mac Phàdruig) and 'Neill mc Tormat' (Niall mac Thormoid), who may, or may not, have been Lewis natives. The majority, however, with surnames such as Hervie, Moray, Innes and Sinckler, bear names which were new to Lewis, although it is not clear if this group settled in the area for long: they may have been transient, following the fishing.¹⁶²

The New Order

There is insufficient data to allow us to map out who lost out in terms of land other than for Siabost, Pabail, Eilean Chaluim Chille, and Mealbost, above (little specific is known about individuals on the land during the Macleod era). However, it would seem that this pattern of dispossession and replacement were what happened throughout much of Lewis. Some 300 tenancies relating either to units of land in rural Lewis, or plots in the town of Stornoway can be identified in the century following the Mackenzie takeover. Only around ten or eleven individual units (3.5%) can be identified with Siol Torcaill, presumably placed in the hands of individuals well distanced from the hierarchy of the old

161 Appendix D5. A. MacCoinnich, 'Siol Torcaill and their lordship in the sixteenth century', in, J. Randall (ed.), *Crossing the Minch: Exploring the Links between Skye and the Outer Hebrides* (The Islands Book Trust, Callicvol, 2008), 7–32, at 20–21.

162 Appendix D2 & D3. There is no mention of families of this name, Harvie, Moray, Sinclair or Innes, in a rental of 1726. *Highland Papers*, ii, 323.

leadership, posing no threat to the new order.¹⁶³ All the other names that proliferate are either Mackenzies or are drawn from Mackenzie lands in Ross-shire: Baynes (Dingwall area), MacIennans (Strathconon), Mathesons (Lochalsh) and Macivers (Leckmel and Loch Broom). Links were sustained by these families across from Ross-shire to their new homes in Lewis during the seventeenth century. Certainly the officers of the new Mackenzie regime in Lewis, such as the Mackenzies of Achilty, Mealbost, Loggie and others held land on mainland Ross-shire as well as on the island.¹⁶⁴ Mr Dòmhnall Morrison, from Ness in north Lewis married a Jean Lauder from Avoch in eastern Ross-shire in 1643. Morrison and his spouse held land both in Ness and in the Avoch area.¹⁶⁵ Kin and marital links such as these are likely to have been more commonplace. Only fragmentary evidence survives which affords a glimpse of how individuals related to this new arrangement. Ruairidh Mackenzie, 'indweller in Lewis' had, for example, been married to Catriona Bayne, 1649, by Mr MacIennan, minister in Stornoway. The marriage had broken down by 1650, Catriona having left her husband and 'committed the filthy fact of adultery' with an Alexander Ross at Ussie on mainland Ross-shire. The unfortunate Ruairidh obtained the divorce he sought, Catriona having borne her lover a daughter.¹⁶⁶ While the human dimension of this is interesting in its own right, it is instructive that this couple, bearing mainland names were married at Stornoway by a minister also bearing a mainland name. Even when Catriona left her husband she also went to the mainland to set up home with her lover. This unhappy case, was, one hopes, exceptional, but if Seaforth took an active interest and influence in the fosterage and marriage patterns of his tenants, as noted earlier it is highly likely that this policy of giving people parcels of land on both mainland Ross and Lewis was another way of binding the new acquisition ever more tightly into the Mackenzie polity.

Even allowing for the considerable gaps in the record the pattern is clear: a thoroughgoing integration of Lewis into the Mackenzie landed portfolio in terms of kinship linkages of personnel. Of the old native families, only Sliochd

163 Appendix D5. Matheson (ed.), *An Clàrsair Dall*, 234.

164 The Mackenzies of Achilty (near Dingwall) were foresters of Lewis for the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century. Mackenzie of Mealbost, Lewis, also held land in Wester Ross and Mackenzie of Loggie, chamberlain of Lewis, c. 1650–61, held lands in the Loch Broom area. SAUL, ms dep 75, box 4, bundle 9a. Warrand, *Some Mackenzie Pedigrees*, 12. See Appendix D5.

165 NRS, RS 38/2, fol 244r. Matheson, *An Clàrsair Dall*, 240, 245–246. NRS, SC 34/19/1/2, fol.169r.

166 Action of divorcement, Chanonry of Ross, NRS, SC 34/28/90/1. I am grateful to Mr John Ballantyne for this reference. This is also referred to in MacGill (ed.), *Old Ross-shire*, i, no. 77., p. 40.

a' Bhritheimh, or the MacGilleMhoire family, traditionally hereditary judges under the Macleods in North Lewis, rebranded as 'Morrison's' by the end of the 1630s, and the MacAulay family associated with Ùig in west Lewis seem to have retained tacks under the new regime in any number. Significantly, neither of these two families, unlike the leadership of Siol Torcaill, could ever challenge the legitimacy of the Mackenzie right to Lewis. The price for the rehabilitation of these native families was not only cooperation with the new order, but a clear rejection of any sympathy for Siol Torcaill. They quickly became integrated into the Mackenzie regime, a bonding helped, over time, by ties of marriage and fosterage.¹⁶⁷ The role of the briteamh family in particular, betraying their chief, Torcall Dubh, and handing him over to the Mackenzies in 1597, and probably helping the Mackenzies in their takeover of the island prior to and after 1610, assured them of ignominy among the surviving Macleods. The native briteamh family, who adopted the 'civilised' name of Morrison around this time, were rewarded for their switch to the Mackenzie regime with a swathe of tacks in Lewis. Their success in making this transition to the new order can be measured in the number of Morrison tacksmen, up to fifty units of land or offices (around 17%) were held by individuals called Morrison, who can be seen holding tacks off the Seaforth regime in the first century of plantation (appendix D5). In the minds of Siol Torcaill sympathisers, however, their past deeds may have meant that they still, by the 1620s if not as late as the 1680s, remained 'hated by all men.'¹⁶⁸

167 Contemporary documents are complemented by tradition and genealogy relating to the seventeenth century which also hints at such relationships. Dòmhnall Ruadh Mackenzie, tacksman of Pàirc was known as the 'coal't' (comh-dhalt or foster brother) of Murchadh Morrison, fifth son of Mr Iain Morrison tacksman of Bragar in local tradition. Mr Dòmhnall Morrison married Jean Lauder, daughter of William Lauder, one of Mackenzie's notaries, based at the Chanonry of Ross. Mr Dòmhnall Morrison's daughter, Anne, was married to Dòmhnall Mackenzie of Loggie, chamberlain of Lewis. A. MacCoinnich, 'Daltachas, fineachan agus Alba anns an t-siathamh agus an t-seachdamh linn deug', 37–53. J.T. Clark (ed.), *Genealogical Collections concerning families in Scotland made by Walter Macfarlane, 1750–1751* (Edinburgh, 1900), i, 81–82. *RPCS*, xiv, p. cxxx. NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 13v–14r. D. Macdonald, *Tales and Traditions of the Lews* (1967: Birlinn edition, Edinburgh, 2004), 28–31, 130–131. Macdonald, (Stornoway, 1975), 28–29, 214–216. MacCoinnich, 'Dùn Èistean, and the Morrisons of Ness, the historical background,' in Barrowman (ed.), *Dùn Èistean: the excavation of a late medieval clan stronghold* (Acair Press, Stornoway, forthcoming).

168 *Highland Papers*, ii, 268–271. People had long memories and these deeds were raised by a MacMhuirich poet against a descendant of the briteamhan, an Clàrsair Dall, in the later seventeenth century. Matheson (ed.), *An Clàrsair Dall*, liv–lv. A. MacCoinnich, 'Dùn Èistean, and the Morrisons of Ness, the historical background,' in R. Barrowman (ed.),

For the Macleods who survived and remained in Lewis and those who laboured the soil, this new order meant a diminution in status and the imposition of a new, parasitic managerial class. This is made clear in an eyewitness account of Lewis by the Englishman, Captain John Dymes in 1630. Lewis had, he said, been substantially repopulated by Seaforth from the adjacent mainland. Dymes remarked that the inhabitants of the island owed 'great dueties' to Seaforth. Those tacksmen who were tenants in Lewis 'lett out the land... ..to the poorer sort at such rates that they themselves sit rent free.'¹⁶⁹ This was a deliberate policy referred to by Seaforth in a letter addressed to his brothers, 1631, which advised them to keep the island under numerous small tacksmen or tenants rather than allow a smaller number of substantial tenants and let them establish a following. A large number of smaller tenants were not only less powerful, causing Seaforth less trouble, but also, apparently, returned a greater rent.¹⁷⁰ The results of such a policy are probably what can be seen some 85 years later in the rental of Lewis of c.1716–18 (appendix D5). There were, not counting the rent payers of the town of Stornoway (many of whom paid rent on little more than a single property), some 140 relatively small tenancies in rural Lewis. Of these 140 tenancies, most were held by tacksmen bearing 'civilised' surnames such as Mackenzie, Morrison or Macaulay. However, some 31 of these rural units on Seaforth's rental were held by joint tenants, with between 3 and 10 members per joint tenancy, all bearing Gaelic patronymics. Those tenancies held by joint tenants, such as the eight joint farms of Siabost, six in Siadar, four in Gabhsunn and three in Na Còig Peighinnean, tended to occupy some of the best arable land on the island. The joint tenancies were probably a reflection of the need to share out the hard labour needed to eke a living out of the land and communal working practices which persisted, to some extent, to the twentieth century.¹⁷¹ Captain John Dymes commented in 1630 that a great deal of arable

Dùn Èistean: the excavation of a late medieval clan stronghold (Acair Press, Stornoway, forthcoming).

169 Mackenzie, *The History of the Outer Hebrides*, 592–593.

170 Cailean Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth writing to his brothers from London, 15 July 1631, advised with regard to Lewis to '...keip them q[uh]a ar gentlmen under by letting them have few sub taxmen and place these small tennents on the rest of the land for it is they th[a]t increases the rentall...' MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd' 445–446.

171 There were other farms held, on a joint tenancy basis by a number of men named with Gaelic patronymics (rather than a surname). Those held jointly by more than two tenants, could be found in Àrnoil (1), Borgh (3), Pabail (2), Barabhas (3), Eòropaidh (2) and Am Bac (2). Appendix D 5. These joint tenancies would probably be held on an equal basis. A. Geddes, 'Conjoint tenants and tacksmen in the Isle of Lewis, 1715–26,' *Economic History Review*, vol. 1, no. 1 (1948), 54–60, at 57.

land was worked in Lewis for the production of oats and bere, in particular, which, he claimed, yielded reasonable returns. This was echoed by Martin Martin some 65 years later who said that the men of Lewis were,

...very industrious, and undergo a great fatigue by digging the ground with spades, and in most places they turn the ground so digged upside down and cover it with sea-ware; and in this manner there are about 500 people employed daily for some months. This way of labouring is called by them *timiy*; and it certainly produces a greater increase than digging or ploughing or otherwise...¹⁷²

These labour-intensive agricultural practices involved the production of the misleadingly named lazy-beds or run-rig. This maximised returns from pockets of shallow soil on marginal lands through back-breaking endeavour, and painstakingly trying to enrich the thin, often acidic, soil with manure and seaweed. The demand for seaweed was such that disputes over marches between townships extended out to the tidal rocks at the low water mark.¹⁷³ Hard labour on the coastal arable lands probably made the island self-sufficient in grain in good years. However, the extensive peaty, uncultivable, bog-moorland of the island's interior, and much of the south eastern part of the island, meant that it was much more suitable for pastoral farming. Dymes again states that large amounts of stock were kept and grazed on the island, particularly in the rough pasture in the moorland interior of the island during the summer. Such transhumance with the movement of cattle continued in parts of Lewis until as recently as the 1930s and had the double advantage of utilising rough grazing on marginal land while keeping the livestock clear of the scarcer, valuable, arable land and the growing crop over the summer months.¹⁷⁴

172 'Timiy' is probably the Gaelic word 'taomadh,' probably referring to the act of digging up soil and pouring it into an adjacent ridge for cultivation. Mackenzie's transcript of Dymes's description states a return of 50: 1, but this may be a mistake, as 5:1 would be more likely and is also within the range of returns for bere and oats given by Robert Dodgshon for Hebridean agriculture in the period. M. Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, circa 1695* (Birlinn, 1999), 14. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 592. Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 218–223.

173 A dispute in 1768 between the two townships of Pabail (Bayble) in Point, Lewis, concerned the perceived unfair allocation of 'sea wreck' in favour of 'Upper Byble' to the great disadvantage of 'Nether Byble.' NRS, GD 427/245.

174 For the later practices of transhumance in Lewis see D. Macdonald, *Lewis, a history of the Island* (London, 2004), 116–117. A. Geddes, 'Conjoint-tenants and tacksmen in the Isle of Lewis, 1715–26.' *Economic History Review* (New Series, vol. 1, no. 1, 1948), 54–60.

Handling the Land

Documentary evidence for the way in which the land was worked in the Mackenzie period during the seventeenth century – or indeed by their Macleod predecessors in the sixteenth century is limited (discussed in Chapter 3). However, there are indications that estate policies were geared towards extending the amount of arable land in production in the Hebrides through reclamation of stripped peatland as far back as 1549 (discussed above). If Lewismen had been doing this in the Macleod period and getting reasonable crop yields, albeit not on the extravagant scale hoped for by prospective colonists in the 1590s, it seems likely that this practice continued during the watch of the Mackenzies. The potato revolution and the population explosion of the later eighteenth and especially the nineteenth century have, without doubt, obscured much of the earlier pre-crofting landscape in Lewis (as elsewhere in the Highlands) but it is reasonable to assume a slow and steady expansion of land under cultivation where the circumstances allowed it – as one would expect with responsible working of the land in any era. It is probable that in the Mackenzie period, the land was intensively worked and reclaimed land taken in to arable.

The focus on estate management in such discussions (due to the reliance on the evidence of estate papers) obscures the role that communities will have played in such processes. Nevertheless, what does survive by way of documentary evidence shows the tight control exerted by the heritor on every aspect of the produce of the estate. Barbara, the widowed Countess of Seaforth was allocated the produce of the Lewis countryside for the years 1650 and 1651. The Chamberlain of Lewis at that time, Dòmhnall Mackenzie of Loggie, was to collect the

number of sevin scoire bolls victual, tuelff custome mairtes, tuelfscoire mutton, fourtie stone butter together with the hail custome cheise and uther s[ever]all customes off the haill lands and Ileand of Lewes.

These were to be collected by the chamberlain at various carefully stipulated locales in Lewis and taken directly off the ‘country people’. The chamberlain of Lewis was then seemingly intended to convert this to a cash value of £781. 3 s for the support of the Countess of Seaforth. In this particular case, the yield for the years 1650 and 1651 remained unpaid for reasons that remain unclear and are recorded in Sheriff court papers from several years later, 1668, where various members of the Mackenzie clan tried to claim monies from Dòmhnall Mackenzie of Loggie, the erstwhile chamberlain of

Lewis.¹⁷⁵ Some of the earliest glimpses of the estate's hand in action can be seen in eighteenth century estate papers which may, to some extent, reflect older practices in Lewis. The tenants of all the tacks were obliged, in 1735, to have all their oats and bere processed at one of eight mills in various parts of Lewis.¹⁷⁶ The mills, leased by tacksmen from the Earls of Seaforth, collected multures of grain from tenants forced to bring their crop there. Tacksmen were authorised to smash any querns they found from tenants who sought to circumvent the system.¹⁷⁷ Townships which were at an inconvenient distance could avoid making the arduous journey to a remote authorised mill only by paying the tacksmen an agreed cash (or grain) substitute.¹⁷⁸ These systems for the processing of crops are likely to date back to the early years of the Mackenzie plantation.

The papers of George Gillanders, Seaforth's estate manager in the 1740s, came at a time of great agricultural change following the recent introduction of the potato.¹⁷⁹ They suggest a process of estate reform at this time especially with regard to the beginnings of intensive potato cultivation in rigs, which facilitated further reclamation of arable land, but the papers must also reflect some practices that had been in place since the start of the plantation. Clearly the lands of Lewis had long been geared towards cattle and sheep production

175 '...the sex pennie land off Shabost [*Siabost*], tua pennie land off Arnoll [*Àrnol*], the ten pennie land off Nedder Barwis [*Barabhas Iarach*], the lands of Nedder Chader [*Siadar Iarach*], South and North Galsines [*Gabhunn a Tuath & Gabhunn a Deas*], to be the part[ic]ular lands ffurth off which the forsaid localitie off victual was appointed to be uplifted yeirlie, the saids tua yeires. And siclyke, the parochines of Loches, Uig, p[ar]t Cladach and tua Galsines within the paroch of Ness, to be the landes ffurth off which the forsaid stent mairtes, mutton and butter was apo[y]nted to be uplifted. And that the tenentes and possessors of the samyn, hail landes, th[i]r deductiones did extend in the hail to the forsaid soume off sevin hundredth fourscoire ane poundes, three shillings, sex pennies money...' Action pursued against Dòmhnall Mackenzie of Loggie, chamberlain of Lewis, 1650 & 1651, by Seòras Mackenzie of Kincurdie, assignee, 3 November 1668, for debts owed to the Countess of Seaforth, NRS, SC 34/1/1, fol. 49r–50r.

176 In 1735 these licenced mills were at Stornoway, Barabhas Uarach, Cros (Ness), Griaish, Bragair, Aiginis, Lacasaigh, Ùig and finally Beàrnaraigh (the latter being set in tack with mills at Càrlabhagh, Dail Mòr and Dail Beag). SAUL, MS dep 75/3/12/11.

177 A new mill was, apparently, built at Bayhead in Stornoway in 1735, with an instruction that 'the querns in about Starnaway be broke...' SAUL, MS dep 75/3/12. F. MacLeòid, *Muilnean Beaga Leòdhais* (Acair, Steòrnabhagh, 2009). F. Macleod, *The Norse Mills of Lewis* (Acair, Stornoway, 2009).

178 Macdonald, *Lewis. A history of the island*, 108–111.

179 'The penny lands of Lewis, c. 1754'. NRS, GD 427/5/2. 'Notarial copy of the minutes of Sett of the Island of Lewis, 1766'. NRS, GD 427/35/1.

as far back as the Macleod period if not to time immemorial.¹⁸⁰ This meant that the scarce valuable arable land on the coastlines was protected by sending the livestock to graze on the wide uncultivable moors of the interior. The detailed regulation in the Gillanders papers related to shielings reflect this. Each township's grazings were carefully delineated and

The tennants and subtennants are bound & obliged to build and keep in repair their march and others tacks & to go yeirlie to their several sheilings on or before the twenty sixth day of May and to continue there with their cattle till the ordinary time of coming home therefrom...

The bounds of these shielings were, in 1766, carefully set and monitored by the tacksmen.¹⁸¹ This is a late source but it corresponds with the description given by Captain Dymes in 1630, that in each of the four parishes of Lewis there were 20 townships, each of around half a score of cottages built together

...neare some piece of arrable land where they make their abode in winter, for the most part of the comon people in the som[m]er they remaine on the hills and graze their cattle...

No stocking figures are available for Lewis until as late as 1796 when the island then held a total of 10,440 cattle, 15,012, sheep and 2,636 horses, a 3:2 ratio of sheep to cattle.¹⁸² This is valuable as an indication of the livestock levels the island could hold but it comes after a move to more intensive sheep farming in the Highlands and may not bear too much of a correlation with figures from the early seventeenth century.¹⁸³ It seems clear that there was a much greater

180 The preponderance of Norse names (predating 1266) throughout the island including a number of those with the 'setr/shader/siadar' place-name element (meaning sheiling) suggest a long-established practice although probably only archaeology might be able to conclusively answer such a question in the future. Monro (1549), commented on the suitability of Lewis for sheep but had less to say on cattle. Martin (1695) also commented on sheep and briefly on cattle but neither commentator had much to say on transhumance. W.J. Watson, *The Place Names of Ross & Cromarty* (1904), 270. M. Martin, *A description of the Western Islands* (Birlinn, 1999), 18, 331–332, 338.

181 NRS, GD 427/35/1. NRS, GD 427/41.

182 These patterns of transhumance continued to be widely practiced in Lewis through until the early twentieth century. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 592. Macdonald, *The History of Lewis*, 112–118.

183 By the time of this livestock census estates, had, from the 1770s onwards, been increasingly switching to sheep farming. E. Richards, *The Highland Clearances. People, landlords and rural turmoil* (Birlinn, Edinburgh, 2000), 67–81.

emphasis on cattle production than on sheep production in the preceding century and evidence from the testaments of farmers on the Seaforth estates, 1664 and 1708 hints at this, giving proportions of 3:2 and 2:1 of cattle to sheep.¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, while the stocking levels in the period 1610–1650 are impossible to quantify what evidence does exist demonstrates the importance of cattle rearing to the Lewis economy in the early seventeenth century.

The transportation of cattle out of Lewis was also considered important enough to be one of the key items reserved for negotiation with the Dutch settlers to Stornoway in 1628; the Dutch were to be given a monopoly on the transport of livestock: 20/- a head for each animal.¹⁸⁵ This arrangement turned out to be short lived (see the following chapter) but it does show the importance of cattle to the local economy. This was further underlined when Seòras, Earl of Seaforth, drew up a deal with James Barnes, an Edinburgh merchant in 1641, selling Barnes 1500 head of Lewis cattle, 300 head per annum, over the coming five years, for which Seaforth was to receive £10,000.¹⁸⁶ Another contract of October 1641, saw Seaforth receive another £6000 for ‘certane ky’ that had been delivered to Robert Innes, a merchant based in Stornoway.¹⁸⁷ Although the evidence is sporadic, this type of deal is unlikely to have been exceptional and Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty, chamberlain of Lewis made an arrangement with a kinsman, Dùbhghall Mackenzie, an Edinburgh burgess, at Stornoway in January 1626 selling marts (or cattle) and one of the other products of the island, plaiding, a type of cloth, to a total value of £2017. Achilty was to take responsibility for the shipment of the goods to Leith.¹⁸⁸ Fish, especially ling, cod and herring, discussed below, was the main trading commodity associated with Lewis. Other items which appear on documents later in the century, in 1660 and in 1686, along with beef and plaid included mutton, salmon, whale oil, tallow, hides, meal, butter and cheese.¹⁸⁹

184 The inventory of the deceased Alasdair Macrae, chamberlain of Kintail, 1664, shows he had 160 cattle, 48 horses, 120 sheep and 50 goats. The inventory of Iain Morrison, tacksman of Bragar, west Lewis, deceased 1708, shows 57 cattle, 11 horses and 32 sheep. Similarly, the inventory of Murchadh Mackenzie of Fairburn (deceased 1592) shows 80 cattle of various types compared to 60 sheep. The inventory of Sine Ross, Lady Kintail, at her death in 1604 lists, in an inventory of her assets, 276 cattle of various types and 200 sheep. NRS, GD 296/19. Matheson, *An Clàrsair Dall*, 243. NRS, CC 8/8/24/178. NRS, CC 8/8/43/730.

185 NRS, GD 46/20/box 5.

186 Dodgshon, *From Chiefs to Landlords*, 113, 120, n. 57. NRS, GD 201/1/54.

187 NRS, RD 1/533, fol. 480v.

188 NRS, RD 1/398, fol. 393.

189 There is evidence that whisky and salmon were also being produced in Lewis at this time (c.1673 × 1695). Although these items do not appear in a document from 1660 or in the

Little is known about the production of plaid or the nature of the product, 'a rough cloth', woven in Lewis and throughout the Highlands and Island in this period.¹⁹⁰ The Stornoway merchant Robert Innes had rights to trade it out of Lewis in 1641 and bought 650 ells of plaiding from Seaforth that year. In 1660 the annual output of the Lewis estate was 2000 ells 'off plaidin being double elnes according to the measoure of the Lewes.' The fact that Lewis measures were recognised in this manner in Leith is testament to the ubiquity, if not the importance, of the product.¹⁹¹ Probably no resource which could be exploited was left untouched. Sealing was practised on an annual basis, fowl, young gannets in particular, were also hunted annually and whales provided a welcome, if less predictable, prey. Whaling, indeed, was considered important enough to have been mentioned by the Fife Adventurers in their plans for Lewis, c. 1598, and was included as one of the points discussed in the negotiations held with the Dutch settlers that Seaforth wished to bring into Lewis (below). The whales were so plentiful that the Dutchmen built facilities to process the animals at Stornoway. While it is unclear to what extent this work took place, strandings of the animals could provide a windfall for community, landowner and admiralty alike.¹⁹²

rentals of the 1678 and 1686, they can be seen in a later rental, c. 1764. NRS, GD 124/8234/4-5. M. Mackay (ed.), *The Rev. Dr John Walker's report on the Hebrides of 1764 and 1771* (Birlinn, Edinburgh, 1980: 2004), 42. M. Martin, *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, 13-14. NRS, RS 38/4, fol.224.

190 Shaw, *The Northern and Western Islands of Scotland*, 135, 158-159, 177, 196.

191 NRS, RD 1/533, fol. 479v-480v. GD 190/3/152/3.

192 It has been argued that the Mediaeval Norse exploited fortuitous whale stocks in North Atlantic waters but did not systematically hunt them. Possibly, the Macleods of Lewis inherited similar approaches to whale hunting, treating this resource in much the same way as they would deer. A seventeenth century story of the Macleods of Lewis a century earlier relates how the Macleod chiefs despatched stranded whales with broadswords. The Mackenzies and the Dutch brought a new commercially orientated approach. However, it is unclear if whale stocks survived in commercially viable numbers past the seventeenth century. A pod of around 168 bottle nosed whales became stranded on a sandbank off Cola, east Lewis, in early 1736. They were promptly butchered by the locals, yielding some 15 or 16 lasts of train oil. Coinneach Campbell in Stornoway held a commission of admiralty from the Duke of Argyll, which included the right to tax whaling activity. He commented (in 1736) that whale strandings on this scale were relatively rare. At least one (later) Gaelic song commemorates a whale hunt. Seal hunting continued until the early twentieth century. Young gannets or guga are still hunted annually under government licence. RPCS, xiv, p. cxxix-cxxx. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 574, 591-594. M. Robson, *Rona. The distant island* (Acair, Stornoway, 1991), 22, 24-25, 48-49, 138-141. NRS, GD 46/20/Box 5. F.J. Shaw, *The Northern and Western Islands of Scotland. Their economy*

Deer hunting was an important pursuit for clan chiefs and their followers in the Highlands at this time.¹⁹³ In the Hebrides this can be seen clearly in a hunting vignette carved in 1528 on the tomb of Alasdair Crotach (d. c. 1547) chief of the Macleods of Harris. Here, the chief is pictured with attendants, wolfhounds, full armour and a two handed sword. Clad in what appears to be chainmail and heavy helmet it would seem that Alasdair Crotach was in no condition to chase the deer. The deer must have been driven by others, either directly towards him or to a position where the beasts could be slain by the sword wielding chief.¹⁹⁴ In neighbouring Lewis, sharing a land border in the south with the forest of Harris, much the same approach would have been adopted to hunting deer. The English map of the island in 1630 divides the hilly moorland in the south of the island into the 'little forrist', in Ùig, sharing a border (and presumably deer populations) with Harris and the 'great forrist' in the Pàirc peninsula (figure 17).¹⁹⁵ 'Forest' in a Hebridean context means a large tract of hilly, uncultivable wilderness, bereft of trees. The apparent absence of medieval settlement in the Pàirc or forest area of south east Lewis implied by the absence of the area in the list of pennylands for Lewis (discussed in Chapter 1), partly due to its poor potential for agriculture, together with other evidence indicating hunting, reinforces the idea, that this part of the Lordship of Lewis had long been set aside for the pursuit of deer.¹⁹⁶ Apart from the sporting and social dimensions of the hunt the resulting venison and skins must have been an important resource for the chiefly household if not the communities engaged in the hunt.

and society in the seventeenth century (Edinburgh, 1980), 126–128. ICA, Bundle 197. I.N. MacLeòid, *Bàrdachd Leòdhais* (Glaschu, 1955), 194. V. Szabo, 'Subsistence whaling and the Norse diaspora: Norsemen, Basques and whale use in the western North Atlantic, ca. AD 900–1640', in B. Hudson (ed.), *Studies in the Medieval Atlantic* (Basingstoke, 2012), 65–89. *Highland Papers*, i, 56.

193 See the description of a deer hunt in the eastern Highlands, 1618, by English poet, John Taylor. Hume Brown (ed.), *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 120–123.

194 RCAHMS, 1928, 32–35. K.A. Steer & J.W.M. Barrowman, *Late Medieval Sculpture in the West Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1977), 78–81, 97–98. Hume Brown (ed.), *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 120–123. A similar type of hunting was also practiced by the Macleod chiefs of Lewis and their followers with regard to whales. The beasts were corralled in the shallows and dispatched with swords. *Highland Papers*, i, 56–57. For chiefs' armour and equipment see, D.H. Caldwell, 'Having the right kit: Galloglass fighting in Ireland' in, *History Ireland*, 16 (2008), 20–25.

195 See also F. Macleòid, 'Cumadh an Eilein', in, F. Macleòid (ed.), *Togail Tìr. Marking time* (Stornoway, 1989), 3–12, at 9. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', 502–504.

196 M. Robson, *The Great Forest of Lewis* (Callicvol, 2011), 1–18. M. Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands*, 75.

The extent to which the deer stock was a communal resource or an exclusively aristocratic preserve under the Macleods of Lewis remains unknown. The incoming Fife Adventurers seem to have exploited deer stocks: the last will and testament of Robert Traquhair, killed at Stornoway in 1601 (discussed in Chapter 3), included five deer-skins, suggesting deer were a prized resource.¹⁹⁷ The hunting reserve of Pàirc, and also probably parts of Ùig, were valued by the Mackenzies after they gained control of the island from 1610. They reputedly set up a dyke, 'Gàradh an Tighearna,' to control the movement of deer in and out of the reserve at Pàirc. Seaforth also wrote a letter in July 1631, mentioning that he had appointed Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty, 1631, as forester for the island of Lewis presumably to monitor and maintain deer populations in addition to his other duties.¹⁹⁸ The same letter also named Seaforth's foresters in Wester Ross, but managing deer in Lewis and Harris, an island (presumably) free of wolf predation, may have been easier than on the mainland.¹⁹⁹ Seaforth came to an agreement with the lairds bordering his mainland estates to limit and strictly police the hunting of deer and restrict the use of firearms. A meeting at Duntulm castle in September 1628 led by Seaforth, attended by the chiefs of the Macdonalds of Sleat, Macleod of Dunvegan, MacGilleCaluim (Macleod) of Raasay and Mackinnon of Strath agreed to extend this throughout the Northern Hebrides. Macleod of Assynt had come to a similar agreement with Sir Dòmhnall Mackay of Reay in 1615. The Mackenzies, in common with many of their neighbouring lairds, took steps to exclude not only 'broken-men' or out-laws but also the commonality from deer-hunting, being granted sweeping commissions of justiciary throughout the first half of the seventeenth century empowering them to pursue and punish anyone suspected of or caught poaching. Deer-hunting had always been an aristocratic preserve but this was now becoming increasingly enforced in law. The superior of the forest had the power to confiscate firearms of anyone found without authorisation on hunting

197 This was also the case in nearby Sutherland. In 1648, Iain Mackay, master of Reay made a contract binding him to deliver 1000 cow and deer hides to an Edinburgh merchant, Robert Logan. NRS, CC 8/8/36/245. NRS, CS 98/2068.

198 M. Robson, *The Great Forest of Lewis* (Callicvol, 2011), 9–11. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', 446.

199 A.E.M. Wiseman, 'A noxious pack.' Historical, literary and folklore traditions of the wolf (*canis lupus*) in the Scottish Highlands,' in, *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 25 (2009), 95–142. A 'clach-bhalg' was used to 'fright wolves', presumably from Ross-shire grazings and sheilings. These were described by Raibeart Monro (1637) as 'stone bagges... ..made of dry skinnies made round like a globe, with small stones in it that make a noise...' Brockington (ed.), *Monro, his Expedition with the worthy Scots Regiment called Mac-Keyes* (Praeger, Westport, 1999), 84. Dwelly's *Dictionary*. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', 446.

grounds and impose punishments on their body. One such deed in 1628 enabled lairds to execute poachers and have their goods escheat.²⁰⁰

Building a Plantation

The Mackenzies, while concerned to maximise the potential returns from the hinterland of the island were also keen to develop the town of Stornoway. They were not the only Gaelic kindred to develop an urban centre. The Clan Campbell developed both Inveraray and Ceann Loch Chille Chiarain in Kintyre in the early seventeenth century, renaming the latter Campbeltown.²⁰¹ On the other side of Sruth na Maoile (the Moyle or the North Channel), archaeologists excavating the contemporaneous settlement of a Macdonnell town adjacent to Dunluce castle in Antrim have found it remarkably similar to the remains of surrounding Lowland planter settlements.²⁰² This reflects the plantation policies pursued by Ragnall Aranach Macdonnell, the Earl of Antrim, who, like the Mackenzies, retained a Gaelic cultural identity while embracing the (Anglophone) Jacobean civility agenda.²⁰³ The shape of the town the Mackenzies had acquired in 1610 is not clear. The Macleods may have slighted the defensive structures at Stornoway following their defeat of the planters in 1607, if not 1609. It is possible that the Mackenzies inherited at least the shell of the previous Fife planter town by 1610, some of which were substantial stone structures, and they may have developed these buildings. The earliest detailed contemporary deed, discovered thus far, showing Mackenzie activity in Lewis comes from 1615, five years after their invasion. The occasion was the serving of Cailean Mackenzie, Lord Kintail, as heir to his late father for his lands of Lewis. The document, a notarial copy of a sasine, a deed recording the transfer of land, reveals little other than asserting Cailean's title and right to succeed in his

200 *RPCS*, vi, 90. *RPCS*, viii, 409. *RPCS*, xii, 620. *Collectanea*, 183–195. Gordon, *Sutherland*, 383. NRS, RD 1/305, fol. 8. NRS, RD 1/408, fol. 388, 389. NRS, DI 62/7, fol. 45. M. Robson, *The Great Forest of Lewis*, 1–18. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 113–114.

201 Campbeltown variously known as Loch-heid and Kinloch, was mooted as a burgh from 1609–10, but this did not begin until 1617. Inveraray became a royal burgh in 1648 and Dunoon in Cowal was also developed by the Campbells later in the same century. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 68. ICA, bundle 116.

202 C. Breen, 'Randal MacDonnell and early seventeenth century settlement in Northeast Ulster, 1603–30,' in É. Ó Ciardha & M. Ó Siochrú (eds.), *The Plantation of Ulster. Ideology and practice* (Manchester, 2012), 143–157, at 147–150, 152–154.

203 Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and Restoration in the three Stuart Kingdoms*, 23–25.

father as heir to the lands of Lewis.²⁰⁴ The witness list, however, shows some of the key personnel now in Stornoway. The witness list was headed by Murchadh Mackenzie, brother to the late Lord Kintail, and Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty, chamberlain of Lewis. An Iain Mackenzie, a son of Coinneach mac Mhurchaidh, the new constable of the former Macleod castle at Stornoway, is named as a witness together with a number of other persons, bearing patronymics, 'Alex[ande]r mc Connell Bayne' (Alasdair mac Dhòmhnaill Bhàin), 'Nigello mc Neill Moir' (Niall mac Nèill Mhòir), 'Joanis ouer Mack Coull gorme' (Iain Odhar mac Dhòmhnaill Gorm) in 'Eastir Schader', none of whom would appear to be associated with Siol Torcaill.²⁰⁵

No contracts have been discovered (to date) which shed light on building activities in Lewis during the early Mackenzie period. Nevertheless, two town plans survive, one from 1630 (fig. 18) and one from the period of Cromwellian occupation in the 1650s which show some details of the layout of Stornoway.²⁰⁶ It is not clear which of the groups occupying this town over the previous half century had built the structures shown on these plans. Some may have been built by the Fife Adventurers, others, no doubt, by both the Dutch and the English.²⁰⁷ The Mackenzie hierarchy, however, accustomed to the vernacular architecture of Dingwall and Chanonry, will have taken such architecture with them up to Lewis. Cailean, Earl of Seaforth, is known to have sponsored building projects elsewhere on his estates, notably the erection of a substantial Jacobean mansion at Brahan in the later 1620s. Cailean will also have had a residence in Stornoway, and the dwelling mentioned there in connection of his brother, Seòras, in a legal document of 1649 × 51, must refer to this.²⁰⁸ Only one deed has been found in relation to Cailean's building activities. This was a complaint in 1629 that John Ross, 'master maisson in Braan', had not completed the finishing work at Brahan castle according to the specifications in

204 NRS, NP 1/67A, fol. 94–95. NRS, GD 1/400/2/3/44–45.

205 It is tempting to associate this Iain Odhar mac Dhòmhnaill Guirm with the Macdonald of Sleat chief (Dòmhnall Gorm) but the similarity in name may be coincidental.

206 MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', 502–504. For the detailed town plan of 1653 see E.P. Dennison & R. Coleman, *Historic Stornoway. The Scottish Burgh Survey* (Edinburgh, 1997), 25–27.

207 Dennison & Coleman, *Historic Stornoway*, 22–26. W.C. Mackenzie, *The History of the Outer Hebrides*, 593.

208 Letters of horning were raised against Seaforth, then in exile in the Netherlands in 1649 × 50 by Hew Hamilton a merchant burgess of Edinburgh in lieu of debt. These letters were taken by 'to the duelling place of George Erle of Seaforth called Sternua in Lewes quhair his ladye and famelie duelles and remaynes...' SAUL, ms dep 75, Box 3/Bundle 1. E.P. Dennison & R. Coleman, *Historic Stornoway*, 23.

the contract.²⁰⁹ This particular deed only survives due to a dispute with the building contractor based, significantly, at Mackenzie's seat at Brahan and demonstrates explicitly, as does the surviving chain of Mackenzie castles in Easter Ross, the wealth of expertise readily available to the Mackenzies in terms of tradesmen. Seaforth had plans in place in 1628 to develop all the administrative structures, procedures and officials one would expect to find in a burgh at Stornoway, with a twelve member 'counsall', courtis and with an elected provost, four baillies, a Dean of Gild and a thesaurer. Seaforth expected that this burgh council would also choose commissioners for Parliament.²¹⁰ The evidence for the construction of Seaforth's town at Stornoway is poor. However, given the associations, noted in Chapter 3, above, of architecture with civility, then the supposition must be that Seaforth and the Mackenzies oversaw the building of a 'civil' town in their plantation on Lewis to match their ambitions for the development of the town as a Royal Burgh in 1628, drawing on the pool of skilled labour from his lands elsewhere in Easter Ross. The first priority on the building agenda of the previous planters, the Fife Adventurers, once they had built fortifications, was the construction of a church and school and these priorities are likely to have been shared by the Mackenzies.

The Church

The earliest evidence for a school in the new Mackenzie settlement dates from 1676, when the schoolmaster in Stornoway, Mr Rorie Mackenzie, witnessed a document. A rental from two years later states that the schoolmaster was given an annual allowance of £100. Nearly 20 years later, in 1695, Martin Martin briefly mentioned an establishment at Stornoway where Latin and English were taught.²¹¹ Although the evidence is late, this school is likely to have been established in the early years of the

209 Other deeds relating to Seaforth's contractors survive although related to fishery works rather than buildings. An Alasdair Stewart, 'wright' from Sallachy, Wester Ross, was contracted to build cruives on the River Conon, 'with tua grit kistes for the takeing of salmon,' in April 1622. Builder, John Davidson, was engaged to repair and build further cruives or fish traps in the River Conon in 1631. NRS, RD 1/431, fol. 465. NRS, CS 7/441, fol. 141. MacGill (ed.), *Old Ross-shire*, i, no 458, p. 180.

210 For Brahan castle, see the RCAHMS website, <<http://canmore.rcahms.gov.uk>> (ref. no. 12867). For other building activity see, J. Munro, 'The Mackenzies,' in Oram & G. Stell, *Lordship and Architecture*, 273–291. For Stornoway's burghal status and a reference to the establishment of a burgh style administration there see appendix E1.

211 NRS, GD 124/8324/4. M. Martin, *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland, circa 1695* (Birlinn, 1999), 30. Matheson, *An Clàrsair Dall*, 240.

plantation. While they may have sent their children to Beauly or Chanonry for an education, it would be surprising indeed given the number of (literate) Mackenzie tacksmen now resident in Lewis, had they not organised a school within a decade of their arrival. The arrangements for worship are also obscure. The first minister that can be identified in Lewis with certainty after the Mackenzie invasion and plantation is Mr Fearchar Macrae (1580–1662) who accompanied the Mackenzie invasion force around 1610, returning to his own parish of Gairloch soon afterwards.²¹² A report for Thomas Knox, Bishop of the Isles, in 1626 stated that the Earl of Seaforth refused to pay the bishop duty for the island and that it was served by two, un-named, ministers.²¹³ It seems clear there were only two ministers serving the four parishes of Lewis during most of the seventeenth century and sometimes, as was the case in 1657, only the one.²¹⁴ Mr Ailean Morrison, tacksman of Tàbost and minister in the parish of Cladach and Barabhas related, in 1716, how he tried to serve distant Ùig and the Isle of Beàrnaraigh in a vacant neighbouring parish, in addition to his own charge, three or four times a year, although it was an arduous journey.²¹⁵ Mr Fearchar MacIennan, minister of Stornoway, who mediated in disputes between English and Scots in and around Stornoway, is the earliest minister of whom a definite record can be found in the Mackenzie period, between approximately 1632 and 1636.²¹⁶ The Lewis ministers were named, 25 May and 7 October 1643, as Mr ‘Murdoch Mc Hustone’ (Murchadh mac Ùisdein) for Lewis and a Mr ‘Farquhar Clerk’, (alias MacIennan) neither of whom were enthusiastic participants in the business of the Synod of Argyll, probably due to tensions between the Earl of Seaforth and the Marquis of Argyll. Both of these men had left their charges by May 1644 and had been replaced by Mr Dòmhnall Morrison as sole minister in the island.²¹⁷

212 *Highland Papers*, i, 225–226. *FES*, vii, 146, 152. Macrae signed a deed using a patronymic as ‘Mr Farquhar mc Gillechrist,’ vicar of Gairloch, in 1618 (NRS, RD 1/304, fol. 128r), but used his surname, ‘Macrae’ in 1629, by which time he was minister at Kintail. NRS, RD1/445, fol. 5.

213 J.B. Craven (ed.), *Records of the Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles, 1560 – 1860* (Kirkwall, 1907), 49.

214 NRS, RD 2/15/425–9.

215 ICA, Bundle 547. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 592. The four presbyterian parishes of eighteenth and nineteenth century Lewis were established in 1722 as a result of advice to the Presbytery of Skye from Mr Ailean Morrison, minister of Ness. D.U. Stiùbhart, ‘Some heathenish and superstitious rites: a letter from Lewis, 1700,’ *Scottish Studies*, 34 (2000), 205–226, at 209–210.

216 NRS, RD1/472, fol. 135. *RPCS* (2nd Ser.), vi, 12–13. MacIennan appears to have been moved to the parish of Gairloch by 1636. *RPCS* (2nd Ser.), vi, 182. MacIennan then seems to have moved to the kirk of Fodderty in the mainland of Ross by the mid 1640s and subsequently to Loch Broom in the 1650s. *FES*, vii, 36, 157, 199–209.

217 Mr Dòmhnall Morrison graduated from St Andrews University in 1640. He witnessed a document at Stornoway in February 1643 and is described as ‘minister at Ness’, presumably

The Mackenzies seem to have had amicable relations with with Mr John Leslie, Thomas Knox's successor as episcopal Bishop of the Isles, 1628–33. Bishop Leslie held a synod at Stornoway but no record of this Synod appears to survive and the business they discussed is unknown.²¹⁸ Bishop Leslie appeared at Duntulm castle, September 1632, where he made a deed lending money to another clergyman, witnessed by two other ministers at Duntulm in North Skye. Duntulm, a Macdonald of Sleat castle, over which Mackenzie held superiority, was on the itinerary of the Mackenzie chief when he made a circuit of the Isles and where he was met by neighbouring chiefs. Bishop Leslie, together with Seòras, Earl of Seaforth and the chiefs of Dunvegan, Duart and Sleat also made substantial contributions to a national fundraising drive by the University of Glasgow between 1631 and 1633, indicating their concern with education and training of clergy. While the exact reasons for Leslie's appearance at Duntulm remain opaque, this deed of 1632 shows he was present in the area, presumably discharging his episcopal office, at the meeting of the Synod.²¹⁹ The other attraction for the bishops of the Isles to the area was the revenue they drew from the fishing teinds of the Isles which was farmed out to tacksmen but proved troublesome to collect during this period.

as a new arrival and replacement for the other ministers. Morrison remained as minister until 1697. The ministers of the Presbytery of Skye which included Lewis were habitual non-attenders at meetings of the Argyll Synod in distant Inveraray, Dunoon or Rothesay and were suspected of slack practice, such as not preaching twice on the Lord's Day, failing to keep records and of wishing to break away from the Synod of Argyll's control. According to the late Rev. William Matheson, this family of Macleennans were known as 'Clèireach' in Gaelic, the latter name anglicised as 'Clerk'. D. Macdonald (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ* (St Andrews, 1981) vol. x, 376. D.C. MacTavish (ed.), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639–1661* (2 vols., SHS, Edinburgh, 1943–44), i, 64, 73, 78, 91, 202, 222–223; ii, 16, 17, 26–27, 114–115, 119. R.N. Smart, *Alphabetical register of the students, graduates and officials of the University of St Andrews, 1579–1747* (St Andrews, 2012), 433. SAUL, ms dep 75, Box 2, Bundle 3.

218 MacTavish (ed.), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll*, i, 35. FES, vii, 349.

219 Bishop Leslie lent 800 merks to Coinneach Mackenzie, parson of Snizort. This deed was witnessed, at Duntulm, 16 September 1632, by Mr Fearchar Macleennan, minister at Stornoway, and Mr Fearchar Fraser, minister Quinish, Mull. NRS, RD1/472, fol. 135. The following individuals made donations to the University of Glasgow – as did many other lairds and clergy from all over Scotland. Bishop Leslie donated 600 merks, Seaforth 400 merks, Macdonald of Sleat £100, and Macleod of Dunvegan, 100 merks. Several members of the Macleod family of Dunvegan, including Iain Mòr Macleod, the chief (1624), and also Sir Seumas Macdonald of Sleat (1634) attended the University of Glasgow in the 1620s and the 1630s. C. Innes (ed.), *Munimenta Alme Glasguensis Universitatis* (4 vols., Maitland Club, 1854), iii, 468–470. Nicolson, *History of Skye*, 75, 94. J. Bannerman, 'Gaelic endorsements of early seventeenth century legal documents', in, *Studia Celtica*, xiv/xv (1979–80), 18–33.

The tacksmen assigned the teind herring fishing of the Isles, Bryce Sempill of Cathcart and John Schaw, a merchant burghess of Edinburgh, were granted this by Leslie's predecessor, Bishop Knox, in 1621. Sempill and Shaw may have been caught up in tensions between Bishop Knox, their grantee, and the lord of the land, Seaforth, with whom they were in dispute over church revenues. Numerous legal documents survive which attest to the difficulty experienced by Shaw and Sempill in collecting this revenue. An Edinburgh merchant, George Broun, a business partner of the Mackenzies, successfully pursued them for having extracted payments from him at Lewis even though he had no taxable fish on board his boat at the time. The over zealous tax farmers had extracted the tax of twelve lasts of fish from Broun, 15 February 1631 who claimed that 'ther was no herring or fishe slane nor tane be the complenar, and that the fish they taxed belonged instead to Alasdair Mackenzie, chamberlain to the Earl of Seaforth. The non-co-operation of Alasdair of Achilty, implicit in this complaint, would pose problems for any tax collector. Sempill and Schaw also ran into opposition from the burghs who resented their uplifting of taxes. By early 1630s even the Bishops of the Isles, John Leslie and then Niall Campbell from 1634, from whom they held the tack of the teind fishing, were considering legal action against Sempill and Schaw.²²⁰ Sempill and Schaw finally relinquished their lease of the teind fishing of the Isles after a little over a decade, assigning this to Alexander Guthrie of Gagie by 1632. Guthrie seems to have been much more successful in collecting his revenues on behalf of the bishop – if not himself. This is suggested both by Guthrie's personal wealth and the careful list he made of the fishermen and merchants in Lewis, 1633–35, which included details of the amount of fish each vessel took and how much revenue they paid.²²¹

Guthrie's papers may shed some light on the revenue but have little to say on the nature of the church. The rival and successor Presbyterian institution, the Presbytery of Skye, established by its parent body the Synod of Argyll, and which ostensibly included Lewis, kept session and presbytery books from the

220 NRS, RH 9/4/2/1-28. NRS, GD 188/31, bundle 12. NRS, GD 30/200/1. NRS, CS 7/442, fol. 32v. M. Wood (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1604 to 1626* (Edinburgh, 1931), 274. *RCRBS*, iii, 204, 226, 246.

221 See also appendix D2 & D3. Guthrie pursued Mr Ewin McQuein, minister of Vaternish for non payment for episcopal dues from the lands of Snizort soon after taking up his tack in 1633. His papers include lists of the Fife fishing boats visiting the Isles, 1627–c.1635. Guthrie was a relative of John Guthrie, Bishop of Moray, 1623–49. Alexander Guthrie of Gagie died in November 1637, but was sufficiently wealthy to leave a mortification of 10,000 merks 'for bringing up of the yowthes at the schooles.' *FES*, vii, 351. NRS, GD 188/31/12/1-39. NRS, CC8/8/59/351. NRS, CS 7/461 fol. 275v.

early 1640s which have been lost.²²² The Tutor of Kintail, Ruairidh Mackenzie, had a tack from Bishop Knox of the kirks of rural Lewis in 1617, which were confirmed to his nephew, Cailean Mackenzie, the first Earl of Seaforth. Seaforth, a zealous Calvinist, with a reputation for planting or founding kirks, is traditionally thought to have erected a church in Stornoway in the 1631, dedicated to St Lennan. This structure was big enough to accommodate 200 Cromwellian soldiers garrisoned there in the 1650s although all that survives of this is a plan of the town made by the English soldiers and a bell which was, apparently, commissioned for use within this church.²²³ The Earl will, no doubt, have viewed the planting of kirks as an essential adjunct to secular plantation and Bishop Leslie set him a tack of teinds of the ‘...the parochines and parochie kirkis of Iy, Skeircladdoche callit the kirk of Barvas and SkearNis,’ in Lewis, reserving only the fishing teinds to his see, in 1632. In return for these revenues the Earl was to facilitate the operation of the kirks and the payment of the ministers’ stipends and Seaforth’s duties, as stipulated in this tack, included the supply of bread and wine for communion services.²²⁴ Captain John Dymes gave an account of the ‘ignorant’ and ‘idollatrous’ religious observance on the island, around 1630.²²⁵ According to Dymes there was only one minister based at Stornoway, possibly Mr Fearchar MacLennan, who may have been the minister that visited the vacant parish of Ness at the north of the island sometime before 1630 and tried to reform lingering pre-Reformation religious practices. Dymes’s account is supported from other sources, albeit somewhat later. Màrtainn Martin (1695) described how seasonal offerings had until shortly before his own time (c.1663), been made to ‘Shonny,’ a sea god, at Hallowtide, by the inhabitants of the north end of Lewis. A recently discovered letter from Iain Morrison of Bragar, Lewis, to his cousin, Mr Ailean Morrison, minister of Ness, 15 April 1700, giving an ‘accompt of some heathenish & superstitious rites

²²² MacTavish (ed.), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639–1651*, i, 37.

²²³ Seaforth was in the party that voted against the king over the Articles of Perth in 1621 against the imposition of Episcopalianism. He was devoutly religious and Calvinist and was reputed to have built churches throughout his lands. Seaforth’s religious sentiments were expressed in a letter to his brother, 1631. Calderwood, *Historie*, vii, 499. MacCoinnich, ‘Tùs gu Iarlachd’, i, 50, 313 & note 1133, ii, 442–443. Dennison & Coleman, *Historic Stornoway*, 25, 46, 47, 50–51, 62. *Highland Papers*, ii, 65. *RCAHMS*, 1928, 3.

²²⁴ Eaglais na h-Aoidhe (near Stornoway), Sgìre a’ Chladaich (Barabhas & district) & Sgìre Nis (Ness district) This was also a condition of similar tacks of teinds elsewhere in the Diocese of the Isles. This followed on from an earlier tack granted by then Bishop of the Isles, Andrew Knox, to the Tutor of Kintail in July & August 1617. NRS, RH 9/4/2/35. NRS, GD 274/19/3. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 61, 63.

²²⁵ Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 592.

in the Isle of Lewis' both corroborates Dymes's description and adds considerable detail to it.²²⁶

Despite these irregularities in terms of religious practice, the prosecution and burning of 'Christian Riache,' (Cairistìona Riabhach) and 'Marie McGillimichel' (Màiri NicGhilleMhìcheil), sisters accused of witchcraft at Stornoway in 1631, by authority of a Privy Council Commission led by the Mackenzie gentry, suggests that the Mackenzies took their religious and civic duty seriously. They adopted the same outlook as their peers elsewhere in Scotland, taking short shrift with witchcraft (or what was believed to be witchcraft).²²⁷ People suspected of witchcraft were persecuted much more widely in the Gaidhealtachd between 1577 and 1706 than has been realised. In Ross-shire alone the amount of people accused of witchcraft over this period amounted to 73 persons. A recent survey of Scottish witchcraft found that 23 members of clan Mackenzie were commissioners involved in prosecuting cases of witch-hunting during this time.²²⁸ Certainly there were no shortage of behaviour, 'charming' and superstition if not 'witchcraft', within Mackenzie lands (as in much of the rest of the Gaidhealtachd) during the seventeenth century which would exercise the religiously orthodox, from the sacrifice of bulls as a pick-me-up for the sick to the practices connected to holy wells and the pouring of milk on fairy knolls.²²⁹ It is impossible, without having more details about the

226 This account was discovered by Dr Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart who has published a detailed discussion of the letter, its historical context and traditions relating to these superstitious practices. Stiùbhart, 'Some heathenish and superstitious rites: a letter from Lewis, 1700,' 205–226.

227 The leading Mackenzies mentioned on the two witchcraft assizes were Murchadh Mackenzie of Mealbost, uncle to the Earl of Seaforth, Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty and his son Murchadh Mackenzie, baillie of Lewis. A Murchadh Mackenzie of Siadar is mentioned on the second commission it is not clear if this is the same as Achilty's son, together with a 'John Mckenzie of Ikolmekill (Eilean Chaluim Chille) and Rorie Mckenzie of Grace' (Griais). L. Yeoman (ed.), 'Witchcraft cases from the Register of Commission of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1630–1642,' in *Miscellany XIII of the Scottish History Society* (Edinburgh, 2004), 223–265, at 241–243. The forms of the names of the Mackenzie gentry here differ slightly from Yeoman's reading and are taken from the manuscript source, NLS, Adv. MS 31.3.10, fol. 9r.

228 L. Henderson, 'Witch-hunting and witch-belief in the Gàidhealtachd,' in J. Goodare, L. Martin & J. Miller (eds.), *Witchcraft and belief in early modern Scotland* (Palgrave, Basingstoke, 2008), 95–118. J. Goodare, L. Martin, J. Miller & L. Yeoman, *The Survey of Scottish Witchcraft, 1563–1736* (University of Edinburgh, online database, 2003), <http://www.shca.ed.ac.uk/Research/witches/>.

229 W. Mackay (ed.), *Records of the Presbyteries of Inverness and Dingwall, 1643–1688* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1896), xxxvii–xlii. Martin's *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, 1695, is replete with such tales.

Stornoway witchcraft cases, to know whether the victims of this trial were genuinely believed by the Mackenzies to be witches or whether these sisters were targeted for more cynical or opportunistic reasons.

Winning Hearts and Minds?

There may have been no shortage of motive for discord, although not perhaps opportunity to express it, among those Lewis people who had experienced a diminution in status and means following the onset of the Mackenzie plantation. The fact that some sporadic unrest continued for up to ten years after the plantation is unsurprising. The 'Ewill Trowbles of the Lewis' captures something of the critical tone taken by opponents of the Mackenzies, which was probably echoed throughout Ross, where relentless Mackenzie expansionism left a trail of discontent, and in neighbouring Sutherland, where Sir Robert Gordon and Gilbert Gordon of Sallagh were keenly aware of Mackenzie ambitions.²³⁰ One of the Mackenzie historians, writing around the 1670s was cognisant of this. His account of the Mackenzie takeover of Lewis was keen to stress the upright conduct of his own clan in contrast with '...all the murders' that occurred among the Macleods, whose predilection not only for violence but for fornication and illegitimacy had led them through 'God's providence' to their sorry state. Tellingly, the Mackenzie chronicler used this to stress the way in which the Macleods had forfeit their rights, and contrasted his tale of righteous conduct with the 'the fabulous & envious reports which is still pretended yea confirmed by ill set neighbours.'²³¹ The need to rebut such hostile spin may be one of several reasons for the plethora of Mackenzie manuscript histories, many of which seem to date, as we have them, from the period, 1660–1680, the very time when the clan were engaged in the suppression of the last semi-independent branch of Sìol Torcaill on the mainland, in Assynt. The Macleods of Assynt, the final branch of the clan to succumb to Mackenzie expropriation were compliant and defiant by turn in the face of mounting Mackenzie pressure. They held out until their stronghold of Ardvreck castle in Assynt was besieged and finally over-run in 1672 by the Earl of Seaforth.²³²

²³⁰ Gordon, *Sutherland*, 265–267, 484–485. Fraser (ed.), *The Sutherland Book*, ii, 350.

²³¹ ML, MS 591703 (SR. 177), 65.

²³² W.G. Scott-Moncrieff (ed.), *The Records of the Justiciary Court, Edinburgh, volume two, 1669–1678* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1905), 224–227, 244–247. MacCoinnich, 'Scribis le pen de shenchis'. Criomagan de Ghàidhlig ann an Eachdraidhean Bheurla Chlann Choinnich, c. 1550–1710, 173–174, 189–190.

While one of the other clans 'rooted out' in the reign of James VI, the MacGregors, have left a rich legacy of Gaelic poetry and song, not much survives from Gaelic sources or from oral tradition within Lewis which can give a window to the Macleod perspective on plantation.²³³ However, the 'Ewill Trowbles of the Lewes,' sympathetic to the Macleod point of view, and probably written sometime in the mid 1620s by an exiled member of the Macleods of Lewis offers some insight into how the process of Mackenzie plantation was viewed by the dispossessed.²³⁴ A letter of horning, obtained by the Mackenzies from against Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Dunvegan charged him with presenting fugitives from Lewis to the authorities in July 1614. These fugitives from Lewis, presumably skulking in the mountainous south of the island bordering the laird of Dunvegan's lands in Harris, remained in 'heiche contempt' of the law and were accused of using 'treasonable discours' among the natives, with a view to fomenting further rebellion.²³⁵

The nature of the 'treasonable discourse' spread by the rebels is not specified but a clue to the nature of Macleod complaints against the new regime can be seen in 'Ewill Trowbles'. The writer of this account not only raised doubts about the manner by which the Mackenzies had achieved possession of Lewis but even questioned the right of James VI to deprive the Macleods of Lewis in the first place, saying that Lewis was 'aledged' to be in the king's gift in 1598, querying the dubious legal nature of the forfeiture.²³⁶ The Macleod writer in the 1620s dismissed the civility argument advanced by the planters as specious, stating that the attempt at forming a colony was 'under pretence' of civilising.²³⁷ According to this writer, the rights of the Sìol Torcaill clansmen and tenants to their own land had been torn up by James VI's incorrect, at best,

233 The reasons for this may simply be that the Macgregors ranged widely throughout mainland Gaelic Scotland and were frequently sheltered by a variety of clans, aiding dissemination of their songs and sympathy for their cause. The surviving Macleods of Lewis, on the other hand, were forced to co-exist on the same island as their new masters. There was also much intermarriage between old natives and newcomers. After one or two generations any material critical of the Mackenzies would also have been critical of the ancestors of a great proportion of Lewis people. This may account for such an apparent lack of anti-Mackenzie traditions.

234 MacCoinnich, 'Mar Phòr san t-Uisge,' 221. See also the discussion elsewhere in this chapter.

235 NRS, DI 62/4, fol. 134.

236 *Highland Papers*, ii, 270.

237 This was echoed by the historian, William C. Mackenzie, 1901, who dismissed these justifications, labelling the planters, 'land grabbers.' *Highland Papers*, ii, 270. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 177–181, 258.

decision to expropriate and expunge the Macleod leadership. This was compounded (as was discussed in the previous chapter), by the equally troubling course taken by the planters in removing all the major tenants in Lewis, forcing them to quit their lands and replacing them with people of their own choosing. This pro-Macleod account stressed the role of the old natives as 'ancient' inhabitants who had, by custom, a right, perhaps, of *dùthchas* or kindness to continue in possession of their land, hinting at the way in which such developments were conceptualised within Gaelic society from the point of view of those being rooted out and subject to plantation.²³⁸

For contemporaries, arguments such as those made in 'Ewill Trowbles', emphasising the breach of customary rights may have struck a chord in contrast to the arbitrary and high handed approaches taken by Stewart monarchs and their placemen. This may also have had some traction more widely in the Highlands. This is suggested by the emphasis placed by the Mackenzies on the illegitimacy of their Macleod predecessors in Lewis, rather than on the Lowland mantra of 'incivility' or 'barbarism' and on their own connections to the legitimate heir Torcall Conanach as the means by which they replaced the Macleods. Little effort is placed by Mackenzie chroniclers on explaining the way in which they bought out the Fife Adventurers. For them (although not for the Macleods) this was uncontentious and was what their legal title was based on. The perceived grievances of the dispossessed Macleods remained an issue: thus the weight given by Mackenzie writers to their parallel inheritance of Torcall Conanach's rights which augmented the argument made by the Mackenzies to justify their rights to dispossess the Macleods.²³⁹ The clutch of Mackenzie family histories, which survives as a rebuttal to the arguments being put forward in 'Ewill Trowbles,' were written in the latter half of the seventeenth century. Despite (apparently) being written some fifty to sixty years after the event, the writers of the Mackenzie histories often stress that they spoke to old men who were eyewitnesses, and they can also provide an important alternative perspective on events. The Mackenzies used this assertion of the illegitimacy and the rebellious nature of the Macleods, rather than incivility, as the main justification for their intervention in Lewis and their expropriation of the Macleod lands. This was of little consolation for any surviving members of Siol Torcaill. If you lost your lands it made little difference whether

²³⁸ *Highland Papers*, ii, 270.

²³⁹ The Mackenzies bought out Torcall Conanach's rights to Strathconon in March 1612 for a sum of 10,500 merks. He was an old man by this stage, having been born sometime around 1540. He had died by 1624. NRS, CC 19/1/1, fol. 22. MacCoinnich, 'Siol Torcaill and their Lordship in the sixteenth century,' 12 & n. 18.

those who dispossessed you labelled you 'illegitimate' or 'barbarous' and little comfort if they addressed you in Ross-shire Gaelic rather than Fifeshire Scots.

As early as the 1590s, it had become clear that Torcall Conanach, the Mackenzie backed candidate, had little stomach for the effort involved in pressing the claim to Lewis. The Mackenzies, like other successful Highland clans, were assiduous in pressing their claims on all fronts and they used dynastic opportunism through arranged marriage as one means of tying up Torcall Conanach's claims to the Siol Torcaill inheritance. Rival claimants, if not executed, incarcerated or exiled, were dismissed as illegitimate. Torcall Conanach's two sons had died in the 1580s and by the early 1600s two of his daughters were married off to branches of the Mackenzies. Ruairidh Mackenzie the younger brother of the chief, Coinneach of Kintail, married Mairead 'nein Leoid' the eldest daughter and heiress of their favoured claimant, Torcall Conanach. Ruairidh was infetted in right of his wife in the Macleod lands of Coigeach in Wester Ross, in February 1606. A younger daughter, Seònaid Macleod, was married to Iain Mackenzie younger of Fairburn in 1614. In this way the Mackenzies sought to add more weight to their claim for the Macleod inheritance not only of the Macleod lands of Wester Ross but also to Lewis.²⁴⁰

Ruairidh Mackenzie and Mairead NicLeòid's descendants, the Mackenzie Earls of Cromartie, even took the honorary title Lord Macleod for their heirs and appropriated Macleod heraldry.²⁴¹ Furthermore Seòras Mackenzie of Tarbat, who became the first Earl of Cromartie, wrote a history sometime in the later seventeenth century justifying his family's earlier acquisition of Macleod lands, labelling the internecine strife of the Macleods as 'the 'wars of the bastards'. The Mackenzies argued that part of the reason that they, the Mackenzies, were accepted by the inhabitants of Lewis (unlike the Fife Adventurers) was that people were worn out with conflict, but also that the Tutor of Kintail, as husband of Torcall Conanach's heiress, carried with him a right to the land. That this might have some basis in fact, as opposed to being purely Mackenzie spin, is suggested by the behaviour of the Fife Adventurers when Torcall's wife, Mairead came to Lewis around 1601. They forbade her to leave the camp at Stornoway fearing she might rally support in lieu of her husband (see Chapter 3 above).

240 'Nein Leoid' was the female form of the surname Macleod now written in Gaelic as 'NicLeòid'. Mairead's younger sister, Seònaid married Iain Mackenzie, younger of Fairburn, contract dated 31 March & 8 April 1614. NRS, RS 36/2, fol. 6. NRS, RD 1/304, fol. 113. Appendix B1.

241 Cromartie, [Roderick G.F. Mackenzie, Earl of], *A Highland History* [by the Earl of Cromartie] (Berkhamstead, 1979), 181, 207. Fraser, *Cromartie*, ii, 248–351.

Eirthir nan Iasg – the Mackenzies in Lewis after 1610

The proliferation of Mackenzie histories – there are at least 28 such manuscripts from the seventeenth and eighteenth century – leaves the impression that they were concerned with countering the negative assertions of their rivals or enemies. The chances are that such sources, composed for uncertain motives half a century after the event, give a slightly distorted perspective on the importance this had for contemporaries in the decades after the Mackenzie occupation of Lewis.²⁴² The histories may, in this manner, afford a glimpse of events through the wrong end of the telescope. While they may give a good impression of the heat and fury of some disputes (from a Mackenzie point of view), they are less reliable for the humdrum everyday aspects of life. A line in a Gaelic poem composed by Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty, the first chamberlain of Lewis (1611 × 34), and another poem by his son Murchadh (c.1634 × 43), touch on the root cause for Mackenzie involvement in the island. Alasdair's poem, already mentioned above for its comment on the relationships between Hebridean clans and the Mackenzies, also refers to Alasdair's own role 'a' sgrìobhadh nan trosg' or making account of the codfish. Alasdair's son and successor as chamberlain, Murchadh referred to the Mackenzie's possessions in the Minch as 'eirthir nan iasg' or the fish coast.²⁴³ An informal name, such as this, used in a poem does not have the same resonance as the African coast-lines named for ivory or gold, but there is no doubt that there was money to be made in the fish trade in Lewis in much the same way as there was in contemporary Newfoundland.²⁴⁴

While much of the evidence for Mackenzie activity in their new plantation of Lewis, discussed above, is sketchy, much more detailed information survives on the development of their fishery under the direction of Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty, the Mackenzie chamberlain in the island, and a number of merchants he worked with in Stornoway. It is probable that the description of the fishery, dated 1 June 1631, in the Seaforth muniments, detailing the fisheries in

242 There are some 28 extant histories dating from the 17th and 18th centuries (some are copies of others and some are independent narratives) dating from this period with some 6 lost texts. MacCoinnich, 'Scribis le pen di shenchis.' *Criomagan de Ghàidhlig ann an eachdraidhean Bheurla Chloinn Choinnich*, ca. 1550–1711, 173–174 & 189–190.

243 'An Lair Dhonn,' by Murchadh Mòr (mac mhic Mhurchaidh) Mackenzie of Achilty. J. Mackenzie (ed.), *Sàr-Obair nam Bàrd Gaelach. The Beauties of Gaelic poetry and the lives of the Highland bards* (1841: John Grant, Edinburgh, 1907), 427–428. MacCoinnich, 'Long, fion is fine,' 126, 135, 139–141.

244 P. Pope, *Fish into wine. The Newfoundland plantation of the seventeenth century* (University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

every sea loch around the island, was written by Achilty for his master (appendix A1 & A2). Seaforth had this list and information in mind, later that month, when he was in London negotiating with Secretary of State Coke. Seaforth told Coke that time was of the essence if the fishing were to succeed and that much precious time would be wasted if his English undertakers went to fish without knowing the location of the best grounds.²⁴⁵ Achilty, as overseer of the fishing on behalf of Seaforth, played a central role in the administration of the fishery and could make or break any ventures in the waters of Lewis. The earliest documentary fix on Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty as being present on Lewis is from 1615, when he is referred to in his official capacity but he may well already have been present and performing this role since the Mackenzie arrival, five years earlier. The day to day running of Lewis, from c. 1611 to the mid 1630s, now seemed to be in the hands of two men, Alasdair of Achilty and Murchadh Mackenzie of Mealbost. They were placed there by Murchadh's brother, Ruairidh, the Tutor of Kintail, who directed all Mackenzie matters between 1611 and the coming of age of his nephew, Cailean, in 1618. Murchadh Mackenzie of Mealbost, the shadowy uncle of Cailean, Earl of Seaforth, was given 'certane' lands within Lewis by 1623, together with the constabulary of the castle of Stornoway and the office of bailliary of Lewis along with 'certane teinds' drawn from the island. Murchadh also had a dabhach of land at Inverewe on the mainland, thus giving him a landed interest on both sides of the Minch. By setting his uncle up in this way Seaforth not only gave him rights and responsibilities befitting his rank, but he clearly placed trust in him by handing him such a set of key strategic positions. These lands commanded anchorages on facing coasts and thus control of communication and transport between Seaforth's mainland and island possessions.²⁴⁶

It is unsurprising that a key appointments and grants would be made to a close relative. The appointment of the other prominent Mackenzie clan official in Lewis requires a little more examination. Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh or Alexander Mackenzie of Achilty, from an old, relatively distant, branch of the family first came to notice, probably as a young man, in the wars of his clan against the Macdonnells of Glengarry around 1600. There was no direct, close, blood or fosterage link between Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh and the hierarchy of the clan as far as is known. However, Alasdair's mother in law, Christiane Chalmer (nee Ross) was an aunt of Sine Ross the late mother of Cailean, Lord

245 '[...] for ye shall never have undertakeris till first they knaw q[huai]r to fish.... ..tyme is precious...' Seaforth, in London, 19 June 1631, to Secretary of State, John Coke. TNA, SP 16/194, fol. 34.

246 NRS, RD 1/372, fol. 133.

Kintail. It is impossible to be sure if this link was important. Another connection was made through Alasdair's father, Murchadh, who had been servitor to Coinneach, Lord Kintail, in 1606.²⁴⁷ Alasdair seems to have succeeded his father between 1609 and 1612 both in the lands of Achilty and in his role as a chamberlain for the Mackenzies: at least in the new acquisition of Lewis.²⁴⁸ Given the relative obscurity of the kin-linkages and what we know of his later career it may be that it was Alasdair's abilities as a man of business that caused the Tutor of Kintail and Cailean, Earl of Seaforth, to entrust him with the administration of the Mackenzie plantation of Lewis.

Some fragments can be gleaned from extant deeds which point to Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh's activities as chamberlain of Lewis. One of these was a transaction with an Edinburgh burgess where he bought 'twa aquavitae pottis' in March 1620, two pots for distilling whisky, no doubt intended for transportation back to Lewis. The production of whisky on the island was tightly controlled by the chamberlains of Lewis. Alasdair's reputation has rested largely not on his abilities as a distiller but on his surviving Gaelic poetry. However, this deed related to whisky, drawn up in his own hand, also shows his competence in English.²⁴⁹ Although nothing has been found yet by way of other evidence to tie Alasdair himself with 'an fhion as milse a thig bhon Fhraing' (the sweetest wine from France) which he referred to in one of his poems (see his poem in appendix D1, at verse 17), the circumstantial evidence is strong. His son, Murchadh made a contract with Walter Cant, an Edinburgh burgess at Leith in 1637, buying 'good wyne' worth £1160. This deed, a chance survival and discovery, together with other contemporary evidence, demonstrates that the Mackenzies, like other Scottish Gaels, were no strangers to the purchase of large quantities of wine.²⁵⁰ Indeed, Alasdair's poem connects 'sgriobhadh nan

247 NRS, RS 36/2, fol. 4. See also Appendix D1 & notes.

248 D. Warrand, *Some Mackenzie Pedigrees* (Inverness, 1965), 98, 132; NRS, CC 19/1/1, fol. 22.

249 Alasdair bought aquavitae pots worth £34.15 s. from 'Robert Huid, indweller in Potteraw,' 31 March 1620. Aquavitae pots for whisky distilling also appear in records from Glasgow at the same time. Lewis distilled whisky, made with oats, named 'treas-tarraing,' or thrice-distilled, was of such strength that it was described in an account from the 1690s, as being potentially fatal unless consumed carefully. Estate records from 1735 stated that no tacksman in Lewis could distil without a licence from the estate officer – possibly a long established rule. NRS, RD 1/305, fol. 55r; NRS, RD 11/1621/Feb. E.J. Cowan, 'Glaswegians. The first 1000 years.' In, E.J. Cowan & L. Henderson (eds.), *A history of everyday life in Medieval Scotland, 1000 to 1600* (Edinburgh, 2011), 253–273, at 270. M. Martin, *A description of the Western Islands of Scotland, 1695* (Birlinn, Edinburgh 1999), 14. SAUL, ms dep 75/3/12/11.

250 Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail bought wines worth £1084 in September 1603 from James Schaw, an Edinburgh merchant. Kintail also bought '[...] certane gude and sufficient Frenshe wyne...' from George Cunningham, an Edinburgh merchant in February 1610.

trosg' or accounting the cod with the supply of wine. Alasdair's observation on the nature of exchange of fish with wine was shared by his contemporaries in wider Atlantic contexts, such as the English merchants and fishermen in Newfoundland, not least John Mason, a former governor of Newfoundland, who returned to Lewis in 1630 (see below, Chapter 6).²⁵¹

Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh's poem also names 'long' (or ship) in conjunction with wine and here the evidence is even stronger. Alasdair hired a vessel, the 'Good Fortune,' from Matthew Mowbray, an Orkney merchant in August 1625. Mowbray himself had been hired, along with his ship by Mackenzie, to convey goods to and fro between Stornoway and Leith. The only reason that evidence survives of this is that there was a dispute between both parties in September 1628 – otherwise the details of this deal describing this may not have been recorded.²⁵² Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh, chamberlain of Lewis, hired another ship, named *the Jonet*, from William Sandirson, another Orcadian merchant in May 1630. Again, this ship was intended to ship goods back and forward from Stornoway to eastern Scottish and English ports:

...the s[ai]d skipper [Sandirson] obleiss him to transport the said bark and guids directlie to Starnaway in the Lewes or ony uthr port or portis thr or ylland hearbor...and Alexr Mckenzie sall furneiss and provid ane pylat within the yllands and immediatlie the said skipper obleiss him to transport the said bark and guidis direct as Godwilling ather to Abirdene or to ony uthr port in Scotland or England....²⁵³

These deeds only survived as they happened to be registered in Edinburgh but are likely to have been fairly regular transactions. The household accounts of Cailean Cam Mackenzie survive for only one year, 1569, and it is clear from this that wine was commonplace. A list of commodities, the 'gueiring' for the fishing, 1636, similarly shows the ubiquitous nature of wine (and aqua vitae) in Mackenzie lands. The neighbouring Macleod of Harris (they bought wine worth £140 from Glasgow in 1607) and the Fraser clan, similarly, were well supplied with wine and the Privy Council saw fit to attempt to restrict the trade in the Hebrides in 1609. NRS, RD 1/98, fol. 215v. NRS, RD 1/164, fol. 44. NRS, RD 1/530, fol. 164v. NRS, RD 1/206, fol. 211. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', 393, 399, 534. D. Gregory, *History of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 332. *Chron. Frasers*, xxxv, xxxvi, 217, 238, 245, 255, 277, 282, 294, 315, 384. Grant & Cheape, *Periods of Highland History*, 162–163. Kay & Maclean, *Knee Deep in Claret. A celebration of wine and Scotland*, 127–140.

251 Pope, *Fish into wine. The Newfoundland plantation of the seventeenth century*, 349–359.

252 Mowbray took a complaint against Mackenzie to the Admiralty Court, alleging that he had not been fully paid for his work. Mowbray won his case and Mackenzie was forced to pay £45 in costs. NRS, AC 7/2, fol. 94.

253 Contract, Leith, 19 May 1630, Alexander Mackenzie of Achilty and William Sandirson, NRS, RD 1/434, fol. 56v.

Aberdeen port records shed a fitful light on the goods being transported out of Lewis, during part of the period of Alasdair's stewardship of Lewis between 1623 and 1635. This shows the movement of fish, especially cod, ling and herring to Leith, if not Aberdeen, and the movement of salt, beer and wine northwards. By searching for entries in the Aberdeen port records for the names of those known to be active in Lewis, or partially resident there, merchants such as Robert Innes, Iain Mackay of Thurso, Alexander Manson and Raibeart Campbell, the impression of this activity is widened further.²⁵⁴ A bond made by Edinburgh traders with Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh in August 1631, illustrates the type of transactions that were taking place.

[...] Robert Strauchene servitor to Mr James Strachane merch[and] burges of Ed[inburg]h grantis me to be iustlie adebtit and resten awand to Alex[ande]r Mckenzie of Achiltie the sowm of sevintene hundreth poundis lau[chfu]ll money of Scotland and that for certene dry lingis & kelling guid & sufficient to my contentment bocht & ressavit be me fra the said Alex[ande]r here at Stornoway [...]²⁵⁵

Although the evidence is fragmentary, the number of ships and skippers (appendix D6) that can be seen visiting Lewis in the decades after the start of the Mackenzies plantation show strong, sustained, patterns of trade between Lewis and east coast Scottish destinations, not only Aberdeen and Leith, as mentioned above, but Edinburgh, the Fife ports, Dundee and Orkney with Englishmen appearing in some numbers in the 1630s (Chapter 6). Those Scots merchants most closely associated with Lewis under the direction of the Mackenzie regime, such as Innes, Mackay, Manson and Campbell give an impression of a thriving trade centred on the port of Stornoway. The first three names suggest a strong Caithness or east Sutherland influence on the mercantile community fostered in Lewis by the Mackenzies. This is also suggested by the presence in Lewis of Iain Gunn, another man bearing a Caithness name, initially, in Stornoway in 1620 as a servitor or apprentice to Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty but who continued in Stornoway for some time thereafter. Gunn was designated as a merchant and burges of Stornoway in 1628 and evidence survives showing him engaged in the herring trade in 1631 and 1632.²⁵⁶ The Mackenzies controlled another burgh, Chanonry, on the east coast, and a burges from Chanonry, John

254 Appendix D4, 'Lewis trade in the Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts.' L.B. Taylor (ed.), *Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts, 1596–1670* (Aberdeen, 1972), 115, 122, 126, 137, 193, 213, 234–235.

255 NRS, RD 1/445, fol. 71.

256 Appendix D2-3 & D5. NRS, NRS, RD 1/305, fol. 55r.

Leslie, who had family connections in Orkney, was also active in Stornoway between at least 1620 until he was forfeited for debt in 1628. Leslie's wife, Urquhell, seems to have continued to run his fishery business in Lewis for some years after this, being active in the trade in 1631 and 1632.²⁵⁷

The names of the Edinburgh merchants with whom the Mackenzies did business can also only be glimpsed in a fragmentary manner giving a glimpse of what must have been a regular trade (appendix D7). This parallels the list of names that can be demonstrated as having been present in Lewis, above, with a number of merchants, mainly from Edinburgh and Leith engaged in regular reciprocal commercial transactions with Lewis. The bonds show the lending of moneys, materials coming out of Lewis such as fish, marts and plaiding, with goods such as wine and the un-named 'good and sufficient merchandise' moving north (appendices, D2, D3, D4, D6, D7). One notable name amongst those Edinburgh merchants was one of their own clan, Dùbghall Mackenzie. Dùbghall, attended Marischal College in Aberdeen in 1611, and possibly St Andrews 1612–13, was in the company of Mackenzie of Davochmaluaig in 1612 and appears in Stornoway, as a witness to a Mackenzie sasine in 1615. From there Dùbghall was despatched to Edinburgh, where he was apprenticed to a merchant, John Sinclair, whose name might suggest a northern origin. Sinclair, although his origins remain obscure, had long standing links with the north, and may have been associated with the Fife Adventurers, ten or more years earlier. Dùbghall Mackenzie had an eventful apprenticeship, having had 'carnall copulation' with Christian Simson, John Sinclair's servant, who bore him a child out of wedlock in 1616. Dùbghall married Christian and by 1620 was established in Edinburgh as a merchant in his own right.²⁵⁸ Dùbghall was present again at Stornoway in his capacity as a merchant burghess in 1623 and

257 John Leslie, had been active in trade in Stornoway sometime of the Chanonry of Ross, was pursued for debts of £480 by Andrew Boyd, merchant burghess of Dundee in 1628. His goods, gear and cattle were all granted to Alasdair Mackenzie, chamberlain in Lewis. Leslie had died sometime before 1634. NRS, RD 1/347, fol. 440r. RD 1/364, fol. 44r. NRS, PS 1/100, fol. 369. Appendix D2 & D3. 'Inquisitiones de Tutela', *Retours*, ii, 506.

258 John Sinclair was granted the escheat in 1619 of the goods of Thomas Moneyepenny of Kinkell for debts of 2380 merks, incurred by Kinkell's father in law, former Lewis planter, Sir James Spens. This is unlikely to have been coincidental. Sinclair also had debts owing to him of 5000 merks from Iain Mackenzie of Lochslin in 1630. NRS, PS 1/98, fol. 354v. NRS, RD1/431, fol. 463. RD1/433, fol. 2. For Dùbghall Mackenzie, see, NRS, RD 1/254, fol. 240. NRS, NP 1/67A, fol. 94–95. C.B. Boog Watson (ed.), *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Bretheren, 1406–1700* (Edinburgh, 1929), 329. H. Paton (ed.), *Edinburgh Marriage Register* (Edinburgh, 1905), 439. P.J. Anderson, *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis. Selections from the records of the Marischal College and University, MDXCIII–MDCCCLX.*

1626, and subsequently in Edinburgh, negotiating deals relating to cattle and plaiding with Alasdair of Achilty.²⁵⁹ In placing one of their own number amongst the Edinburgh merchant class the Mackenzies may have been attempting to develop a more favourable trading relationship with Edinburgh. A similar tactic was adopted by their neighbours, the Bains, in 1616, by the Rosses and probably by other Highland kindreds as well.²⁶⁰ If this had been the intention, it may have only partially successful as the surviving deeds relating to the Mackenzies and other clans show them in business with a wide range of burgesses and not necessarily with their own kinsmen. Having their own man in Edinburgh, however, must have been to the clan's benefit. The granting of free burgh tickets to a number of Hebridean and Highland chiefs, 1617 and 1623, also reflects the growing importance to Edinburgh (as probably to other burghs) of this Highland trade.²⁶¹ The Mackenzies, moreover, under the direction of the Earl of Seaforth had ambitions in the early 1620s to further develop their commercial operations both in their Lewis fishery and in their nearby iron works. It may have been that they felt that the Scots burghal monopolies were stifling their business and they sought additional business partners.

Conclusion

The Mackenzie conquest of Lewis has tended to be viewed by historians as the result of failure of crown policy of plantation and dismissed as a resort, essentially, to the older, 'tried and trusted' methods of setting one barbarous Gaelic clan against another. Such a perspective misses the significance of the

Volume 2 (Aberdeen, 1898), 189. Smart, *Alphabetical register of the students, graduates and officials of the University of St Andrews, 1579–1747*, 376.

259 NRS, RD 1/347, fol. 440r. RD 1/383, fol. 253. RD 1/392, fol. 416. RD 1/398, fol. 393.

260 Dòmhnall Bain, from Ross, was bowyer burghess of Edinburgh from 1616 and had a number of deals with fellow Highlanders. The Rosses of Balnagown cultivated relationships with a number of burgesses bearing the name Ross, almost certainly kinsmen, in Edinburgh from the 1590s. Aulay MacAulay of Ardincaple borrowed money from an Edinburgh burghess bearing the same name in 1611. NRS, RD 1/55, fol. 425r, 425v. RD 1/68, fol. 60v, 62v. RD 1/81/2, fol. 144. RD 1/82, fol. 104v. RD 1/86, fol. 267. RD 1/91, fol. 452v. RD 1/181, fol. 222. RD 1/133, fol. 198v. RD 1/290, fol. 209, 370. RD 1/305, fol. 55r. RD 1/414, fol. 408. NRS, CC 8/8/58/115.

261 Boog-Watson (ed.), *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Bretheren, 1406–1700*, 42, 93, 325, 331. M. Wood (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1604 to 1626* (Edinburgh, 1931), 241, 245.

Mackenzie acquisition of Lewis. The shift from Lowland plantation to Mackenzie plantation was an integral part of the Jacobean 'state formation' process, representing not so much a failure following the collapse of the Fife Adventurer scheme, as a pragmatic and practical alternative. The Mackenzie presence, made good by substantial in-migration from Ross-shire to Lewis, was essential in guaranteeing the Jacobean settlement in the northern Hebrides. Mackenzie boots on the ground now had a vested interest in ensuring that the ideas trailed in the Statutes of Iona would be put into practice. The entrepreneurial Mackenzies were given a further incentive to develop the North Minch area by taking on great burdens of debt. They not only bound themselves to buy out the Fife Adventurers, for a substantial sum, but they were also granted superiorities over the neighbouring chiefs such as those of Sleat and Dunvegan. These neighbouring chiefs, *Fir Innse Gall*, were obliged to make substantial payments to the Mackenzies to secure their lands of Trotternish and Vaternish. In the case of default, for these and other mounting debts owed by Hebridean clans, those who failed to pay could be pursued with the full force of the law and expropriated in a way which had been unthinkable in the late sixteenth century. This mired these clans ever more firmly in the legal and financial quicksands of the Scottish and British State.

Yet, while much of the historical narrative on State formation and the Hebrides focuses on the concerns of the King and the Privy Council, the perspective of the Mackenzie clan was different: they had their own agenda. A poem by Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty, the chamberlain of Lewis, gives a unique Gaelic perspective on how the dominant kindred in the north west Highlands viewed their relationship with their neighbours, *Fir Innse Gall*, which shows the Mackenzies, naturally, at the centre of a web of clanship and cordial affinity – on Mackenzie terms of course. One imagines that those included in this Mackenzie-orientated network, proud, formerly fiercely independent chiefs such as Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Harris and Dòmhnall Gorm of Sleat must have grated their teeth at the world in which they now found themselves. The alternatives, however, were, as discovered by Siol Torcaill or Gaelic kindreds in Ireland, even less palatable.

The Mackenzies, unlike their Lowland predecessors, were culturally similar with the Lewis people: they operated in Gaelic and, to an extent, according to the mores of Gaelic society. This meant that they were better able to integrate the Lordship of Lewis into the Mackenzie polity and that culturally, at least, the Mackenzies were a better fit in the area than the Fife Adventurers had been. This does not mean that the Mackenzies were necessarily better received by the population of Lewis than the Lowland planters who preceded them. They were every bit as ruthless as the Fife Adventurers had been and the reputation of

Ruairidh Mackenzie, Tutor of Kintail, the hardnosed, commercially-orientated leader of the Mackenzie clan, 1611–18, as an unyielding landlord and hard task-master became proverbial in Gaelic.

The Mackenzies, unlike the Fife Adventurers, could be easily re-supplied from the neighbouring Ross-shire mainland. This meant that it would be much harder for the remnants of Siol Torcaill to continue with a sustained meaningful resistance as it was much easier for the Mackenzies to maintain pressure on them over the long-term and wear them down. In addition, the Mackenzies also possessed a tenuous claim to inherit the Siol Torcaill Lordship through Ruairidh Mackenzie's marriage to Torcall Conanach's daughter. This may, or may not, have helped win some people over, but the threat of interminable future raiding or warfare may well have. The conflict-weary Lewis people finally succumbed to the new order shortly after the arrival of the Mackenzies – with the significant exception of the remaining hierarchy of Siol Torcaill. The Mackenzies assiduously rooted out the local association of Siol Torcaill. This meant first of all that they had to tackle the wily and dangerous neighbouring clan chief, Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Harris and Dunvegan, who had long and enduring ties of kin and friendship with his Lewis namesakes. For the Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan the price of their survival as a clan was not only abandonment of their former friends, the Macleods of Lewis: they also had to actively seek them and hunt them down for the Mackenzies, their new 'friends'. Similarly, the price of survival and rehabilitation for the *brìtheamh* and Macaulay kindreds within Lewis was complete abandonment of their former Siol Torcaill masters and unquestioning adherence to the new regime.

Having neutralised the Harris and Dunvegan chief, and made an accommodation with the *brìtheamh* and Macaulay kindreds within the Lordship of Lewis, the increasingly isolated Niall Odhar and the remnants of Siol Torcaill became an easier problem to deal with. There was no point for the Mackenzies in making peace with the remaining hierarchies of Siol Torcaill or in attempting to rehabilitate them – they knew that the former lords of the island would be unlikely to easily accept a diminished status and allowing them to remain in-situ merely stored up trouble for the future. The Macleods did not continue in rebellion merely because they were mad, bad and dangerous to know – which is the impression given by many of the extant official sources. The refusal of the Mackenzies to give tacks of land in Lewis to Niall Odhar Macleod and his associates and the wholesale importation by the Mackenzies of mainland Ross-shire men to populate Lewis tacks simply meant that there was no place for the redundant Macleod hierarchies in the new order. The remnants of Siol Torcaill and their friends remained in rebellion after 1610 due to their desperation and because they had no alternative.

The Mackenzies systematically exploited all the possible resources on the island maximising returns from cattle-farming, in particular, and intensively working the land inasmuch as this was possible. Their priority, after having settled the land was the development of the fishery and, within months after having conquered Lewis, the Mackenzies made their presence felt by extracting levies from visiting fishermen. The Mackenzies, under the direction of Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty, also sought to develop and grow their own fishing trade. For Cailean Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth, his plantation, as he himself termed it, needed to be developed. The country was settled with orderly tenants, churches were planted and the town was developed, but in order to grow to its potential as a civil town, Stornoway needed to achieve the status of a burgh with full trading rights – with specialists brought in to help build and develop this trade and take it to the next level. The next chapter will examine the way in which the Mackenzies attempted to reach this goal.

The Mackenzie and the Dutch, 1628–1631

Introduction

Many studies involving Scotland and Europe and the early modern period in recent decades have focused on the extensive Scottish emigration to Europe, and on the success of the Scots on interacting and assimilating with host communities and markets in Europe. This has mostly focused on the contribution of the southern and eastern half of Scotland, rather than the north west. The north west of Scotland has, as was outlined in previous chapters, typically been portrayed by contemporary (southern) Scotsmen, James VI downwards as backwards, barbarous (and/or Gaelic) to varying degrees in contrast to the more urban, civil and commercial south. Such backward people were, it was often thought, unable to develop commerce. The corollary of this was that the Highlanders or Gaels being economically (and, perhaps, culturally) disadvantaged were in need of ‘civilitie’ and, of course, ‘civilised’ people to set them an example.¹ These contemporary attitudes have, arguably, permeated much subsequent historical writing and continue to do so due to the necessary reliance on unsympathetic source material. This chapter, while bearing these issues in mind, will examine the efforts the Mackenzie clan in north western Scotland to develop and consolidate their fishery through their use of external European links, with the Netherlands in particular, 1628–31, and their attempts at using these external connections within a Scottish context.

Northern and western Scotland contained some of the wealthiest fishing grounds in Europe in the early modern period. The Isle of Lewis with its natural harbour at Stornoway, half way between the Shetlands and Ireland located beside the migratory route of the herring, was as a result economically and strategically important. Dutch fishermen and traders were active, at least towards the northern end of these waters, from the 1540s in substantial numbers.² Shetland, not formally annexed to the Scottish Crown until 1614, remained the main focus for the Dutch fishing effort in Scottish waters,

1 See A. Williamson, ‘Scots, Indians and Empire: The Scottish Politics of Civilisation,’ *Past and Present*, 150 (1996), 50–53. A. Calder, *Revolutionary Empire: The Rise of the English Speaking Empires from the fifteenth century to the 1780s* (London, 1981), 79–82.

2 R.K. Hannay & D. Hay (eds.), *The Letters of James V* (Edinburgh, 1954), 408–9. The words ‘Dutch,’ ‘Hollanders’ and ‘Flemings’ were used indiscriminately in contemporary descriptions.

throughout the seventeenth century.³ However, the Dutch may also have ranged further south into the North Minch and into the waters around Lewis. The Scots, while seemingly content to tolerate a Dutch presence in Shetland sought to keep Hebridean fisheries firmly under domestic control by the later 1590s with the attempted plantation of Lowlanders at Stornoway.

As was seen in the last chapter, the Mackenzies successfully took over the failed plantation based at Stornoway and exerted a strong influence on the fishing effort of the North Minch region from around 1610–1611 onwards. While most of the fishing vessels working in the area came from east coast Scottish burghs, the Mackenzies themselves sought to develop the locally based fishing effort. A thriving, although small, mercantile community became established at Stornoway in the decades after 1611, very much focused on the fishery with a regular trade emerging between Stornoway to Leith, often via Aberdeen. Although the Mackenzies subsequently continued to try to develop their fishing industry in the following decades, the number of boats and catching power remained relatively low.⁴ By 1628, Cailean Mackenzie the first Earl of Seaforth, well aware of Dutch expertise in this area, and possibly frustrated by Scottish burghal intransigence, sought help from the continent in order to develop this activity on his lands (and seas). The Dutch were not only led their competitors in terms of catching and processing herring, they also dominated the carrying trade to the Baltic, one of the main, and growing markets.⁵

Many of the individuals discussed here were from Zealand in the southern United Provinces in what is now the Netherlands.

- 3 Bremen and Hamburg merchants also had a strong presence on, and connections with Shetland. See Shaw, *The Northern and Western Isles of Scotland: Their Economy and Society in the Seventeenth Century*, 7, 37, 117–124, 173–182. K. Zickermann, *Across the German Sea. Early Modern Scottish Connections with the wider Elbe-Weser Region* (Brill, Leiden, 2013), 83–87, 129–133. The long term importance of the Shetlands relative to Lewis throughout the 17th Century is reflected in the catalogue of the Rotterdam notarial archive, Geementarchief Rotterdam, Oud Notarieel Archief (GAR, ONA), with over 50 references to ‘Hitland,’ or Shetland, in comparison to one for ‘Leeuwis’ (Lewis) <<http://www.gemeentearchief.rotterdam.nl/>>.
- 4 Taylor, *Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts*, 115, 122, 137. Captain Dymes was disparaging of the catching ability of the dozen local boats in 1630, in comparison with English ‘Newfoundlanders.’ Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 593. Appendices D4, D6, D7.
- 5 C.R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600–1800* (London, 1965), 67. R.W. Unger, ‘Dutch Herring, Technology, and International Trade in the Seventeenth Century,’ in, *The Journal of Economic History*, 40 (1980), 253–80, at 253–5, 257, 263, 267–271. J. de Vries & A. van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge, 1997), 250–251.

Highland Contacts and Networks

It has long been known that there was substantial Scottish contact with migration to Northern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, notably to Poland, Russia, Scandinavia, Northern Germany and the Netherlands. Long neglected, this topic has recently attracted the attention of scholars and this phenomenon has been the subject of a number of studies. Most of this work has concentrated on the activities of these Scots abroad.⁶ Although the majority of these migrants may have been from southern and eastern Scotland, at least some of these Scots included individuals and groups from Gaelic Scotland, an area comprising somewhere between half and a third of the landmass of the country at this time.⁷ Recent research has highlighted the presence of individuals and groups from several families of Gaelic clan origin, such as Maclean, Campbell, Munro, Mackenzies, who can be found in Sweden, and various other places in the continent during this period.⁸ Less work has been done on the impact of this on Scotland, far less the Highlands, although a recent paper has called attention to the impact returning migrants and exiles had on their home communities in Northern Scotland.⁹ Thomas Mackenzie, the Earl of Seaforth's brother, was himself a member of Mackay's regiment, and served, together with a number of his clansmen, in the thirty years war on the continent.¹⁰ At least one of his kinsmen, 'Joost' Mackenzie, seems to have settled in Norway

6 See for example, A. Mackillop & S. Murdoch (eds.), *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers c. 1600–1800* (Leiden, 2003). D. Catterall, *Community without borders: Scots migrants and the changing face of power in the Dutch Republic, c. 1600–1700* (Leiden, 2001). D. Worthington, *Scots in Habsburg Service, 1618–1648* (Leiden, 2004).

7 T.M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600–1815* (London, 2004), 1–30, and at 11. For a definition of Gaelic Scotland see MacCoinnich, "His Spirit was given only to warre," 133, note 2.

8 S. Murdoch, 'More than Just Mackays and Mercenaries,' *TGSJ*, 60 (1997–98), 161–186, at 170–177. S. Murdoch & A. Grosjean, *Scotland, Scandinavia and Northern Europe Database, 1580–1707*. <<http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/history/ssne/>> ['ssne' hereafter] The database has 31 Campbells, 23 Mackays, 28 Munros, 41 Rosses, 33 Macleans, 10 Mackenzies who were active in some capacity on the continent, 1580–1707. It is probable there were many more of whom there is no trace.

9 T. Brochard, 'Exile and Return from the Far North of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution,' in *Études écossaises*, 13 (2010), 19–39, at 24–27.

10 A genealogical manuscript, not corroborated by other sources, claims that Captain Thomas Mackenzie was a governor of Stralsund. Although his role in the city is unclear he was present there in 1628. *The Genealogy of the Mackenzies preceding the Year 1661, written in the year 1669 by a person of quality* (Dingwall 1843), 19. (*ssne*, 1, 31, 135). A. Grosjean, *An Unofficial Alliance: Scotland and Sweden 1569–1654* (Leiden, 2003), 86 & note 68. S. Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603–1660* (East Linton, 2003), 216.

and raised a family, with a son succeeding him in Danish/Norwegian service.¹¹ Mackays also played a prominent role in the armed forces of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, especially toward the latter end of the seventeenth century.¹² There was also a smaller, and earlier, Mackenzie presence in the United Provinces. A Daniel Mackenzie, discussed at length below, similarly served and settled in the Netherlands, c.1600–1618.¹³ The export by Mackenzies (and others from Easter Ross) of grain to Norway, 1621–1631, hints at the framework of such connections and the itinerary of Aberdonian David Anderson's ship in 1657, Lewis-Aberdeen-Netherlands-Gdansk-Norway, provides a further glimpse of forgotten mercantile networks.¹⁴ Given the importance of kin links to the 'clan' society from which these Scots migrants came, it is reasonable to assume that such links were often maintained and continued to be important both for the emigrants and their parent families.¹⁵

The presence of Gaels as part of these exile groups, anonymously 'Scottish' by dint of their proclivity for writing in Scots/English has been largely, although not wholly, overlooked.¹⁶ The Highlands of Scotland, however, is an area whose people have been depicted by their early modern contemporaries (and subsequently by some historians) as 'uncivilised' if not barbaric and unsuited to

11 George Mackenzies, a 'muster-master,' served with Mackay's Regiment (*SSNE*, 453), 1625–28. It would seem likely (although unproven) that this same George or Joost stayed in Denmark/Norway, married a 'Margrethe' and eventually reached the rank of Lieutenant Colonel (*SSNE*, 19), before his death in 1645. The son variously Joost/Jacob/Jorgen (*SSNE*, 8) seems to have married and settled in the Trondheim area (*SSNE*, 1227, 2566, 2597). For Mackays naturalising in Scandinavia see H.M. Key-Aberg, 'The Swedish Mackays,' *Celtic Monthly*, xix (1911), 114–116, 125–127.

12 I. Grimble, *Chief of Mackay* (Edinburgh, 1965/1993), 179–180.

13 Daniel Mackenzie and his family discussed below. An Alexander 'Mickingie, Schotsman,' a 'schoenmaker' or 'schoelapper' (cobbler) was resident in Rotterdam from 1625x28. GAR, ONA, 105/25/29, GAR, ONA, 188/192/291.

This from the online catalogue, <<http://www.gemeentearchief.rotterdam.nl/>>.

14 Ruairidh Mackenzie, the Tutor of Kintail, got a licence to export 50 chalders of barley furth of Scotland, March 1625 without recourse to a burgh. *RPCS*, xiii, 846. One estimate puts the amount of meal that left Easter Ross for Bergen, 1621–1631 at 10,000 bolls. E. Richards & M. Clough, *Cromartie: Highland Life* (Aberdeen, 1989), 42 & 464 (note 8). For Anderson's itinerary see Taylor, *Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts*, 379, 380, 403, 405. For measures of meal and barley see M. Robinson (ed.), *The Concise Scots Dictionary* (Edinburgh, 1985: 1996), 818.

15 Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 1–24. Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746*, Chapter 1–2.

16 Murdoch, 'More than Just Mackays and Mercenaries,' 170–177. Grimble, *The Chief of Mackay*, 79–105.

commerce. Although some progress has been made in challenging these stereotypes, notably by Dodgshon and Macinnes, they remain pervasive.¹⁷ These mindsets have subtly imposed themselves on the present with the early modern Gaelic world being perceived even by Highlanders themselves as a place that was conservative, remote and isolated.¹⁸ Clearly, the Highlands were not commercially orientated in the same manner as the Lowlands were. Nevertheless, the stock image of Gaelic Scots being inimical to commerce does not stand up to scrutiny. As has been seen in the previous chapter, a closer examination of the activities of the Mackenzies suggests that such paradigms can be challenged.

Mackenzie Commercial Initiatives & Dutch Contacts

The Mackenzies, as discussed in the previous chapter, were attempting to develop the lucrative fishing trade based at Lewis. The rental of the island of Lewis, the centre of Mackenzie fishing operations under the direction of Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty, was estimated by Captain Dymes, an Englishman who prepared a report for the British company of Fishing, another interested party, at 12,000 merks per annum in 1630. The post of baillie or chamberlain of the island was monopolised by various Mackenzie cadet families: Loggie, Applecross, Coul, Redcastle and Assynt in the latter half of the seventeenth century. By the later 1660s, when Cailean Mackenzie of Coul and Alasdair

17 James I, *The Workes* (London: 1616), 159. '[...] Fortunately, after the suppression of the rebellion [1745–6], the Highlands were being opened up, and the forests of the North could be exploited by the industries of the South.' H. Trevor-Roper, 'The Invention of Tradition: The Highland Tradition of Scotland,' (15–41) in E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), 15–41, at, 15–21. Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland*, 223, 283. cf. R.A. Dodgshon, *Chiefs to Landlords: Social and Economic Change in the Western Highlands and Islands c.1493–1820* (Edinburgh 1998). Macinnes, 'Making the plantations British, 1603–38,' in Ellis & Eßer (eds.), *Frontiers and the writing of history, 1500–1850*, 95–125.

18 The late Professor Derick S. Thomson, (1921–2012), was the founder of Gaelic publishing house, Gairm, a prominent Gaelic poet and the leading campaigner for Gaelic rights throughout the twentieth century. Yet even he was negatively influenced by this received history. D.S. Thomson, 'Influences of Medieval Thinking on the Gaelic World in Scotland, in the Sixteenth Century and Later,' in, M.F. Alamichel & D. Brewer (eds.), *The Middle Ages After the Middle Ages in the English Speaking World* (Woodbridge, 1997), 17–26, at 17, 24. D.S. Thomson, *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry* (2nd edition, Edinburgh, 1989), 58. For an alternative perspective on societies, opportunities and development see, J. Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel: A Short History of Everyone for the last 13,000 years* (London, 1997).

Mackenzie of Redcastle renegotiated their lease with Seaforth, this rental had risen to 18,000 merks. It was expressly stated in the contract that these tacksmen of Lewis were expected 'to improve the fishing and engage in the vending and selling of the same,' as a condition of their tack.¹⁹

While this increase may reflect Mackenzie indebtedness in the wake of the wars, 1637–51, rather than the fluctuation of herring prices, it is likely this rise also indicated an improvement in practices and yields from fishing.²⁰ If so, the Earls of Seaforth and their tenants and tacksmen had long worked hard at getting this improvement and one of the ways in which they achieved this outcome was by planting Lewis with Dutch experts in 1628. The Dutch were evidently keen to set up stations around the British Isles to pursue the herring.²¹ The Dutch fleet in the early seventeenth century habitually assembled in Bressay sound in Shetland by midsummer, before following the herring down the east coast all the way to Yarmouth. The Dutch apparently proposed to establish a fishing station at Peterhead, to take advantage of this through the offices of Keith, the Earl Marischal, sometime prior to 1618, a proposal that was not well received either by the burghs or by James VI. The 'discriptione,' however, although written for the benefit of Scots, mirrors, perhaps, the aspirations of Dutch fishermen, by also showing a keen interest in the harbours and anchorages of the western seaboard of Scotland.²² Dutch traders and fishermen also had a strong presence in Ireland throughout the seventeenth century, and one group from Zealand tried to set up a base in Bantry Bay, Ireland, in 1629, paralleling, perhaps, the activity in Stornoway.²³

19 AUL, MS 2787/3/3/7/1. NRS, CC 12/3/2. Discharge (1671), letter of tack of the Lewis, granted by Coinneach Earl of Seaforth to Alasdair Mackenzie younger of Coul and Cailean Mackenzie of Redcastle, 1661. AUL Kincaig Papers. 'Accompt of what my Lord s[houl]d be paid of the Lews pub[lic] dewtie. 1669,' and, 'Mutuall agreement, 1666.' Both from bundles in the 'Mackenzie of Kincaig Papers,' part of the Ledingham Chalmers papers at Aberdeen University Library. Thanks to Mr Graham Hunter, Aberdeen, for informing me about these documents. Dymes's account in, Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 593.

20 For data on the fluctuations in herring prices in the United Provinces and in Gdansk, 1590–1670, see R. Unger, *Dutch Herring*, 267–272.

21 Hannay & Hay (eds.), *The Letters of James V*, 408–9. An agreement was reached by the Scottish crown with the Dutch in 1594 excluding them from within 28 miles of the Scots shore. See J.R. Elder, *The Royal Fishery Companies of the Seventeenth Century* (Aberdeen, 1912), Chapters 1–3.

22 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 587. 'Ane discriptione of the course that the Flemmings taks to fish in the seas [...]' NRS, GD 46/18/147. Appendix E 7, paragraph 9.

23 R. Loeber, 'English and Irish Sources for the History of Dutch Economic Activity in Ireland, 1600–89,' in, *Irish Economic and Social History*, 8 (1981), 70–85, at 70–75.

It is probable that Seaforth, like many in the north and west before (and after) him, may have had a good relationship with the Dutch and found it more advantageous to deal with them than with the 'Scots' (Lowland Scots burgesses) and with the English, regarding the fish trade.²⁴ The 'Scots' (Lowland burgesses), had, as they saw it, a right to fish in these Scottish waters, and they were less prepared to tolerate concessions of any kind to Gaelic Scots with no burgess rights. Indeed as the burgesses saw it, they had legal rights to fish there, enforced through their networks of burghal political links, and through the Privy Council. They were irked by local harassment and foreign competition. The Dutch, on the other hand, operating farther from home, were, for good practical reasons, more likely to make an accommodation with locals in terms of offering to pay up on ground rents. There was a suspicion among Lowland Scottish burgesses that the Highlanders were trading with these visiting fishermen and circumventing their trading monopolies. There is evidence of these practices from Iceland and Denmark, from the early seventeenth century, which suggests that Dutch fishermen defied the Danish monopoly and routinely combined smuggling goods and illicit trade with Icelanders with their legitimate fishing activity.²⁵ By analogy it is probable that Seaforth and the inhabitants of the north-west coast of Scotland may well have been trading surreptitiously with the Dutch prior to 1628 in a similar manner. One such instance may have been what lay behind the fine of 100 merks imposed by the burgh of Edinburgh on a Dutch skipper named Brix Grundeis in 1625 for having transported goods, including iron, furth of the port of Leith to 'Carryn,' possibly Seaforth's lands of Lochcarron in Wester Ross, without making 'anie offer' to the town of Edinburgh.²⁶

In the case of Lewis case it is clear that it was Seaforth who approached the Dutch merchants and fishermen in with a view to developing Stornoway. He negotiated a deal by proxy, using the services of Captain Mungo Hamilton, an experienced officer who had seen service for over twenty years in the Scots Brigade in the Netherlands. Mungo Hamilton was related to the head of that name, a political ally of Seaforth.²⁷ Seaforth gave Captain Hamilton detailed

24 MacCoinnich, 'His Spirit was given only to warre,' 143–146.

25 D.W. Davies, *A Primer of Dutch Seventeenth Century Overseas Trade* (The Hague, 1961), 147–150.

26 Iron was being worked by Seaforth and his partners in Loch Carron and other places at this time and both raw materials and finished products were coming back and forward from the the Leith / Firth of Forth area to Wester Ross. Wood, *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, 1604 to 1626*, 268. A. MacCoinnich, 'Cleiffis of Irne: Clann Choinnich agus gnìomhachas Iarainn,' 137–152, at, 139–40, 144–145.

27 Appendix E1. Hamilton 'of Hameltoun' was an officer in Holland between 1606 and 1633 and married there to a Hester Sidenski. Ferguson, *Scots Brigades in Holland*, i, 70 & n., 324, 331, 352. GAR, ONA, 149/466/810 (from the archival catalogue: <<http://www.geementarchief>

directions as to how he could conduct his negotiations in May 1629, attempting to drive as hard a bargain as possible with the Dutch merchants (appendix E1 & E2). Seaforth emphasized Lewis's strategic location at the heart of the North Atlantic fishing grounds, and stressed this point in his instructions to his proxy telling him to make the point that there was nowhere in Europe where they could make as large a profit as with the 'Leuis cumpanie'.²⁸

One of the incentives that Seaforth offered his prospective Dutch partners was timber. This was a much sought after resource not only for building any new settlement but also for shipbuilding purposes.²⁹ He had an island full of mature oak and fir in Wester Ross, which he was willing to sell to the Dutch. Although Norwegian competition in this period may have been keen, Seaforth had the advantage of proximity, with the proposed timber supplies and facilities for processing timber, such as a sawmill, lying a short sea distance from the proposed Dutch settlement at Stornoway.³⁰ Seaforth, anxious to get a good bargain, instructed Hamilton to use the equivalent price he would get in England for this commodity as a baseline in his negotiations. In addition to this, Seaforth clearly had his eye on a more remunerative possibilities and instructed Hamilton to:

[...] deall for letters of mark to them against Hamborg and Lubik [and] uth[e]rs q[uh]a asists the kings Enemy, the Spanzard, and q[uha]t proportionn the[y] vald giue me of the pryse goods [...]³¹

.rotterdam.nl>). The Marquis of Hamilton and Seaforth were politically linked, around this time, Seaforth naming him as one of his 'friends' in 1631. Another document, January 1632, again refers in the passing to this even if it is not clear what the nature of the relationship was: '[...] the Earl of Seafort respects the Marqueis of Hamilton much and hath greit reason to do soe [...]' Seaforth's brother and heir, George, referred to this 'friendship,' between his late brother and the Marquis, in 1639. BL, Add. MS 39187, fol. 3r. NRS, GD 406/1/881. NRS, GD 52/94.

28 'Memor[andum] for Cap[tain] Mongo Hamiltoun.' 11 June 1628 x 31 May 1629. I am grateful to Dr Alasdair Ross, University of Stirling, for this reference. NRS, GD 46/18/139.

29 V.C. Bachman, *Peltries or plantations. The Economic policies of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, 1623–1639* (Baltimore, 1969), 68.

30 The Mackenzies had a sawmill on their lands prior to 1610. One possibility for the location of this island is Eilean Sùbhainn in Loch Ma'ruibhe (Loch Maree), the one island on Mackenzie's estates that fits the description in his instructions to his negotiator. OS, NG 920 720. For Scotto-Norwegian timber trade in this period see, A. Lillehammer, 'The Scottish Norwegian Timber Trade in the Stavanger area in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,' in, T.C. Smout (ed.), *Scotland and Europe 1200–1850* (Edinburgh, 1986), 97–111. NRS, GD 46/18/139. NRS, RD 1/192, fol. 305r–314v. NLS, Ch. 10779.

31 NRS, GD 46/18/139. Appendix E2.

The Scots had an ongoing reprisal war at sea with Hamburg ships, starting in 1628 and which was to run until 1643.³² Seaforth was aware of the wider context and clearly well-informed not only from his Dutch and Edinburgh contacts, but from his frequent visits to court in London.³³ The international and anti-Spanish dimensions were one factor which may have influenced Seaforth's choice of business partners such as Jan de Moor. Jan de Moor, one of the members of the Dutch company of Lewis, was also a founder member of the Dutch West India Company. This company had been set up, at least in part, to prey upon Spanish trade. Seaforth was also writing shortly after the capture of a fully laden Spanish treasure fleet worth 20 million florins by Admiral Pieter Hein of the Dutch West India Company near Cuba in 1628.³⁴ This was well known in Scotland and detailed list of the booty taken by Hein survives in a contemporary Scottish manuscript.³⁵ The Spanish had also recently moved against Dutch shipping to the Baltic. Spain had reached an accommodation with the town of Lubeck, to the prejudice of Dutch interests, in the Baltic in the 1620s. This imperiled Dutch trade with Gdansk, one of the most important herring markets of the seventeenth century.³⁶ By stressing this, the common enmity of Dutch and the British with the Spaniards, Seaforth was hoping to emphasize their common interests, hoping that this would also enable him

32 S. Murdoch, *Terror of the Seas, Scottish Maritime warfare, 1573–1713* (Brill, Leiden, 2010), 181–186.

33 The instructions Seaforth gave to Captain Mungo Hamilton prior to negotiations with the Dutch were issued from London, 1629. NRS, GD 46/18/142.

34 'The Company's foremost task was to carry on hostilities against Spain, with the aim of striking the enemy at the source of his wealth.' P. Geyl, *The History of the Dutch Speaking Peoples, 1555–1648* (London, 1932 & 1936: 2001), 478–9. C.C. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and the Wild Coast 1580–1680* (Assen, 1971), 100–101. J.I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford 1995), 497–8. G.M. Asher, *A Bibliographical and historical essay in the Dutch books and pamphlets relating to New Netherland* (Amsterdam, 1854–1867), 119–123, 180. W.J. Van Hoboken, 'The Dutch West India Company: the political background of its rise and decline,' in, J.S. Bromley & E.H. Kossman (eds.), *Britain and the Netherlands. Papers delivered to the Oxford-Netherlands conference, 1959* (London, 1959), 41–61, at 51–52, 56. E. Pijning, 'Idealism and power. The Dutch West India Company in the Brazil trade, 1630–1654,' in A.I. Macinnes & A.H. Williamson (eds.), *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603–1714. The Atlantic connection* (Brill, Leiden, 2006), 207–232, at 211–212.

35 'Goodes takin be the Hollanders being 30 shippes from the King [of] Spaine, his east Indian fleitt, being sexteine schippes in July 1628 or therby' NRS, GD 149/265/part 2/fol. 97a.

36 For the rivalry between Spain, 'the kings Enemy,' and Britain from 1625 to 1629 see, C. Russell, *Parliaments and English Politics, 1621–1629* (Oxford, 1979), 169, 246, 390. J.I. Israel, 'A Conflict of Empires: Spain and the Netherlands 1618–1648,' in, *Past and Present*, 76 (1977), 34–74, at 59. R.W. Unger, 'Dutch Herring,' 267 & note 25, 271.

to capitalize on any 'pryse goods' or plunder that came their way. Seaforth also had to guarantee that the Dutch would not be subject to penalty for previous transgression, notably the massacre of English traders at Amboina in the East Indies by Dutch colonists in 1623, a point seized on by enemies of Seaforth's scheme at court in London.³⁷ The Dutch, in their negotiations with Seaforth guarded against this, 1629x30, with a clause in their contract obliging him, as lord of the land to protect people, spiritual or temporal, 'for q[uha]t caus so evir thay may be fled or have come from the Netherlandis.'³⁸

Seaforth's links with and knowledge of Dutch affairs was greatly facilitated not only by Hamilton but by his own Mackenzie kinsmen, some of whom settled in the Netherlands, and were in Dutch military service. A Captain 'Mackinge' appears on record in a Dutch regiment in 1609 and 1610 in the same cohort as Hamilton. He had been in service in the Netherlands since 1600.³⁹ Daniel married Beatrix van Berchem and was succeeded in Dutch service by his son John.⁴⁰ Daniel, despite marrying and raising a family in the Netherlands, subsequently returned to Scotland. Captain Daniel (or Donald) was granted the lands of Balmungie, near Chanonrie (Fortrose) by Cailean Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth, 17 October 1617, as surety until Seaforth could repay the sum of 4000 merks he had borrowed of the Captain.⁴¹ Daniel died and his son John was retoured in his place in the lands of Balmungie in July 1622. John later resigned these lands, however, back to Seaforth upon receipt of the 4000 merks.⁴² The linguistic abilities of John's brother, Bernard, in Dutch and French were put to good use when he complemented Mungo Hamilton's efforts on Seaforth's behalf, negotiating treaties in Dutch and in French at Middelburg in 1630–31.⁴³ This Mackenzie family, naturalized in the Netherlands,

37 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 587. B. Coward, *The Stuart Age: England 1603–1714* (2nd ed, London, 1994), 262, 299. Calder, *Revolutionary Empire*, 111.

38 Appendix E5, paragraph 8 & 9.

39 For an overview of Scots in Dutch service in this period see H. Dunthorne, 'Scots in the Wars of the Low Countries, 1572–1648' in, G.G. Simpson (ed.), *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124–1994* (East Linton, 1996), 104–121.

40 Captain Mackingi, or Mackenzie (deceased, c. 1622) had been in Dutch service, 1600–1613. Ferguson, *Papers Illustrating the history of the Scots Brigade in the Service of the United Netherlands, 1572–1782*, Vol i, 60 & n., 74 215, 226–227. A. Mackenzie, *History of the Mackenzies, with a Genealogies of the Principal Families of the Name* (2nd ed, Inverness, 1894), 61. F.N. Reid, *The Earls of Ross and Their Descendants* (Edinburgh, 1894), 92.

41 NRS, RS 37/1, fol. 6–7. NRS, GD 305/1/166/7.

42 NRS, GD 305/1/166/7. 'Ross et Cromarty,' *Retours*, ii, 61.

43 Bernard was at the first earl of Seaforth's funeral 1633. Court of the Lord Lyon, Edinburgh, 'Funeral Escutcheons,' vol. 34, fol. 65–67. NRS, GD 46/18/141–2.

were also instrumental in arranging the purchase, presumably in the Netherlands, and transportation of an elaborately carved and furnished four poster bed from the Dutch East Indies to the Earl's seat at his estate in Brahan, Easter Ross.⁴⁴

The Mackenzies, like most of their fellow landowners in Scotland relied on their estates for their income. Cattle and agriculture formed the basis for their estate's wealth augmented by the salmon harvest. Like some of their counterparts in the south, nobles who exploited and developed natural resources around the Firth of Forth such as coal and salt, the Mackenzies similarly tried to maximize returns from their estate, although the lack of coal supplies militated against successful salt production.⁴⁵ They sought to do this not only in terms of extractive industry but by embracing new expertise and technology. There was a long native tradition of iron working in Wester Ross, with the tenants in some areas paying their rents with iron. The Mackenzies built on this and exploited it initially through a lease of their site and then by way of a partnership with Sir George Hay, who provided much needed political support as well as financial and technical expertise. The first blast furnace in Scotland as a result was constructed and operated on Mackenzie lands.⁴⁶ This was then developed by Seaforth in the 1620s through seeking further partners, raising capital and introducing English specialists to develop a munitions casting operation.

Seaforth led this consortium to raise capital, bearing most of the risk himself, and brought Nathaniel Udward and James Galloway, the former a noted monopolist and entrepreneur, on board as partners to develop the pre-existing

44 This bed, 'the Golden bed of Brahan,' survived the demolition of Brahan castle in the 1950s and was transported to Falkland castle, Fife, where it is currently on display. See the National Trust for Scotland guidebook, *Falkland Palace and Royal Burgh* (NTS, Edinburgh, 1995), 22 and facing plate. It also features on the SCRAN website (<http://www.scran.ac.uk/>), reference numbers, 000-000-521-020-C & 000-000-258-690-C. For materials imported into Ireland in this period by the Dutch see, R. Loeber, 'English and Irish Sources for the History of Dutch Economic Activity,' 74.

45 Another Highland laird, Seaforth's rival, Gilleasbuig Campbell, Lord Lorne, sought to develop coal seams on his lands in Kintyre from 1637, and use them to build salt pans at Campbeltown Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland*, 57–70. ICA, AT, xi, 787.

46 Mackenzie iron works are discussed in, MacCoinnich, "Cleiffis of Irne:" Clann Choinnich agus Gniomhachas Iarainn, c. 1569–1630,' 137–152. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' Caib. 5.2. J.M. Lindsay, 'The Iron Industry in the Highlands: Charcoal Blast Furnaces,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 56, (1977), 49–63, at 52. J.H. Lewis, 'The Charcoal Blast fired Furnaces of Scotland: a review,' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 114 (1984), 433–479, at 443.

blast furnace in the later 1620s.⁴⁷ They planned to use Seaforth's iron works to cast cannon, and the trial runs of both the new furnaces and the casting were completed successfully by 1628. Seaforth intended that the Dutch would provide a boost to his fishing enterprise in Stornoway in much the same way as his iron works had been improved by importing skilled and experienced workmen. Seaforth's tactic of bringing in outside specialists was a common practice throughout Europe. The Swedes, similarly, hired foreign expertise and used it to their own advantage. The copper and iron industries of Sweden were dominated by Dutch entrepreneurs such as Louis de Geer, the latter managing the Swedish armoury.⁴⁸ Indeed, one of the leading families of ironworkers in seventeenth century Sweden were the Mackays of Scottish, Highland, extraction.⁴⁹ Clearly the natural resources in the west Highlands were not on the same scale as those in Scandinavia, but the approach to bringing in specialists to develop production was no different. Seaforth also planned that the Dutch settlers in Stornoway would be dependent on him for supplies of wood, cattle, and that they would vend the 'ordynance shott and warrlyke engynes' produced on his estate. He specified this to his negotiator, Mungo Hamilton, 1628–1629, stressing the importance of the sale of guns stipulating a minimum acceptable price just as he had done for the sale of his timber.⁵⁰

These negotiations were successful, and they were concluded in a fifteen point agreement made by Captain Hamilton at Middelburg with a party of Dutchmen led by Arnold van Lodenstein, deputy of the admiralty of Zeeland,

47 Seaforth's partners, Chancellor Hay, and Lord Yester each put up a sixth of the total capital investment of 46,665 merks, in June 1628. Englishmen Sir Robert Vernon (Fordham), Richard Bathurst (Bromley), Denis Fleming (Camberwell), and Alexander Thomas (Lamberhurst), were brought on board to provide additional gun-founding expertise. Udward had been a gunrunner (among many other things) since at least 1622. *RPCS*, xiii, 59. James Galloway had a patent to manufacture ordnance from 1623. *RPCS*, xiii, 374. They were in partnership from 1626 if not earlier. *RPCS* (2nd ser.), i, 449, 482. *RPCS* (2nd ser.), ii, 64. Twenty eight of the workmen English authorities feared planned to leave with Udward are named in, Evans, (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1628 July –1629 April* (London 1958), no. 237, p. 71–72. NLS, Ch. 10779. NLS, MS 14476, fol. 18, 20.

48 Davies, *A Primer of Dutch seventeenth century Overseas Trade*, 13–14.

49 S. Murdoch, *Network North*, 186–8 & notes, 92, 93. H. Ågren & S. Simander, 'The Heritage of Isak Mackay: a Scottish-Swedish family in the iron industry in the late 17th and early 18th centuries' in, *Northern Studies. The Journal of the Scottish Society for Northern Studies*, 41 (2010), 41–66.

50 NLS, Ch. 10779. NLS, MS 14476, fol. 18, 20. '[As to] q[uha]t pryce they of the cumpanie vald give for the tunne of ordnance. My pryce is at leist tuentie four pound lib. sterling. This I may have in England [...]' 11 June 1628 x 31 May 1629. NRS, GD 46/18/139. Thanks to Dr Alasdair Ross, University of Stirling, for this last reference.

in June 1629 could be summarised as follows with regard to the settlement they reached:⁵¹

1. There was to be a free burgh at Stornoway where Dutchmen could live with the same privileges as their English and Scots counterparts, following on the royal letter of gift to Seaforth, May 1629. The Dutch settlers were to become naturalized citizens of Scotland.
2. The Dutch settlers there would have the right to fish southwards from Stornoway and northwards up as far as North Rona, taking herring, ling, cod and other fish.
3. The merchants could bring their families over with them to Lewis, would be subject to the laws of Scotland, and pay tax to Charles I. They could also bring in all sorts of merchandise and sell this in Scotland.
4. The new company was to have a monopoly in Lewis. Anyone infringing that monopoly was to be forfeit. Ships or goods seized as a result of such a forfeiture were to be split three ways between Seaforth, the burgh of Stornoway and the [Dutch] magistrate.
5. The Dutch undertakers were to get as much land as they need for building houses and lodgings and 'for drying of herring' (herring), and also timber and turf gratis. They were to have a rent of one guilder per household per annum for 21 years.
6. The [Dutch] Magistrate was to have full civil power over the Dutch citizens according to the laws of Scotland.
7. The burgesses of Stornoway were to make salt if they wished, but they had to pay 4 Dutch guilders per last they exported out of Lewis.⁵²

⁵¹ For the Admiralty of Zeeland, founded in 1572, one of five Dutch admiralties, see: J.D. Tracy, 'Herring Wars: The Hapsburg Netherlands and the struggle for control of the North Sea, ca. 1520–1560,' in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 24 (1993), 249–272, at 271–2. Contract dated at Middelburg in Zeeland 31 May 1629. Signed by [Mungo] Hamilton, Nicholas Cann, Jean de Dorpircorne, Arendt Lodinshyn, Jan de Moor, Ba[lthaza]r Van de Voorde, Johan Appelman. This taken from a translation from the original document, dated at the Hague, 7 June 1629. NRS, GD 46/20/Box 5. A photocopy of this document is in Stornoway Public Library, (numbered Ph 652). The names in this French-language document, 1630 appear as follows: M^{re} Bernard Maquegin [Mackenzie], Mons^r le comte de Zeafort, Capitain Mongo Hamelton, Johan Appelman, Jaspair van Bogairde, Nicolais Caun, Ba[lthasa]r van Voorde, Martin Corynsen Weyten. NRS, GD 46/18/142 (3). See appendix E3.

⁵² Zierikzee, from whence some of the Dutch settlers came, had forty salt boiling kettles in the mid 17th Century. Despite this, the Dutch salt production was still inadequate, relying on a (vulnerable) supply from the Spanish West Indies. Some 100 Dutch ships made this salt voyage each year in the early seventeenth century. There was thus every incentive for

8. Every person on Lewis was to pay 20/- Scots per head for exporting cattle and livestock unless it went directly into the mainland of Scotland ‘in the quarter pertaining to the said Earle.’
9. All ‘Walfisches...’ ...or like fishes that came to be cast or to be stranded on or about Lewis ‘shall be to the profit of the company,’ with £10 Scots bonus to the finder.⁵³
10. Stornua or Carlua were to receive all catches of the ships of the company. All catches were to be declared there in full. Any goods withheld were liable to forfeiture.⁵⁴
11. All accounts were to be ‘uprightly done.’
12. Those living in all the parishes of Lewis were to be bound to preserve the company of Lewis and the indwellers were to make a fort or hall in the ‘isle lying in the bay of Stornowaye,’ to place ordinance on it as it was a ‘very fit and round place to frie the whole bay.’⁵⁵
13. Seaforth promised to free the settlers if they should happen to be blown ashore by storms, or chased by pirates into any port either in Scotland or England, ‘without costes or charges’ if they were detained.⁵⁶

the Dutch (as there was for others) to develop alternative supplies. Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 1000. Asher, *A Bibliographical and Historical Essay*, 33.

- 53 Whaling was a valuable trade, and had been the source of much rivalry between the Dutch, Scots, English, and Danes in the Arctic. Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart*, 32–3. Shaw, *The Northern and Western Isles of Scotland*, 127. See also the discussion in the previous chapter.
- 54 Steòrnabhagh (Stornoway) OS, NB 425 325, and Càrlabhagh (Carloway) OS, NB 200 425. The two best natural harbours on the island.
- 55 This would be Eilean nan Gobhar or Goat Island, known at the time as ‘Island Birroll.’ OS, NB 425 322. ‘The Lough of Stornoway’ (1580x1630), TNA, SP 52/72. The Cromwellian garrison later occupied the island for this reason. E.P. Dennison & R. Coleman, *Historic Stornoway: The Scottish Burgh Survey* (Edinburgh, 1997), 24–27.
- 56 For difficulties experienced by Dutch shipping in English and Irish ports, J.C. Appleby (ed.), *Calendar of Material Relating to Ireland From the High Court of Admiralty Examinations 1536–1641* (Dublin, 1992), no. 680, p. 157. A.B. Hinds (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Venetian XXII, 1629–1632* (London, 1919), 502. According to a Scottish legal writer, ‘strangers incurring shipwracke in Scotland suld haif the samin favour and grace of us that our people in like cause use to receave on thair coast.’ W. Welwod, *The Sea Law of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1590: facsimile reprint, Amsterdam 1969), tit. 14, ‘of schipwracke.’ Welwood’s statement sounds like wishful thinking. Around the time the Dutch settlers negotiated with Mackenzie for Lewis, *the Orange Trie*, a Dutch waughter, was beached on Fife Ness, November 1629, and plundered by the local people. The crew also complained of rough treatment from the Fife people. In April 1630, a ship called *the Hope* from Vlissingen, the same home port as the Lewis settlers, was driven by weather onto the

14. Burgesses were to pay duty for burgess rights of one merk Scots per last of Herring, and also for all kinds of flesh, hides, tallow, for each they transport out of Scotland respectively four guilders Holland per last.⁵⁷
15. Seaforth was to get this agreement ratified by the Parliament of Scotland.⁵⁸

Seaforth and the Mackenzies were, like their fellow Scots, acutely aware of the latest trends in plantation and settlement, certainly in Ireland and the Americas. This agreement was on Seaforth's initiative and to Seaforth's benefit, with the Dutch as settlers and partners rather than exploitative colonists, operating under Scots law and Scots civic authority. Contemporary Dutchmen may, on occasion, have bought into Lowland Scots and English stereotypes of the Gaels of Scotland and Ireland, as being 'wild men,' comparable to the peoples they exploited in the islands of India and Ceylon, but here, in these negotiations with Seaforth, they were business partners and not colonists.⁵⁹ The nearly contemporaneous document drawn up by the Dutch West India company, 'conditions for colonies' in June 1627–November 1628, for a settlement on the 'wild coast' of South America, where the Dutch had a free hand offers a counterpoint, highlighting this.⁶⁰ Seaforth possibly envisaged the Dutch having a similar position in Stornoway to that long enjoyed by the Scots communities in the Netherlands and, perhaps, more specifically at Veere

shore at Slains, Aberdeenshire, where the ship's cargo and effects were also picked clean by the locals. NRS, AC 7/2, 207, 350–353. E.J. Graham & S. Mowat, *High Court Admiralty Records of Scotland, 1627–1750* (CD Rom, 2005).

- 57 A 'last' was around a ton. An English last of Herring was reckoned to number around 13,200 fish. R. Elder, *The Royal Fishery Companies of the Seventeenth Century* (Aberdeen, 1912), 7, 15.
- 58 This a summary of the document in appendix E3.
- 59 This comparison was drawn by Anthonio Van Heuvel, the Dutch governor of Ambon in 1633. V. Enthoven, S. Murdoch & E. Williamson (eds.), *The Navigator. The log of John Anderson, VOC Pilot-major, 1640–1643* (Brill, Leiden, 2010), 87. See also Williamson, 'Scots, Indians and Empire,' 49–52, 53, 55.
- 60 Ten lairds from Gaidhealtachd areas, including a Mackenzie, were created knight baronets of Nova Scotia in this period, showing their awareness of colonial opportunity. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and the Wild Coast*, 492–5. Printed transcript of a Charter by James VI to the town of Coleraine in the Seaforth Papers, dated, 28 June, 1613. NRS, GD 46/5/1. D. Laing (ed.), *Royal letters, charters and tracts relating to the colonisation of New Scotland, and the institution of the order of knight baronets of Nova Scotia, 1621–1638* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1867), 120–121. NRS, GD 305/1/122/513 & 514. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 588–9.

where there had been Scots domiciled as a stranger community with trading privileges since 1578.⁶¹

The clauses in the agreements between Seaforth and the Dutch, 1628–31 (appendices E2, E4–7), stipulated that the Dutch would be able to move freely in and out of Lewis without molestation, they would be able to move capital freely in and out, they would be able to import goods to Stornoway and sell them in Britain under Scots custom and law. Of central importance was Seaforth's plan to achieve the status of a burgh for Stornoway this meant that the prospective Dutch burgesses had freedom to move goods furth of Lewis with their ships to wherever they chose. Naturalization would be sought for these Dutch settlers who were to obey Scottish civil law, albeit mediated by having their own magistrate to deal with matters relating to their own community. The Dutch, unsurprisingly, were to enjoy a monopoly of fishing and landing of fish, enjoyed at favourable rates with long leases for lands on which to build commercial premises. They were also to take their families over with them to Stornoway. The reason for this was probably borne of long experience of Dutch settlements overseas. According to Van Cleef Bachman, it was desirable to have both sexes present in the establishment of a colony. Families were encouraged as all-male colonies were more prone to 'factionalism, idleness and general demoralization.'⁶² Each of the principal settlers were to be given portions of 200 morgens of land (around 400 acres) held off Seaforth at favourable rates and on long, 31 year leases.

Salt featured in a number of the surviving documents relating to the Dutch in Stornoway. Seaforth sought supplies for his own ventures from his Dutch partners. Imported solar salt, produced by drying seawater in natural sunlight, was the product of choice for fish curers. This came from Iberian, French or possibly German sources and had a higher degree of purity than Scottish salt which was extracted by heating sea water in pans with coal or, presumably, in Lewis with peat.⁶³ Given the high cost of imported salt, necessary for the preservation of food and fish, local salt panning was considered, possibly to augment the imported supplies and lessen costs, although the lack of readily

61 M.P. Rosenboom, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands* (The Hague, 1910), 88–172. D. Ditchburn, *Scotland and Europe. The Medieval Kingdom and its contacts with Christendom, 1214–1560* (East Linton, 2001), 207, 209, 211. V. Enthoven, 'Thomas Cunningham (1604–1669): Conservator of the Scottish Court at Veere' in, D. Dickson, J. Parmentier & J. Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Irish and Scottish mercantile networks in Europe and overseas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Gent, 2007), 39–66, at 42, 44–46

62 Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations*, 76.

63 Zickermann, *Across the German Sea*, 104.

available coal would have made this difficult.⁶⁴ Nevertheless, it must have been thought feasible and an English source, c.1630, mentions the use of peat to make salt at the Isle of Eday in Orkney (appendix F6).

Although there was no shortage of stone in the vicinity of Stornoway, Seaforth also wanted to import bricks, possibly to improve the appearance of one or more of the civic structures he was building at Stornoway, part of his attempt to establish it as a burgh. The Dutch were to be given access to Seaforth's extensive stands of timber on the mainland of Wester Ross to help build their settlement and commercial premises and probably to build ships.⁶⁵

Little is known about the extent to which this agreement was implemented or adhered to between Seaforth and the twelve Dutch men and their families who did arrive and settle. According to the Englishman, Captain John Dymes, 1630, the Dutch had made

[...] provision of a furnace and other necessities for the whale fish but they have not yett made any use thereof, they being as yet scarce settled in their busines, there being noe more of them, besides seamen yett then sixe servants and a factor, w[hi]ch are always resident at Stornoway where they have a pretty dwelling place and a magazine where they lay up their salt and caske and all other necessities for their fishing [...]⁶⁶

It is probable that some of these signatories to the contracts with Seaforth may have been directly involved directly in Lewis, but this number is unlikely to have included the higher profile signatories, Zealand merchants such as Lodenstein, Jan de Moor and Van de Voorde whose interests spanned the Atlantic.⁶⁷ Arendt or Arnold Lodenstein, was a member of the Van Lodenstein

64 There is an abundance of peat in Lewis which is (still) worked as domestic fuel. It takes between a month and two months after the peat has been cut from the bank before it dries sufficiently for use as domestic fuel. The production of this is highly labour intensive and the dried peat also has a much lower heat yield when burnt than coal. This may have rendered it less attractive for extensive use in salt production. The nearest substantial coal deposits were in Lowland Scotland.

65 Appendices, E2–E4, E5–E7.

66 Mackenzies, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 593.

67 Appendix E3, paragraph 15. For 'Nicholas Cannius' a signatory to the agreement regarding Lewis, see, P.C. Mohlhuysen (ed.), *Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek* (10 vols., Amsterdam, 1911: 1974 reprint), vol. ix, 614, 1230; vol. x, 170. Ba[lthaza]r van de Voorde, may have been one and the same man as the spokesman for the Dutch High Council for Brazil in 1645. Jan de Moor was a director of the joint British/Zeeland trading company, 'Courteen de Moor' in 1615, involved in trade and plantation on the Wild Coast, in northern South

family, politically prominent in Delft.⁶⁸ Arent, the deputy Admiral in Zeeland by 1629, had been involved with negotiations relating to Greenland with British representatives in Flanders in 1614, when he was a councillor to the Admiralty of Zeeland and in the council of Flanders.⁶⁹ For people such as Van de Voorde later a colonist in Brazil, Lodenstein, and Jan de Moor, a director of the Dutch West Indies company, who had experience of planning and financing settlements as far apart as Spitzbergen, Tobago and Guiana, a settlement in Lewis must have seemed logical. Not only was the area well known to Dutch seamen from their fishing activities, it was beside the main Dutch sea road from their colonies in the Americas, and, when tensions ran high with England, from the Dutch East Indies. Lewis, therefore, was strategically as well as economically attractive.⁷⁰ Dutch thinking on maritime freedom in navigation and fishing

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- America. For De Moor's interests in Spitzbergen, the West Indies and the Dutch West India Company and South America. G. Edmundson, 'The Dutch on the Amazon and Negro in the seventeenth century,' *English Historical Review*, 18 (1903), 642–663, at 649, 651–2, 659. W.R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge, 1910), ii, 55–7, 103, 112–119, 326. W.M. Conway (ed.), *Early Dutch and English Voyages to Spitzbergen in the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1904). S. Murdoch, 'Scotsmen on the Danish–Norwegian Frontiers c. 1580–1680,' in A. Mackillop & S. Murdoch (eds.), *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers c. 1600–1800* (Leiden, 2003), 1–28, at 6. G. Edmundson, 'The Dutch in Western Guiana' in, *English Historical Review*, 16 (1901), 640–675, at 651, 655–660, 664–5, 670. E.B. O'Callaghan (ed.), *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, procured in Holland, England and France* (New York, 1856), i, 42. Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 326. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and the Wild Coast 1580–1680*, 100–101, 303 (n. 67 & 69), 435–6, 567, *passim*. E. Mijers, 'A natural partnership? Scotland and Zeeland in the early seventeenth century,' in Macinnes & Williamson (eds.), *Shaping the Stuart World*, 233–260, at 245–247.
- 68 V. Enthoven, 'Early Dutch Expansion in the Atlantic Region, 1585–1621,' in: J. Postma & V. Enthoven (eds.), *Dutch Transatlantic Trade and Shipping, 1585–1817* (Leiden, 2003), 17–47, at 34–5, 44. Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 475, 487. P.C. Mohlhuysen & B.L. Meulenbroek (eds.), *Briefwisseling Van Hugo Grotius Zeventiende deel* (17 vols., 'S Gravenhage, 1928–2001), vi, 447, 540; xvii, 167 & note 5. Thanks to Dr Alexia Grosjean and Dr Steve Murdoch for this last reference. Jan Jansz Lodenstyn, is on record as a burgomaster of Delft in 1614. G. Edmundson, 'The Dutch on the Amazon and Negro,' 645–6.
- 69 '[...] Aren[d]t Jacobz Lodesteyn, raadsheer ter Admiraliteit en in den Raad van Vlaanderen.' *Briefwisseling Van Hugo Grotius i*, 299 & note 6. This was the part of Flanders, south of the River Scheldt that was confiscated by the Dutch Republic. My thanks to Dr Edda Frankot for this. Another relative (possibly) of this family, a Joost van Lodenstyn, in Delft, was a director of the Dutch West Indian Company in the 1650s. O' Callaghan (ed.), *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, i, 540.
- 70 Dutch shipping from northern American Dutch ventures such as New Netherland (later New York) and also from the Dutch East Indies often passed by the Faeroes and Shetland

manifested itself most obviously in the lengthy legal dispute over close and free seas, where Charles I's lawyer, John Selden, 1635, reiterating the earlier position of Scottish lawyer William Welwood, argued that the seas were British thus repudiating the Dutch view (after Hugo Grotius, 1615) that the seas were open and free to all.⁷¹ One of the earliest printed and detailed maps of the area, by Willem Blaeu in 1634, was clearly making a point by showing a Dutch ship, Dutch tricolour unfurled, in the Minch halfway between the coast of Coigeach, on the mainland, and the island of Lewis. In case anybody missed the point, Blaeu added some Dutch herring busses, with nets cast, fishing just off the eastern Scottish coast.⁷²

While fisheries could be a bone of contention, the Scots and the Dutch had much in common in terms of religion. The Lodensteins, like many of their countrymen also seem to have been Protestant, something that they had in common with Cailean, the first earl of Seaforth, himself a devout Calvinist. Indeed, Protestantism was strongly woven into the identity of the province of Zeeland and the United Provinces at this time, not least in Middelburg, Vlissingen and Zierikzee, the towns most closely associated with the Lewis

(a base on the nearby Hebrides may have been useful), on the return leg to the Netherlands using the prevailing winds. H. den Heijer, 'The Dutch West India Company 1621–1791' in: J. Postma & V. Enthoven (eds.), *Dutch Transatlantic Trade and Shipping, 1585–1817* (Leiden, 2003), 77–114, at 77. Enthoven, Murdoch & Williamson (eds.), *The Navigator*, 36. The Cromwellian garrison in Lewis hoped to capture a 'Dutch East Indiaman' during the Anglo-Dutch war, 1653–4. Local chiefs such as Clanranald also sought letters of marque for the same reason. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 347. For the northern route and East Indies shipping see C.R. Boxer, 'Treasure From the Sea: Shipwrecks of Dutch East Indiamen, 1629–1749,' in, *History Today*, 23 (1973), 766–775, at 769–772.

71 Grotius had attacked the restrictive tendencies of Spain and England against Dutch shipping in the Caribbean, Arctic, North Sea, Indian Ocean together with the Atlantic. J.R. Elder, *The Royal Fishery Companies of the Seventeenth Century* (Aberdeen, 1912) 70. P. Butel, *The Atlantic* (London, 1999) 97. This freedom, or lack thereof, on the seas was a matter of dispute not only between 'Britain' and the Netherlands but also between Britain and Denmark at this time, with British vessels infringing the rights of Christian IV. S. Murdoch, *Britain, Denmark-Norway and the House of Stuart, 1603–1660: A Diplomatic and Military Analysis* (East Linton, 2003), 32–4. M.J. Van Ittersum, 'Mare Liberum versus the Propriety of the Seas? The debate between Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and William Welwood (1552–1624) and its impact on Anglo-Scotto-Dutch fishery disputes in the second decade of the seventeenth century,' *Edinburgh Law Review*, 10 (2006), 239–276. See also the discussion in the following chapter.

72 Willem Janzoon Blaeu, *Scotia Regnum* (Amsterdam, 1635). See the cover of this book and on the internet, at, <<http://www.nls.uk/digitallibrary/map/early/index.html>>.

venture.⁷³ Many of the directors of the Dutch West Indies company served as members of reformed consistories, a feature that was particularly noticeable in the Zeeland cohort. It is also probable, given that one of the documents negotiating terms with Seaforth was in French, that some of the proposed settlers may have been Protestant Walloons.⁷⁴ Such Walloon or Huguenot refugees in the Netherlands were an important component of mercantile and religious life in Zeeland.⁷⁵ Noorlander has argued that the Dutch West India Company was not just solely concerned with commercial profit but was very much part of the 'Protestant International.' The guaranteed freedom of worship for the Dutch planters, many of whom had fled from religious persecution in Spanish Flanders was one of the more important clauses, in the negotiations with Seaforth and his agents regarding the settlement in Stornoway. It was pre-arranged before the final negotiations got underway that the Dutch would have freedom to bring in and have and maintain their own 'preacheris, churchemen and scholmaisteris' and that they could freely 'exerceise cristiane religion' of their choosing without interference.⁷⁶ By 1630, despite the strictures of the burghs prohibiting any more Dutch settlement, those who had already come in stayed and were operating four busses out of Stornoway.⁷⁷ According to the English observer, Captain Dymes, these four busses landed and processed 300 lasts of herring, which sold at Gdansk for 400 guilders (£38 sterling), making £11,400. Dymes, preparing a report for English rivals, had his own agenda and his numbers should be approached with a little caution.

73 R. Eßer, 'North and South: Regional and urban identities in the 17th-century Netherlands' in S.G. Ellis & R. Eßer (eds.), *Frontiers and the writing of history, 1500–1850* (Werhahn Verlag, Hannover-Lutten, 2006), 127–150, at 138–140. Mijers, 'A natural partnership? Scotland and Zeeland in the early seventeenth century' 238–241.

74 For Jodecus Van Lodenstein and connections to the political family of the Delft, E.J. Schroeder, *In quest of Pentecost: Jodecus Van Lodenstein and the Second Dutch Reformation* (Lanham, 2001) 1–14, 19. For Seaforth's Calvinism see, *RPCS*, xii, 557–9 (note). T. Thomson (ed.), *The History of the Kirk of Scotland by David Calderwood* (Edinburgh, 1842–9), vii, 499. NRS, GD 46/18/142. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 628.

75 D.L. Noorlander, "'For the maintenance of true religion': Calvinism and the Directors of the Dutch West India Company." In, *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 44/1 (2013), 73–95, at, 77–84, 87–91. J. Peters, 'Volunteers for the wilderness: the Walloon petitioners of 1621 and the voyage of the Nieu Nederlandt to the Hudson River in 1624.' *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*, xxiv/5 (1987), 421–433.

76 NRS, GD 46/18/140. Appendix E5.

77 *RCRB*, 1614–1676, 321–26. For a contemporary (c. 1633) English description of a Dutch herring buss fleet off Shetland, in a convoy guarded by 20 'wafters' with 30 guns apiece, see Captain John Smith, *The Trade of Great Britain Displayed: with a Description of the Lands of Orkney and Shetland* (London, 1661: reprint, Guernsey, 1976), 7–8.

Nevertheless, the calculations the English made for their British fishery company show that they themselves took such figures seriously. Taking this into account, it is possible that Dymes's estimate that these four Dutch boats made a clear profit of £7500 for one season may not be too far off the mark.⁷⁸

Some of these Dutch merchants and fisherman in Stornoway must have known Scottish, and indeed 'British' waters well. Jean Bogarde, who was involved in the company of Lewis in 1630–31 as a 'commis,' or governor, had engaged in fishing off Munster in 1618.⁷⁹ Maartin Corijns Weyten, from Zeeland, was active as a merchant and fisherman between 1621 and 1646. He was one of the signatories of the agreement between Seaforth and the Dutch merchants at Middelburg in June 1629, and was included among the signatories to the 'Response sur la proposition,' a document which replied to a query of Seaforth's regarding non-payment of fees in January 1631.⁸⁰ Some of the individuals engaged by the company to work at Stornoway are named in a deposition in the notarial archive at Rotterdam, dated 1 January 1630. This document (appendix E4) states that Claes Cornelisz Domp and Clement Philipsen de Wolff had been working under the direction of Elias Gerritsz for six months in the 'Eylant van Leeuwis onder Ijerlant' (the island of Lewis under Ireland). They took a ship home to Vlissingen (Flushing) sometime around New Year 1630. Elias Gerritsz had been employed in Stornoway as an 'ondercuyper' for Maerten Cruyssen, a merchant of Zierikzee. Cruyssen and Gerritsz in turn were either partners or employees of a merchant, Jan Cornelissen Noortwits, who may have been an investor in the Dutch enterprise in Lewis, 1629–30.⁸¹ The context of the deed is not clear, simply stating that these men had been employed at the herring fishery in Lewis for the summer season, 4 May to 31 October 1629. One hopes that the crew had fulfilled their obligations before returning to the Netherlands as the Dutch West India Company, if not the Company of Lewis, castigated those who deserted their ships in time of need.⁸² Noortwits, had been involved in trade with the west coast of the British Isles, and possibly the

78 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*. 305, 593.

79 'nre commis. Jasper van Bogaerde,' NRS, GD 46/18/142. GD 190/3/176/15 N. Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580–1650* (Oxford, 2001: 2003), 311.

80 NRS, GD 46/18/142. Documents relating to Weyten, 1616x1646, GAR, ONA, 141/ 230/346. GAR, ONA 171/87/140, as catalogued and abstracted at <<http://www.gemeentearchief.rotterdam.nl>>. Letter, Martin Corijns Weyten, Zierikzee, to Patrick Smyth, Orkney, 23 December 1630, briefly mentions Jasper Van Bogarde, commis of the company of Lewis. NRS, GD 190/3/176/15.

81 Appendix E 4.

82 A placard dated 1625 gave an edict against those of the Dutch West Indies company who deserted their ships. Asher, *A Bibliographical and Historical Essay*, 117–118.

western Isles, during the 1620s, with his vessel the *Hope*. He was an active participant in the company of Zealand in 1629.⁸³ Although these Dutch traders and fishermen seemed to be making a success of their venture at Lewis between 1628 and 1630, this was not to last.

Scottish Opposition to Seaforth's Dutch Enclave

The establishment of a Dutch trading enclave on Scottish soil was vigorously opposed from the outset by most Scottish burghs. The Scots burgesses, following the mercantilist thinking of the time, thought that they stood to lose out and that they would be disadvantaged by the encroachment of a foreign competitor on Scottish soil.⁸⁴ They had, even before Seaforth had planned his scheme, protested in July 1623 against 'English men and Fleymings' and again in 1625, against the fishing effort from the Low Countries and the deleterious effect this was having on their own trade.⁸⁵ Seaforth obtained a patent from Charles I to erect Stornoway into a burgh in July 1628, against which the burghs protested vigorously.⁸⁶ Sir William Alexander, secretary in London for Scotland, himself a proponent of Scots colonial ventures, most noticeably in Nova Scotia, cited one of the clauses of the patent which met with his disapproval.⁸⁷ Not only would people be settled 'with their wives and families furth of Holland' and placed under the king's laws in Stornoway, but more alarmingly still they were to have full burghal privileges and have:

83 Noortwits's involvement with Scotland continued after the end of the Dutch settlement at Stornoway, sometime in 1631, and he appeared in Dumbarton, 1636–7. The person named above as a fisherman in Stornoway, 1629, Claes Cornelius Domp, may have been one and the same as 'Clais Cornelisoun,' another Dutchman, who, like Noortwits, turned up at Dumbarton, 1636–7. F. Roberts & I.M.M. Macphail (eds.), *Dumbarton Common Good Accounts 1614–1660* (Dumbarton, 1972), 82, 92, 95. Appleby, *Calendar of Material Relating to Ireland From the High Court of Admiralty Examinations 1536–1641*, no. 804, 188. GAR, ONA, 92/390/643. GAR, ONA, 92/386/637. GAR, ONA, 148/703/10900. GAR, ONA, 94/167/294. These latter references refer to abstracts of deeds in the online electronic catalogue of the notarial deed archive in the Geementarchief, Rotterdam <<http://www.geementarchief.rotterdam.nl>>.

84 For Anglo-Dutch rivalry and mercantilist attitudes see, Calder, *Revolutionary Empire*, 116–121, 138.

85 *RPCS* (2nd ser.), i, 147–8. *RCRB*, 1614–1676, 142.

86 *RPCS* (2nd ser.), ii, 357, 374, 383, 396–7. *RCRB*, 1614–1676, 257–262, 279.

87 For an account of the settlement of Nova Scotia, 1629 possibly written for Alexander's benefit, see N.E.S. Griffiths & J.G. Reid, 'New Evidence on New Scotland, 1629,' in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser. 49, (1992), 492–508, at 495.

full power and privelige to sayle and tra[ffice] with their shippes and Barkes and to have comerce and traffique therewith within any part of Christendome in Barbara[y], Asia, Affrica, East and West Indies, and Newfoundlande, beeing his Ma[jes]ties freinds and Confederates [...] ⁸⁸

In other words, not only were foreigners allowed in to settle on Scottish soil, but they would be able to circumvent the monopoly held by the Scottish burghs. For Sir William, a close associate of Seaforth's fierce rivals in the isles, the Clan Campbell and their leader, Lord Lorne, the opposition raised offered by burghal alarm at the Stornoway scheme was timely. He was able to marshall the forces ranged against Seaforth's scheme, a broad coalition ranging from Lord Lorne's friends, to some Scottish burghs and English naval and mercantile interests. Alexander evidently had sight of some of the papers involved in negotiations, in which this clause was stipulated. If this were not enough, the Dutch would be able to fortify and garrison the burgh for their own defence, and they would, doubtless an irksome thought both to Scots (and English) merchants, have Dutch artisans with them in their 'peopling and planting' of the said burgh.⁸⁹ In an era where monopoly and mercantilist attitudes prevailed this was an alarming prospect for vested interests in Scotland.

However, not all the burghs were unanimous in this opposition to Dutch competition. Aberdeen seems to have adopted a more flexible and pragmatic approach encouraging at least one Dutch crew to settle and naturalize in 1614.⁹⁰ In 1619, the Aberdeen commissioner at the burghal convention 'disassentit' from the punitive action moved by the other burghs against 'Flemish' (Dutch) traders operating in Scotland.⁹¹ Not only had they set a precedent for Seaforth's invitation of Dutch fishermen into a Scottish burgh, Aberdeen also dissented from the opprobrium being orchestrated against Seaforth's scheme to erect Stornoway into a burgh by Sir John Hay on behalf of the other burghs.⁹² The Mackenzies and Stornoway had, in fact, strong links with Aberdeen, both from education and trade, although if it is not clear whether it is this that

88 'Clauses out of the Earle of Seaforts Patent granted by his Ma[jes]tie under his hand ... Signed by Sir William Alexander Secretary for Scotland.' TNA, SP 16/152, fol. 152. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 588–9. Appendix E5, paragraph 10.

89 TNA, SP 16/152, fol. 125.

90 The burgesses of Edinburgh complained in 1639 that 'certane burrowis' were encouraging 'certane Duche schips cullouring thameselffis under the name of this natioun.' Taylor, *Aberdeen Council Letters*, i, 122 & vol. ii, 122.

91 Complaints against certain Dutchmen, Jacob Kein, Mairtein Dekinrig, Baltan Meas and Hans Goverstoun, July 1626. RCRB, 1614–1676, 93, 227.

92 Taylor, *Aberdeen Council Letters*, i, 122, 287 & xl. Inglis, *Sir John Hay* (1937), 71–81.

influenced Aberdeen's position.⁹³ The Aberdeen burgh also complained in 1632 that the convention of burghs had 'sett doune an Act of restraint verie hurtfull and prejudiciall to the liberties of merchants of oure toune treddaris in Flanderis.'⁹⁴ In addition to this the burgesses of Aberdeen were, no doubt, mindful that the important Baltic markets for fish were dominated by Dutch shipping.⁹⁵

Other Lowland burghs, led by Edinburgh, were not so accommodating either of the Dutch or of the erection of Stornoway into a burgh. They campaigned against this, 1628–32, and Sir John Hay was appointed by the convention of burghs to resist Seaforth's plans.⁹⁶ Seaforth spent most of 1630 in London and a substantial sum of money, around £10,000 sterling in four extended visits to the city, lobbying to retain the Dutch presence in Stornoway.⁹⁷ Sir John Hay, on the other hand, backed by the convention of Royal burghs had deeper pockets and spent some £24,000 in attempts, ultimately successful, to oppose Seaforth's scheme between 1629 and 1632.⁹⁸ The burghs claimed, among other things, that the ejection of the Dutch would remove competition

93 There are some instances of trade and maritime connections between Aberdeen and Lewis, 1622–1630, even though the town claimed in 1627 to have 'no tredd thair' Taylor, *Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts 1596–1670* (Aberdeen, 1972), 115, 122, 126, 137. Taylor, *Aberdeen Council Letters, i*, xl. No fewer than sixteen members of the clan Mackenzie attended university at Aberdeen between 1611 and 1631. Five of these attended King's College and eleven Marischal College. P.J. Anderson, (ed.), *Officers and Graduates of King's College, Aberdeen, MVD-MDCCCLX* (Aberdeen, Spalding Club, 1893), 181, 185. P.J. Anderson (ed.), *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis. Selections from the records of the Marischal College and University, MDXCIII-MDCCCLX. Volume 2* (New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1898), 189, 190, 193–4, 196, 201–203, 205.

94 Provost and Baillies of Aberdeen, 22 February 1632, to Lord Scotstarvet. Taylor (ed.), *Aberdeen Council Letter, i* 323–4.

95 J. de Vries & A. van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge, 1997), 250–251. For the European fish markets as they were known to Scots and Englishmen in the reign of James VI post 1603, see Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 585.

96 "...the burgh of Edinburgh to doe all things fitt for the guid of thair busines against the patent grantit to the Erle of Seaforth for Erectioun of the Burgh of Stornoway..." 23 July 1628, in Wood, (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burghs of Edinburgh, 1626 to 1641*, 47. RCRB, 1614–1676, 257–262, 279, 281, 301–310.

97 Seaforth had four extended stays in London and spent 100,000 guilders (around £10,000 sterling) in attempting to press his case. NRS, GD 46/18/41 (appendix E7).

98 J.A. Inglis, *Sir John Hay the Incendiary, 1578–1654; Clerk Register of Scotland, Provost of Edinburgh* (Glasgow, 1937), 70. Thanks to Dr Alexia Grosjean for this reference. J.A. Inglis, 'Sir John Hay the incendiary,' *Scottish Historical Review*, 15 (1918), 124–145 at 131–2.

for hard pressed northern Scottish burghs such as Tain and Inverness. Rather than any great concern for their northern members it is more likely that the convention of burghs thought that if they could defeat Seaforth's proposals they would be able to manoeuvre themselves into possession of Stornoway in place of the Dutch.⁹⁹ The burghs were supported by the noble faction represented in the Highlands by Lord Lorne. This had serious repercussions for Seaforth. Not only were his plans for developing a native fishing industry in difficulty, but this also put pressure on Seaforth's related scheme to develop a gun-foundry.

The foundry had been up and running on Seaforth's lands in Wester Ross by the end of 1628, the works on the site producing cannon, which were sold by Seaforth's Dutch partners in the Netherlands. However, by January 1631, Seaforth's Dutch partners, Martin Corijns Weyten, Bar[endt] Van de Voorde and Nicolas Cann, complained that they had some 20 tons of ordnance lying idle on the market at Middelburg. They stated that they were unable to sell due to the influx of cheaper English, French and Swedish guns in Dutch markets. This had lowered the price and they complained that they were making a 30% loss.¹⁰⁰ This would indicate that Seaforth's furnace and gun foundry at Wester Ross was a going concern for at least two and a half years, although the complaint by his Dutch partners, together with concurrent Scottish burghal opposition may have pointed towards the end of this enterprise and may also have contributed to later financial difficulties. What the Scottish burghs, in turn, do not seem to have anticipated was the emergence of a powerful rival English attempt at securing control of this fishery: one, furthermore, that was fully backed by the King (Chapter 6, below). Bowing to the inevitable, the burghs instructed Hay in November 1630 to make a tactical retreat and give way to English plans to fish in the Isles, providing the English merchants remained in Lewis only and spread no further.¹⁰¹ This had serious repercussions for Seaforth. Not only were his plans for developing a native fishing industry in jeopardy, but

99 Inglis, *Sir John Hay the Incendiary, 1578–1654; Clerk Register of Scotland*, 71–81. *RPCS* (2nd ser.), ii, 479–80.

100 'Response sur la proposition faicte par Mre Bernard Maquigni aux participants de la Companie de Lewis de par Monsr le comte de Zeafort a Middelbourgh le 13e de Janvier 1631.' *NRS*, GD 46/18/142. I am grateful to Dr Alexia Grosjean, University of St Andrews, for a translation of this document. See also, MacCoinnich, 'Cleiffis of Irne': *Clann Choinnich agus gnìomhachas iarainn*, c. 1569–1630, 146.

101 *RCRBS*, iii, 325. This was against the advice of the Guild brethren of Aberdeen. J. Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1625–1642* (Edinburgh, 1871), 31–2.

his very title to the Island was now coming under threat from the English merchants and their patron, Charles I.

Lord Lorne and Scottish Opposition to Seaforth's Schemes

Additional pressure was being placed on Seaforth from Gilleasbuig Campbell, Lord Lorne, recently confirmed, in 1628, by Charles I as hereditary justiciar of Argyll and the Western Isles which, he now claimed, had traditionally reached as far north as the Isle of Lewis, Mackenzie's recent acquisition. Seaforth resisted Lord Lorne's attempts and held them at bay but at the cost of time, energy and much money.¹⁰² Lorne used his influence with Sir William Alexander to undermine Seaforth at court and he also tried to re-assert his family's former dominance of the assize herring revenues of the Isles.¹⁰³ This rivalry was, perhaps, given added bite due to the superiorities and financial securities held by Seaforth and his cousin, Iain Mackenzie of Tarbat, over *Fir Innse Gall*: the Macdonalds of Sleat and Clanranald, Macleod of Harris, Macneil of Barra and Maclean of Duart, among others. These clans had, until recently (as discussed in the previous chapter), traditionally been, at least from a Campbell viewpoint, in the sphere of influence of the Argyll family but had gravitated towards the Mackenzies in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.¹⁰⁴ The reason for the relative decline in Campbell/Argyll influence

102 Macinnes, *The British Confederate*, 85. Macinnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 46. *Collectanea*, 105–111. *RPCS* (2nd ser.), ii, 632–4. *RPCS* (2nd ser.), v, 286, 414–6. ICA, AT, x, 255–6, 261, 273.

103 The Countess of Argyll had had rights to the fishing of the west seas in 1600, *RPCS*, vi, 177. This had involved her and fellow Campbells, led by the Earl of Argyll, 'his majesteis takkisman of the west Illis and Lochis of this kingdome,' in a dispute with Ludovick Duke of Lennox, hereditary Admiral of Scotland, over jurisdictions in 1610 and 1612. *RPCS*, ix, 507–8. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland*, 57. NRS, GD 160/205/3–5. Reid makes the point that Alexander owed his position at court to his feudal superior the seventh Earl of Argyll. It is probable, despite the differences between the Earl and his son, Lord Lorne, that the Campbells retained their influence over Alexander. J.G. Reid, *Sir William Alexander and North American Colonisation: a reappraisal* (University of Edinburgh, 1990), 2.

104 For Mackenzie superiority and the defence of Maclean against his creditors 1617–1629, *RMS*, vii, no. 1628, p. 589. *RMS*, viii, no. 1610, p. 536–7. *RPCS*, xi, 85–6, 382, 405. *RPCS*, xii, 340–341, 698. H. Paton (ed.), *The Clan Campbell, Abstracts of Entries Relating to Campbells* (8 vols, Edinburgh, 1913–22), viii, 260. For the Macneils of Barra, vassals of Mackenzie of Tarbat (later earls of Cromartie) from 1621 until the nineteenth Century, see *Retours*, II, 'Ross et Cromarty,' 71. H.H. Mackenzie, *The Mackenzies of Ballone* (Inverness, 1941), Appendix v, p. 121–123. *RMS*, viii, no. 203, 65. *A Collection of the Private Acts Printed by the*

had been the unexpected conversion to Catholicism of Lorne's father, Gilleasbuig Gruamach, the seventh Earl of Argyll. Argyll's clan, strongly Protestant could not countenance a Catholic leader and the seventh earl absconded to the continent in 1618, leaving his clan rudderless while Lord Lorne was still a minor. Meanwhile, Mackenzie power had burgeoned. The settlement of the North Isles, discussed in the previous chapter, had included the Mackenzies being granted feudal superiorities over Hebridean kindreds in the vicinity of Lewis. In addition to this the role of Ruairidh Mackenzie, the Tutor of Kintail, as administrator for the Clan Maclean, brought the Mackenzies to the doorstep of Campbell lands between 1618 and 1622 and underlined the (relatively) diminished status of Clan Campbell. Gilleasbuig Campbell, Lord Lorne, acceded to his majority in 1625 and signalled his arrival with a ruthless and effective suppression of the MacLains of Ardnamurchan on behalf of the Crown.¹⁰⁵

Lorne, keen to restore the fortunes of his house, applied pressure on the Seaforth affinity, the leading men of the Hebrides, *Fir Innse Gall*, by systematically seeking and exploiting financial weaknesses in these families. Macleod of Dunvegan faced mounting financial pressure between 1628 to 1634 from the revival by Campbell of a dubious claim to the superiority of Glenelg, dormant since 1606. Lorne also attacked from another front by reviving a spurious claim by Dùbhghall Campbell of Auchinbreck in 1630 to the chiefship and estate of Dunvegan itself. Auchinbreck's ancestor, Donnchadh, had married Màiri Macleod, heiress to Dunvegan in 1572. Màiri's claims had long been given over to her uncle, Tormod in 1572. Despite this Argyll managed to open a loophole in Macleod's title and raise this claim anew in 1630. Similar pressures were brought to bear against neighbouring clans such as the Macdonalds of Sleat, Clanranald and the Mackinnons of Strath from 1627 onwards, and their debts bought up by Lorne, all aimed at undermining Seaforth's position in the North Minch area.¹⁰⁶

King's Printer 5° & 6° Guillelmi IV, Cap 19 (London, 1835), 380. *A Collection of the Private Acts Printed by the Queen's Printer 24° & 25° Victoriae, Cap 4* (London, 1861), 198. NRS, RS 37/4, fol. 79. For Clanranald, vassal to Mackenzie for his mainland territory from 1625 onwards see: NRS, GD 201/1/16; NRS, RD 1/387, fol. 395v. NRS, RD 1/398, fol. 159. The inventory of the bondis belonging to Sir Rorie mc Kenzie of Cogaich knight Inventared at Cultaleod the tuintie ane day of September 1626 years' AUL, Mackenzie of Kilcoy Papers, MS 3470/15/1/8. NRS, RD 1/398, fol. 159. NRS, RS 37/4, fol. 79, 144.

105 *Collectanea*, 154. Macinnes, *The British Confederate*, 44–70.

106 Macinnes, *The British Confederate*, 76–77. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 96–106. ICA, Bundle 87. ICA, Bundle 1158. ICA, Argyll MSS: Vault, v. 30. ICA, AT, x, 153, 159, 170, 219, 220, 287. ICA, AT, xi, 32, 283, 444, 464–5, 474. 543, 550–554, 599, 602, 613.

Lorne was able, in this manner, to gradually weaken, although not completely eradicate, the dependence of *Fir Innse Gall*: Sleat, Clanranald and Dunvegan on Seaforth by the early 1630s. This buying up of debts and the extension of Lorne's legal jurisdiction in the north was aimed at replacing Mackenzie influence with that of Argyll.¹⁰⁷ Lorne also attempted to exercise an office of judiciary in Seaforth's bounds, and encouraged the Bishop of the Isles to press Seaforth for teind revenues. Lord Lorne's attempt to establish his rights of justiciary and his attempts to collect of the assize herring revenues from the Northern Hebrides and challenge Seaforth across all areas was further aided by the appointment of a kinsman, Niall Campbell, as bishop of the Isles, September 1633.¹⁰⁸ Seaforth, however, had been refusing to acknowledge any kind of superiority of the bishops of the Isles since 1626 and had refused to pay for his tacks of teinds or tithes, held off the bishops.¹⁰⁹ Seaforth also had to placate the Privy Council, and was compelled to submit detailed rentals of the Isle of Lewis to them in December 1630 (none of which, unfortunately, appear to have survived). The Council, fellow nobles in the main rather than burgesses, were broadly sympathetic to Seaforth's claims as he:

[...]and as his predecessors and he hais bene at verie grete trouble and chargis in purchassing and secureing the title of the said Yle and in planting and in civilizing thereof, yea even with the bloode and losse of mony of his freinds and followaris [...].¹¹⁰

The burghs protested vigorously in London that Seaforth, who should have been helping his countrymen, had instead:

drawin hither ane number of strangers who daylie resorts to and fra Holland to the Lewis and the continent nixt adjacent.

This, the bypassing of the Scots burghs, (with the exception, perhaps, of Aberdeen) who were normally jealous of each others' rights, let alone foreigners,

¹⁰⁷ Macinnes, *The British Confederate*, 68–69, 77, 85. ICA, AT, x, 103, 136–138.

¹⁰⁸ The new Bishop, Niall Campbell, erswhile parson of Glassary, drew up a bond of service as a 'token of gratitude' to his 'most worthie chief,' Lord Lorne, on his appointment as Bishop of the Isles, 19 September 1633. This was confirmed by the King the following year. ICA, AT, xi, 479. RPCS (2nd ser.), v, 286. NLS, MS 7002–3, no. 29. NRS, GD112/39/42/31. FES, vii, 349.

¹⁰⁹ J.B. Craven (ed.), *Records of the Dioceses of Argyll and the Isles, 1560–1860* (Kirkwall, 1907), 49.

¹¹⁰ RPCS (2nd ser.), iv, 106–7.

must have been particularly offensive. They further claimed that Seaforth was in breach of the laws safe-guarding their monopolies by doing this, and that henceforth:

[...] nather he nor himselffe nor his tennents packe or peill [i.e. *process fish*] in anie place outwith the lles outwith the frie burghs [...]¹¹¹

They did eventually manage, by January 1630, to get Seaforth's burghal patent cancelled, and won an order stopping him introducing any more Dutchmen than he already had.¹¹² It was clear that the Scots burghs did not object to Seaforth's idea of a settlement in Stornoway, only to the personnel involved. Accordingly they offered in March 1630 to plant the town 'with natives' (i.e. Lowland Scots) only.¹¹³ Seaforth, who had been in poor health at least in April, remained in London and pressed his case.¹¹⁴ He had, by August 1630, recovered and was back in Scotland at Leith, presumably trying to bolster his support there. Although vociferously opposed by the burghs, he was by no means without allies, and these included political heavyweights such as the Chancellor George Hay, the Earl of Morton, treasurer in Scotland, and James Hay, Earl of Carlisle at the court in England.¹¹⁵ Indeed, by December 1630, Seaforth appeared to have won over the support of the Privy Council in Edinburgh.¹¹⁶ Although he had lobbied hard to make sure his rights were not 'damnified,' and managed to counter, to an extent, burghal opposition with magnate support within Scotland, he could do little despite his presence and petitioning in London from February 1631 onwards, to fend off the unexpected upsurge in English interest. By midsummer 1631 it was clear that the English were planning to take action.¹¹⁷ Seaforth, although he continued to lobby in England until 1632, had, however, in his own words been 'undermined' at court in England by the Earl of Menteith, one of Charles's favourites.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ *RPCS* (2nd ser.), iii, 94–6.

¹¹² *RPCS* (2nd ser.), iii, 260, 479–480, 489. *RCRB*, 1614–1676, 318–19.

¹¹³ *RPCS* (2nd ser.), iii, 479–480.

¹¹⁴ Although in London, Seaforth could not attend a meeting with Secretary Coke in April 1630, as he was '[...] in a continual course of fistic under care of Doctor Mayerne [...]' *CSP, Domestic: Charles I*, 1629–1631, 245.

¹¹⁵ Letter, 17 August 1630, Cailean, Earl of Seaforth (at Leith) to James, Earl of Carlisle. *CSP, Domestic: Charles I*, 1629–1631, 331.

¹¹⁶ *RPCS* (2nd ser.), iv, 82, 106–7.

¹¹⁷ *CSP, Domestic, Charles I*, 1629–1631, 411, 475. *CSP, Domestic, Charles I*, 1631–1633, 67, 83, 262.

¹¹⁸ '[...] how I tho[ugh]t Monte[i]th [i.e. Graham, Earl of Menteith] was too forward wt he borrows in hindering the fishing business, bot since th[a]t tyme heir maters Lyes dead, &

According to Sir Robert Moray, who planned to resurrect the fishery scheme in 1670, the reason that Cailean the first Earl of Seaforth's earlier scheme of building a town in Lewis had failed was that 'the late Marquis of Argile broke it lest his neighbour should have proven too great.' Sir Robert suspected that there might have been more to the story than that, adding that he had not personally enquired into the matter. Sir Robert, writing in 1670 was a close friend of Anna Mackenzie, daughter of the first Earl of Seaforth and this view may reflect what he had been told by her.¹¹⁹ Clearly, Lorne alone had not stopped the scheme, and the opposition of other nobles, such as Menteith and Alexander, together with the Scots burghs were central to the failure of Seaforth's introduction of Dutch merchants. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that Lorne's opposition played a great part in undermining the scheme. Lord Lorne maintained the pressure on the Mackenzies for several years and only by 1636 was a settlement reached whereby Lorne relinquished his claims to the rights of justiciary over the Mackenzies lands of Lewis and Trotternish.¹²⁰ By this time any schemes Cailean, the late Earl of Seaforth (d.1633) and his successor Earl Seòras had intended for planting Dutch merchants in Stornoway had long since fallen into abeyance.

Conclusion

The Highlands and Gaelic Scotland are often now considered as isolated and remote. Highlanders, regarded in the south as 'incivil' or barbarous, were not considered entrepreneurial, a stereotype which has had a long history and still

they will never challance that poynt, since I fo[u]nd thir men undermynding me [...].'
Seaforth, referred to himself in the letter as being as loyal as any noble in the 'thrie king-
domes' writing to Lord Yester, from London 14 July 1631. NLS, MS 7002–3, fol. 29. *CSP, Domestic, Charles I 1631–33*, 262. For the rise and fall of William Graham, Earl of Menteith, his influence in London and Charles I's government of Scotland see Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*, 82–86.

119 Letter, dated 26 April 1670 at Whitehall, Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Kincardine. D. Stevenson, (ed.), *Letters of Sir Robert Moray to the Earl of Kincardine, 1657–73* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2007), 263, 269–270.

120 'Conditions aggredit upon betuix the Erle Seafort and Lord Lorne at Cano[n]gait, the 22 of Februar 1636.' Lord Lorne, who had bought up all the debts of Clanranald and Sleat, became Seaforth's vassal for Arisaig and Moidart (in place of Clanranald) and, as part of the agreement, Lorne gave up his claims to jurisdiction in Seaforth's sphere of interest in Lewis, Raasay and Trotternish. This was supplemented by a bond of friendship in 1638. ICA, Argyll MSS: vault, vol. 38. ICA, AT, xii, 11, 15. NLS, Adv MS Ch. A. 126.

casts a shadow. The area and its people, were not (and to an extent are still not) associated with industry and commerce. The evidence for Mackenzie activities in Lewis and Wester Ross during the 1620s and 1630s runs counter to these traditional views. The Mackenzie clan, far from isolated and parochial, were well aware of developments at British and European levels. They sought to alleviate their economic position by developing their various enterprises, notably the fishery at Lewis and the adjacent iron works on Mackenzie territories on the adjacent mainland, especially in and around Loch Maree. The Mackenzies had long sought to maximise all opportunities, including economic opportunities, they could wrest from their holdings (and often the holdings of their neighbours). The burden of debt they carried from their acquisition of Lewis, as well as Seaforth's building programmes (including a number of churches and Brahan castle) supplied an additional stimulus to economic development. Possibly frustrated by the monopolistic practices of Scottish burghs, the Earl of Seaforth sought instead to plant and develop his burgh by bringing Dutch merchants and fishermen into Stornoway.

The negotiation process demonstrated that both parties thought they stood to gain from the arrangement. Seaforth stood to benefit not only from the Dutch methods of fishing and processing but also from access to markets in the Netherlands and beyond. This would be a boon to Seaforth's ongoing scheme to develop his civil town at Stornoway and provide an outlet for fish products, and for the cannon and shot produced at his Wester Ross works. From the point of view of the Dutch principals, some of whom were active across the Atlantic and in the Dutch West Indies company, the settlement at Stornoway would be beneficial in a number of ways. Seaforth, a fellow Calvinist, guaranteed the Dutch settlers freedom of worship, and also important trading privileges. The advantages offered in the fishing settlement were obvious and afforded the Dutch a base and magazine in close proximity to rich fishing grounds. The situation of Stornoway, adjacent to one of the main sea roads between the Netherlands and the wider world, was useful and would grant the Dutch access to a friendly port on the north western seaboard at a time when Dutch shipping was often subject to harassment in British and Irish ports. Seaforth, moreover, would champion the case of any of the company of Lewis who faced hostility in British or Irish ports. Seaforth also made the point that Lewis could be useful strategically for the Dutch as a base for the capture of enemy shipping – and Seaforth wanted a piece of any such action and a percentage of any prizes captured by Dutchmen in the Company of Lewis.

The Scottish burghs campaigned energetically in court at London against Seaforth's scheme arguing that this would remove their monopoly and imperil Scots trade and, indeed, allow Dutch competitors a foothold on Scottish soil.

They were given fulsome support from the powerful chief of Clan Campbell, Gilleasbuig, Lord Lorne, whose motives included a desire to limit the growth of rival Mackenzie power on the western seaboard and who wished to revive his family's hereditary jurisdictions, whether real or pretended, on the west coast of Scotland. Lorne mobilised his own supporters and his considerable influence among the nobility to oppose Seaforth's grant of burghal status for Stornoway and the plantation of Dutchmen at Lewis. Seaforth, however, was not without support among the nobility. He continued, with mixed success, to press at court in London for support for his scheme to develop his plantation in Lewis.

There had been growing resentment in England for several years at the growth of Dutch commerce and power. This would have been well known to Seaforth and the other Scots. Yet all of these parties seem to have been surprised by the emergence, in 1630, of a strong English movement, with strong backing from king and court, which sought, to the consternation of the Scottish burghs, if not Seaforth, to stop the Dutch at all costs and instead establish an English presence in Lewis which was to become known as the Common fishing or the British fishery company. The next chapter will consider the English phase in the Hebrides.

The English in the Isles and the British Fishery Company

Introduction

The Common Fishing or the British Fishery company in the Hebrides, 1629–c.1641, has, like much of the rest of the material surveyed in this book received its most detailed coverage in W.C. Mackenzie's *History of the Outer Hebrides* (1903). While some scholars of the early twentieth century examined this theme it does not appear on the radar of most recent historiography with some notable exceptions, including Allan Macinnes's study of Charles I's government of Scotland, 1625–41 and, more briefly, Kevin Sharpe's study of the same monarch from an English perspective.¹ While the movement of Scots into England after 1603 attracted much contemporary and subsequent comment, little scrutiny has been given to the movement of Englishmen into Scotland in the first half of the seventeenth century.² Indeed, English interest in the Highlands and Islands between the Unions of the Crown in 1603 and the Union of the Parliaments in 1707 is thought to have been negligible.³ Yet, while that might arguably be the case, there were a small but significant number of Englishmen in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland in the period under consideration here.⁴ The British fishery company in Lewis, c. 1630–1640,

1 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 305–326. Elder, *The royal Fishery Companies of the Seventeenth Century*. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*, 108–113. K. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I* (Yale University Press, Newhaven, 1992).

2 Coward, *The Stuart Age. England, 1603–1714*, 119–122; K. Brown, *Kingdom or Province? Scotland and the Regal Union, 1603–1715* (MacMillan, Basingstoke, 1992), 6–10. Calder, *Revolutionary Empire*, 81–82.

3 M. Rackwitz, *Travels to Terra Incognita: the Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in early modern travellers' accounts, c. 1600 to 1800* (Munster, 2007), 19.

4 Some of these Englishmen in Lewis (and the Orkneys) are mentioned in the body and appendices of this chapter (appendix F1). Others in the Isle of Lewis and in different areas of the Highlands, 1603–1630, included the English pirate Captain Peter Love, from Lewes in Sussex with his crew, three other Englishmen, an Irishman, two Welshmen and a Cornishman who were captured on the west coast of the isle of Lewis by Niall Macleod's men, 1610, and tried and executed in Leith for piracy. An English metallurgist, Stephen Aynescombe from Mayfield in Sussex together with a small number of gunfounders, Sir Robert Vernon of Fordham,

dominated by royalist and English naval interests was also to become a focal point for Anglo-Scottish rivalry, not least due to the perceived deprivation of Lowland Scots from, what they regarded as, their own fishery in the Hebrides.⁵

English Antecedence in the Hebrides

Captain John Mason claimed in 1630 that the fisheries in the waters around Lewis were the richest this side of Newfoundland and the predominantly English, so-called 'British,' fishery company witnessed a significant burst of activity in Scottish waters in the following decade. English mariners had, though, long known of the Hebrides. Their knowledge of and involvement in the area can be traced as far back as the 1540s, to the Earl of Lennox and Dòmhnall Dubh's rebellion, if not earlier. One of those involved in this rebellion, John Elder a 'redshank' or native Gaelic speaker from Caithness, wrote a long letter to Henry VIII around 1543 hoping to curry favour with the English king.⁶ Elder, a longstanding associate of the Earl of Lennox, supplied the English with detailed geographical knowledge of the west Highlands and Islands, probably providing much of the information that appeared in the maps of Britain by George Lily (1546) and Laurence Nowall (1564) which included the first reasonably accurate detailed cartographical depiction of Scotland.⁷ While these new accurate charts no doubt helped the English

Richard Bathhurst of Bromley, Denis Fleminge of Camberwell, Alexander Thomas of Lamberhurst, the latter group bringing skilled English workmen with them, were invited by Seaforth to Wester Ross, where they had forges and furnaces by Loch Maree, 1624–30. John Taylor the 'water poet' from London famously visited the Braes of Marr (1618) and John Wayner and other English workers were brought in to the saw mills of Strathcarron on the Ross of Balnagown estate (1625). This list could be expanded considerably if the remainder of the seventeenth century, 1630–1700, not least the Cromwellian period, was taken into account. Adam, (ed.), *The Calendar of Fearn*, 222; Hume Brown (ed.), *Early Travellers in Scotland*, 118–124; *Collectanea*, 49. MacCoinnich, 'Cleiffis of Irne': Clann Choinnich agus gnìomhachas Iarainn, c. 1569–1630', 143–145. Pitcairn, *Trials*, iii, 99–102.

5 As early as 1623 the convention of Royal Burghs complained of the 'heavie hurt' they felt from the 'English men and Fleymings who hes laitlie takin upone the tread of fishing in the north and west isles of this Kingdome.' *RCRB*, iii, 142. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Regime*, 108–113.

6 This has been printed in *Collectanea*, 23–32.

7 F. MacLeod, 'Cumadh an Eilean', in F. MacLeod (ed.), *Togail Tìr: Marking time. The maps of the Western Isles* (Acair, Stornoway, 1989), 3–12, at 3–4. J.E.A. Dawson, 'William Cecil and the British Dimension of early Elizabethan foreign policy', in *History*, 74 (1989), 196–216, at 197–9, 208–209.

intelligence assessments, English sailors already had a growing acquaintance with the Hebrides and the North Atlantic.

There was an appreciation of the strategic importance of the Hebrides and the Orkneys among English naval officers in the 1580s, who noted how their Spanish and Northern European enemies circumvented the closely monitored Narrow Seas of the English channel by taking a northerly route past Scotland.⁸ It was even proposed in 1588, although not implemented, that a squadron of English ships should be stationed off the coast of the Hebrides and the Orkneys and intercept the shipping of nations trading with Spain, taxing them in much the same way as the Danes taxed shipping accessing and exiting the Baltic at Øresund.⁹ This long remained a feature of English naval thinking and can be seen in the writings of John Mason as late as 1626. This was also one of the factors influencing the proposed English plantation in Lewis in the 1630s. As an English writer around 1630 put it, when proposing to occupy and settle and colonise the Isle of Lewis.

These collonyes once settled and the islands being strengthened w[i]th shipping as Yo[u]r Ma[jes]ty and the state shall think it fit[t]ing, you may easily entercept the trade w[i]th the easterlings, as Hollanders, Hambourgers, Lubeckeers, Dantzickers, and other inhabitants within the Baltick Sease [who] do drive towards the south as w[i]th Spayn and Ffrance and through the Straites, because they have no other passage whither but through narrow seas between us and Ffrance.¹⁰

It is clear that English interests viewed Lewis as strategically important in terms of monitoring and potentially intercepting foreign shipping throughout and beyond the period of this study and Hamburg vessels in particular were

For a discussion of Elder and English cartography at this time see Cathcart, 'The forgotten'45: Donald Dubh's Rebellion in an Archipelagic Context,' at 248–251.

8 E. Milford, 'The Navy at peace. The activities of the early Jacobean Navy, 1603–1618,' in, *The Mariner's Mirror*, 76 (1990), 23–36, at 23–30.

9 TNA, SP 82/3, fol. 38. For the Sound toll Register, see J.W. Veluwenkamp, 'Sound Toll Registers. Concise source criticism' published online at <www.soundtoll.nl/images/files/STR.pdf>. English naval forces captured four Lubeck ships, bearing a cargo of arms and ammunition and bound for Spain, at the Narrow Seas, but they were told by the captured Lubeck sailors that another fourteen ships had sailed round the North of Scotland, bound for Spain. Letter, John Chamberlain to Sir Ralph Winwood, 17 January 1603. The Isles of Scilly were regarded as strategically important for much the same reason. TNA, SP 12/287, fol. 7. TNA, SP 12/283a, fol. 103.

10 TNA, SP 16/229/100, 'Plantation of fishing on the Islands of Scotland,' (Appendix F6).

targeted at this time by privateers, Scots as well as English.¹¹ Stornoway was again occupied by a Cromwellian garrison for much the same reasons in the 1650s as the Elizabethan strategist had proposed in the sixteenth century and the advocates of the British fishery company, above, had propounded.¹²

The increasing frequency of English shipping bound for the fishing grounds of Newfoundland, Greenland and Iceland throughout the sixteenth century necessarily meant that they would accumulate knowledge about Northern Scottish seas.¹³ Indeed an amphibious English force attempted to land at Orkney in 1557 and was roundly defeated by the Orcadians.¹⁴ While there were no engagements such as this in the Hebrides, it was, nevertheless, a body of water to be approached with caution by English sailors in the sixteenth century. Shipwreck, if not Scottish hostility, was always a hazard and a number of English mariners were attacked, captured or had goods and their person or ships seized in this period.¹⁵

- 11 S. Murdoch, *The Terror of the Seas? Scottish maritime warfare, 1513–1713* (Brill, Leiden, 2010), 181–186.
- 12 TNA, SP 16/229/100, and also at 102, 'To the Right ho[nora]ble S[i]r John Coke, Principall Secretary of State and one of his Ma[jes]ties most hon[ora]ble Privy Counsell att the court;' TNA, 16/229/95–96, 'Captain Masons oppinion how the stock to be raised by the Associat[e]s of the Right Honorable the Lo[rd] Highe The[saur]er of England for the intended fishings in the Isle of Lewes ought to be employed.' Mackenzie, *The History of the Outer Hebrides*, 346–352, 357–360. F.D. Dow, *Cromwellian Scotland, 1651–1660* (Edinburgh, 1979), 93–94.
- 13 H. Wallis, 'England's search for the northern passages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' 453–472 in L. Rey, C. Reed Upton & M. Falk (eds.), *Unveiling the Arctic. The Arctic Institute of North America, University of Alaska Press. Arctic vol. 37 no. 4* (1985), at 460–467. K. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement. Maritime enterprise and the genesis of the British empire* (Cambridge, 1984), 167–182. See also 'Carta Marina,' Olaus Magnus's map of 1540 showing an English ship engaged in whaling to the north of Shetland, available on the internet via Wikipedia: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carta_marina>.
- 14 The nature of Anglo Scottish relations in the mid sixteenth century brought a small number of Englishmen into the Hebrides and the North of Scotland as well as the better known large scale movement of Hebrideans to Ireland. The *Mary Willoughby* was captured by Alasdair Macdonald of Dunivaig and the Glens together with the Macleans in 1533. A Thomas Hedley, Englishman, had been detained in the Isles in 1554 and Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis had been treasonably involved with an Englishman surnamed 'Broun' in 1554. An English force was defeated by local forces at Orkney in 1557 and ninety seven of the invaders were slain. *RPCS*, xiv, 140. *RSS*, iv, no. 3047, p. 536. W.P.L. Thomson, *The New History of Orkney* (3rd edition, Edinburgh, 2008), 246. A. Forte, 'A preliminary account of an early sixteenth century episode of Highland piracy', in C. Ó Baoill & N.R. McGuire (eds.), *Caindel Alban. Féill-sgrìobhainn do Dhòmhnall E. Meek. Scottish Gaelic Studies 24* (2008), 207–14, at 209.
- 15 William Nicholas owner of the *White Hart* of Northam, river of Barnstaple (Devon) and merchants of neighbouring Bridgwater, Somersetshire, claimed compensation in October 1581

A Bristol merchant, Walter Dull, attacked while fishing at Loch Carron in 1570, had his ship seized and was imprisoned at Leith. It was not the local Islanders or Highlanders who attacked the Englishmen in Hebridean and west coast waters, but, significantly, incoming Lowland Scottish fishermen, who had themselves started exploiting west coast fishing grounds by this time, and who no doubt resented the incursion of Englishmen onto 'their' grounds. This instance of rivalry in the 1570s was to be replayed in the 1630s when the increasing number of English fishermen in the area were to attract Lowland Scottish hostility.¹⁶

English soldiers and mariners also had a long acquaintance with Hebridean redshanks who regularly ranged down into Ireland which was, in theory if not in practice, under the control of the English crown. While James VI had sought a 'ship or twa' from Elizabeth, queen of England, to help suppress Hebridean support for her Irish 'rebels' in the 1590s these overtures did not seemingly come to fruition. It was not until the Union of the Crowns in 1603 that Englishmen (as far as is known) such as Captain John Perkins who served both Elizabeth and latterly king James in Scottish and Irish waters came to play a more significant and official state role for the first time in the isles.¹⁷

King James and English in the Isles, 1603–1610

Yet while the defeat of the Gaelic Irish following the Nine Years War, 1594–1603, and the Union of 1603 curtailed Hebridean activity in Ireland, islanders such as the Macleods of Lewis and the Macneils of Barra remained conspicuously undaunted by the prospect of a newly formed British State. An army supply

for the seizure of this ship at the Isle of Mull, alleging that some of the Englishmen had been slain and 'cast to the dogs to be deveoured.' This last, rather lurid, allegation seems unlikely given that Maclean of Duart and his close ally Macneil of Barra, trusted Englishmen enough to have a close kinsman of Macneil, a 'John Neil' sent to Bristol, presumably for an apprenticeship. *CSP, Scot*, xii, 35–37, 145. N. Maclean-Bristol, *Murder Under Trust*, 167. TNA, SP 52/29, fol. 48, 245 (951). TNA, 12/150, fol. 105. Four Englishmen shipwrecked at Lewis, 5 March 1590, were given assistance by the burgh of Edinburgh, to the value of £8, see Wood & Hannay (eds.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, A.D. 1589 to A.D. 1603*, 35.

16 *RPCS*, xiv, 329–338. Walter Dull appears in the Bristol port books as the master of the *George* of Bristol in 1564. S. Flavin & E.T. Jones (eds.), *Bristol's Trade with Ireland and the Continent, 1503–1601* (Bristol Record Society, Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2009), 616, 652.

17 Perkins petitioned Charles I, 28 Nov 1629, for payment due after services rendered to King James and to Queen Elizabeth undertaken in the Isles of Scotland. The mention of the English Queen Elizabeth, died 1603, suggests an early date for English involvement. *CSP, Ireland (Charles I)*, 1625–32, 496.

ship, *the Anthony* of London, bound for the English garrison at Lough Foyle in the north of Ireland was driven by stress of weather to the Sound of Barra in November 1603. The Macneils of Barra lured the ship into their harbour at Bàgh a' Chaisteil under an offer of 'protection' from the predatory, neighbouring, Macdonalds of Clanranald in Uist. No sooner had the ship weighed anchor at Bàgh a' Chaisteil, by Ciosmul Castle, the stronghold of the Macneils, than the locals picked the cargo clean, the presence of Lowland Scottish middlemen there hinting at a well-practised operation.¹⁸ This was, no doubt, a further reminder to James VI & I and his officials, if they needed it following the recent failure of the Lewis plantation, that they had unfinished business on the west coast of Scotland.

The Fife Adventurers returned to Lewis in the Autumn of 1605 and while most of the personnel and shipping involved in the second phase of the Fife Adventurers' plantation in Lewis, 1605–1607, was Scottish, an English presence can be detected here, operating with official sanction for the first time in Scottish waters.¹⁹ While the Anglo-Scottish approach to the pacification of the Borders, James VI's other problem area, has always had a high profile and been the subject of several recent studies, the parallel maritime contribution by English forces in the Scottish islands has not received a similar amount of attention due, in part, to the lack of a readily available corpus of evidence.²⁰ Fragments of information survive, however, which hint at English involvement.

18 Depositions of Abraham Ackland, mariner, Wapping, and John Williamson, Ayr (16 April 1604), TNA, HCA 13/37, fol. 2r–4v. I owe this reference to Dr Alison Cathcart, University of Strathclyde. The master of *the Anthony* was Frances Rairdon and a merchant, Anthony Duffield, who accompanied his goods aboard the ship, had to watch most of his merchandise being pilfered. The Scottish middlemen who, it was alleged, willingly accepted the plundered goods were Abraham Simpson of Largs, owner of the *Gift of God*, and Henry Fferison of Renfrew, master of that vessel. The reputation of the Macneils of Barra for piracy and plunder in the sixteenth century was well earned. There are references to them ranging as far south as Bristol on the east coast of Ireland and Mayo on the west. N.A.M. Rodger, *Safeguard of the Seas. A Naval History of Britain, volume one 660–1649* (London, 1997), 290. Appleby, *Calendar of Material relating to Ireland from the High Court of Admiralty examinations, 1536–1641*, no 478–480, p. 106–107. Mackenzie, *History of the Mackenzies*, 549. CSP, *Ireland, 1588–1592*, iv, 396–397. CSP, *Scot*, xii, 206.

19 For something on the identity of the Scottish ships and personnel involved in the plantation of Lewis at this time see Appendix C2 and notes.

20 A. Groundwater, 'The chasm between James VI and I's vision of the orderly "Middle Shires" and the "Wickit" Scottish Borderers between 1587 and 1625,' *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 30.4, Fall/automne 2006/2007, 105–132 at 119–126. S.J. Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire. Northumberland, 1586–1625* (Leicester University Press), 138–156. Macinnes, 'Making the plantations British, 1603–38,' 101.

A Captain May served in the North Isles and more specifically at Lewis, on his majesty's pinnace the *Moon*. This duty had included the successful re-establishment of the Fife Adventurers in Lewis in the Autumn of 1605 which had been completed by November 1605. James Elphinstone, Lord Balmerino, James VI's Scottish secretary in Edinburgh, who was shortly to take a direct interest in the Lewis plantation himself, had been informed by 'the gentilmen who by his heyghnes authoritie ar placeit in the Lewis' that Captain May had performed his role well. Elphinstone commended May to his masters in London as he had 'caryed himself very dewtifully.'²¹

While nothing further is heard of Captain May, his ship, *the Moon*, which had previously seen service in the English campaigns in Ireland, was to figure prominently again in the government campaign in the islands which resulted in the Statutes of Iona.²² While this has often been viewed largely from a Scottish perspective, Alison Cathcart has recently stressed the broader, archipelagic outlook of King James regarding the Scottish Isles.²³ Certainly the English forces in Ireland were being pressed into supporting King James's efforts to impose a greater degree of royal control in the Hebrides from as early as 1604–1605 and acted as auxiliaries called in periodically to help the Scots crown in the isles.²⁴ Sir Arthur Chichester, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, earmarked 400 men for service in the Hebrides to contribute military help to the Scots in 'planting' and 'settling' the area, commenting in a letter to London, 5 April 1608, that the Scottish islanders 'ar a people for the most part as false and treachearous as the barbarous Irish.'²⁵ James VI & I replied to Chichester, 26 April 1608, authorising a deployment of 400–500 men from Ireland to support Lord Ochiltree and Bishop Knox's campaign in the Hebrides on the condition that no Gaelic Irishmen were to be employed in the service. James had issued similar instructions to the Earl of Huntly the previous year. Huntly was specifically instructed not to bring any Lochaber men in to plant the Hebrides. James clearly feared that placing two groups of Gaelic speaking malcontents in

21 Letter, James Lord Balmerino in Edinburgh to their Lordships in London, 23 November 1605. TNA SP 14/16, fol. 193. This is possibly the same Captain Joseph May who had petitioned the king a year earlier for a grant in lieu of reward for his 14 years service on sea and land. For further references to his career see *HMC, Hatfield MSS*, vols. x, 264; xi, 117, 122; xii, 68, 599; xvi, 448–449.

22 TNA, SP 63/209/2, fol. 101. *HMC, Hatfield MSS*, xvi, 101.

23 Cathcart, 'The Statutes of Iona: the archipelagic context' at 17–21.

24 *HMC, Hatfield MSS*, vols., xvi, 430; vol. xvii, 12, 20, 152.

25 Letter, 5 April 1608, Sir Arthur Chichester to the Lords of [the English] Privy Council, TNA, SP 63/223, fol. 154.

close proximity was a danger best avoided.²⁶ Indeed, there were various co-ordinated efforts by crown officials in both Scotland and Ireland to control movement to and fro Ireland at this time.²⁷

While the English navy favoured modern sailing ships such as galleons and pinnaces in Hebridean waters there was a recognition that the ships favoured in the Highlands and islands, galleys, lymfaddis and birlinns, with a shallow draught and powered by oar and sail were ideally suited to such a long serrated coastline, sea lochs, beaches and contrary winds. This was expressed in a number of edicts commanding the destruction of islanders' ships, 1598–1616. The king also in the month of May, 1608, thought it necessary to send one of his own 'Ilis gallies,' probably a Hebridean style galley, from the Thames up to the Hebrides. This galley was placed under the command of Captain Richard Bingley to provide additional support for Chichester's men.²⁸ James had also authorised two warships, the *Tramontana* and the *Lion's Whelp* to go with Chichester's men to the Hebrides in April 1608.²⁹ It is unclear if these ships actually did go to the Isles but three other vessels certainly did. The *Moon*, the

26 Robertson, *Lordship and Power in the North of Scotland. The Noble House of Huntly*, 39. *CSP, James I*, ii, 487. *RPCS*, vii, 524–5. The perceived potential for barbarous recidivism rather than issues of language and culture was probably what linked both groups in James's mind. Although Scots and Irish Gaels had much in common culturally there was significant difference in speech between Gaels in both countries (to the point of some difficulty with mutual intelligibility). However, the activities of Hebrideans in joining up with and fighting alongside Gaelic Irish chieftains was a recent and potent memory. For contrasting interpretations on issues of language and culture see, McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 49–54. cf. Review of McLeod's 'Divided Gaels' *History Scotland*, 6/5 (September 2006), 50–53. Horsburgh, 'When was Gaelic Scottish? The origins, emergence and development of a Scottish Gaelic identity,' 231–242. MacCoinnich, 'Where was Gaelic written?', 313. *Collectanea*, 48–9. For Hebrideans fighting in Ireland pre 1603 more generally, see, G.A. Hayes-McCoy, *Scots Mercenary Forces In Ireland, 1565–1603* (Dublin, 1937).

27 Cathcart, 'The Statutes of Iona: the archipelagic context,' 17–18.

28 *CSP, James I*, ii, 487. The use of 'ilis' in the source suggests that this was a Hebridean galley, birlinn or 'lymfad' rather than the Mediterranean style galley more commonly used in English service. While there were commissions issued by the Scottish Privy Council authorising the destruction of birlinns in the Hebrides, it is possible that this reference to 'one of my Ilis gallies' could mean that a number of these were confiscated by the Crown for use in royal service. For such commissions to destroy birlinns (12–18 oars), galleys (18–24 oars) and lymfaddis (over 24 oars) in the Isles 1598, 1605, 1615 see *RPCS*, v, 467–8. *RPCS*, vii, 87. *RPCS*, x, 346–8. See also, D. Rixon, *The West Highland Galley* (Birlinn, Edinburgh, 1998), 72, 90–98. E.D. Adair, 'English galleys in the sixteenth century' *English Historical Review*, 35 (1920), 497–512.

29 *CSP James I*, ii, 487.

Advantage and the *Mercury*, were sent from England (or Ireland) for service in the Scottish Isles perhaps in 1607 and again in the Spring and Summer of 1608 under the command of Sir William St John.³⁰ A reference to a ‘canonier’ named Henry Mills, hints at the reason behind the deployment of these vessels, floating gun batteries, that were ideally suited to putting pressure on recalcitrant Scottish islanders, many of whose medieval stronghouses had been built adjacent to sea lanes but were now vulnerable to maritime artillery.³¹ That the efforts of Lord Ochiltree and Bishop Knox in corralling and coercing Hebridean chiefs in 1608 and 1609 were successful owed a great deal to the presence of armed English shipping.³²

Monson, Mason and their Early Experiences in the Hebrides

Two of those in command of English ships around this time, Sir William Monson, Admiral of the Narrow seas, and Captain John Mason were to have a long involvement and interest in the Hebrides, stretching into the 1630s with the

30 The English ship the *Moon*, en route to the Scottish Isles called in at Ayr in June 1608 with Lord Ochiltree, Lord Abercorn and ‘Captain William Sanctjone,’ together with various unnamed English captains. They were given hospitality by the burgh. Pryde, (ed.), *Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534–1624*, 236.

31 An engineer, Captain Nicholas Pynnar, wrote to the Earl of Salisbury, 31 March 1608, hoping to be allowed to serve in the in the forthcoming expedition to the Scottish Isles. Pynnar was later to play a role in the plantation of Ulster. Sir William St John, an associate of Chichester, also seems to have been active in the Hebrides the previous year, 1606–1607. St John was selected for the 1608 expedition due to this previous experience. The town of Glasgow made a payment to cover the costs of powder and lead taken on by this fleet bound for the isles. The *Advantage*, a galleon (active 1590–1614) appears to have been the larger of the three vessels, at 140–180 tons with 18 guns. The *Moon* (1586–1626) and the *Mercury* (1592–1626) were smaller (around 100 tons) and probably carried around 12 guns each. The Macleods of Lewis had first experienced the destructive properties of artillery in 1506 when their castle at Stornoway was destroyed by (Scottish) royal gunners. *RPCS*, viii, 59–61. *CSP, James I, 1603–1610*: 419, 525. *HMC, Hatfield MSS*, xix, 170. *HMC, Hatfield MSS*, xx, 101, 120, 225. Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 207, 211, 240. Marwick, (ed.), *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, A.D. 1573–1642*, 476. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea*, 219, 480, 487–8. Adair, ‘English galleys in the sixteenth century,’ 497–512. D.H. Caldwell & N.A. Ruckley, ‘Domestic architecture in the Lordship of the Isles,’ in R. Oram & G. Stell (eds.), *Lordship & Architecture in Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* (Birlinn, Edinburgh, 2005), 96–121, at 96–99. MacCoinnich, ‘Siol Torcail and their lordship in the sixteenth century,’ 9–10.

32 ‘Elphinstone Papers,’ no. 80, in, *HMC, Appendix to the 9th Report, part II* (London, 1884), 198. *HMC, Hatfield MSS*, xx, 225.

fishery company and projected British colony in Lewis. Sir William Monson whose naval career started in the 1580s had worked closely with some of the ships and men involved in the Hebrides such as William St John. St John and ships including the *Advantage* and the *Lion's Whelp* joined Monson in an action against pirates in Baltimore, southern Ireland in August 1607 and no doubt shared their Hebridean experiences with him.³³ Sir William Monson's first known appearance in Scottish waters was not until April 1614, in pursuit of pirates in Orkney.

Monson wrote a letter from Orkney to the Scottish Privy Council, 7 June 1614, explaining that some of the pirates had escaped, possibly to Lewis or Ireland and that he intended to follow them on his ship, the *Lyon*.³⁴ While he had clearly been in the vicinity of Lewis it is not clear if he went ashore or spent any time in the island. Monson, was later to resurface as one of the most influential advocates of the British fishery company in the 1630s (or might be perceived as such by modern researchers due to the survival of his voluminous writings). Monson did not, perhaps, have a detailed knowledge of conditions in Lewis and he relied on the advice of Captain Alexander Muir, a former planter in Lewis, who had lost much of his fortune and a brother in Lewis thirty years earlier.³⁵ Another leading English mariner, however, who was to the fore in driving forward the British fishery company in Lewis, Captain John Mason, did know the island and its people well from first hand experience. Mason, much more than Monson, was instrumental in orchestrating the day to day running of the British fishery company, from 1629–30 onwards and became factor or admiral of the company's fleet, based at Stornoway in 1633.³⁶

Captain Mason and the Assize Fishing of the North Isles

Mason, moreover, had, unlike Monson, longstanding personal experience in and connections with the Scottish Highlands and Islands. His experiences

33 HMC, *Hatfield MSS*, xix, 234. A. Thrush, 'Monson, Sir William (1568?–1643),' *ODNB*, entry no. 18991.

34 Monson related that he had narrowly missed catching a pirate in Orkney and at Caithness, 1 June 1614, but was now provisioned and ready to set sail. He left the *Adventure* in Orkney 'for intelligences' and took the ship the *Lyon* because 'it goes much better than the *Adventure*.' The pirates had 'gone for the islands of Lewis or of Ireland whither (godwill-ing) I intend to pursue them.' Letter, William Monson, to the Privy Council in Edinburgh, dated at Orkney, 7 June 1614. NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 5, no. 40, 43.

35 For Captain Alexander Muir, from Cotland in south west Scotland, see appendix C4 and notes.

36 CSP, *Domestic: Charles I, 1633–1634*, 42. Commission to Captain John Mason, at Whitehall, 13 May 1633, appendix F3.

dated back to 1610 when he outfitted a flotilla of two warships and two pinaces with eighty mariners paid for from his own funds to cruise around the Hebrides in support of Bishop Knox's campaign to 'subdue the rebellious red-shankes' in the islands. Mason's expedition, for fourteen months in 1610 and 1611, came just after the Statutes of Iona. The rest of the islands having been pacified or at least the clan hierarchies in most of the islands having temporarily been cowed, the most significant action requiring Mason's presence at this time was almost certainly support for the Mackenzie invasion and conquest of Lewis. The Mackenzies moved in and conquered most of the island fairly rapidly, although Niall Odhar Macleod and his followers, together with other disaffected elements, continued to resist them sporadically for several years.³⁷

For the ambitious Captain Mason, aged around 24 in 1610, and probably financed by his father-in-law, an English goldsmith, the expedition to the isles must have seemed like a promising opportunity to advance his career and fortune in royal service. However, this expedition of 1610–1611 not only proved un-remunerative but left him with debt. Getting paid for his service proved problematic and Mason was still petitioning the crown for his expenses some fourteen years later when he submitted a claim in 1629 for an initial sum of £2238 together with the subsequent accrual of interest.³⁸ The Earl of Dunbar, the Scottish treasurer who promised to pay Mason for his service in the 'red-shank' isles had died in 1611.³⁹ Dunbar's successors saw no reason to honour

37 Niall Odhar Macleod was tried 31 March 1613, and executed shortly afterwards. Some of Niall Odhar's former associates were still on the loose in July 1614. *Highland Papers*, ii, 278–279. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 246–247, 252–255, 255–259. NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 80r–84r. NRS, DI 62/4, fol. 134.

38 Declaration or petition of Capt. John Mason, treasurer of the army, to the King, c.1629. TNA, SP 16/154, fol. 20. Contemporary Scottish goldsmiths such as Thomas Foullis burgess of Edinburgh acted as lenders and bankers and their English counterparts may have done the same. Coutts, *The Business of the College of Justice in 1600*, 445–451. For a discussion of English goldsmiths as moneylenders, albeit in the later 1630s, see the next footnote and further down in this chapter.

39 It is not clear how Mason came to possess sufficient capital to outfit a small squadron such as this in the first place. He had, however, married Anne Greene, who was the daughter of an Edward Greene, goldsmith of London. Mason's sister-in-law, Rebecca Greene, was married to another goldsmith, Sir John Woolaston, both of whom may, possibly, have been in a position to help finance Mason: goldsmiths often acted as financiers in the later seventeenth century if not at this time. Tuttle & Dean, (eds.), *Captain John Mason, the Founder of New Hampshire*, 35. TNA, SP 16/154, fol. 20. D. Dymond, *Captain John Mason and the Duke of Buckingham. The Portsmouth Papers*, no. 17 (Portsmouth City Council, 1972), 3. M. Lee jun., 'Home, George, earl of Dunbar (d. 1611)', *ODNB*, entry no. 13642. C.E. Clark, 'Mason, John, 1586–1635', *ODNB*, entry no. 18280. J. Kim, 'How modern banking

the promise of payment to Mason, who was instead palmed off with a vague promise of lands in Ireland which he never received and the assize herring revenues, an innovatory grant licencing Mason to tax the herring fisheries of the North Isles around the island of North Rona in May 1612.⁴⁰ This authorised Mason to extract revenues from fishermen in the northern seas ranging from Uist in the west to Buchan in the east, starting 1 June 1612 and valid until 1 February 1613.⁴¹ On paper, at least, this may have seemed to Mason as lucrative recompense and it may also have seemed like an expedient solution for the Scots Privy Council, for whom this would cost nothing: they were not able to raise tax from the fishing in this area themselves in any case. This grant also fitted in with the wider British policy of claiming sovereignty of the seas and putting pressure on foreign vessels, notably Dutchmen in the North Isles or Hebrides to complement foreign policy initiatives that James favoured in the

originated: the London goldsmith-bankers' institutionalisation of trust,' in *Business History*, 53 (2011), 939–959, at 940–945.

40 Tuttle & Dean, (eds.), *Captain John Mason*, 10, 265. Mason claimed, 15 April 1633, that this was a revival of a practice instituted by the king's grandfather, James V, but if so, it had long fallen into abeyance. The fishermen of the Scots burghs viewed the tax as an unwelcome innovation. TNA, SP 12/237, fol. 15, 135. The Dutch too protested about this innovative tax. See T.W. Fulton, *Sovereignty of the Sea. An historical account of the claims of England to the dominion of the British Seas, and of the evolution of the territorial waters: with special reference to the rights of fishing and the naval salute* (Edinburgh, 1911), 153–155, 164–169. Mason was not alone in failing to get paid for his services to the king. Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, who together with Bishop Knox had masterminded the Crown's crackdown in the Hebrides was impoverished, by around 1612, due to '...the great straittes and extremities wherunto I am dreaven upon occasion of that yor Ma[jes]teis employment and service which I undertook and performed in the ylls...' Ochiltree was hounded by his creditors '...with all extremity that the law culd afford, be chairge, inhibitiones, denunceing of my landis and comprysing of the same...' to the point where he claimed he was afraid to set foot in Scotland. Letter, Andrew Lord Ochiltree to the king, no date, c. 1612. NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 4, No. 8 (folio 19).

41 *RPCS*, ix, 377. This island 'Ronalewis,' is named in several documents in association with the Lewis fishery. There are two islands called 'Rona' associated with the lordship of Lewis. The island referred to here seems to have been North Rona, some 60 miles NNE of the Butt of Lewis, close by the sea-stack of Sulaisgeir. It was situated on a major international sea road in the North Atlantic and was well-positioned for the purposes of privateering or piracy. The other, less likely candidate is the other island of Rona, to the east of Skye and to the north of Raasay (and also formerly a part of the Macleod Lordship of Lewis). This latter island was described by Donald Monro in 1549 as having 'ane heavin for heiland galeys,' a relatively sheltered anchorage, an advantage which North Rona lacked. Monro, 'Description of the Western Isles of Scotland,' 322 & 338–339. M. Robson, *Rona, the distant Island* (Acair, Stornoway, 1991), 83–84.

north, not least the annexation of the Shetlands and Orkneys from the Danish crown.⁴²

Mason wasted no time in pursuing an energetic stop and search policy to make good his grant of the tax revenues of the fishing of the North Isles. His activities provoked a furious response from the Scots fishermen within a month of him exercising his right. The mariners of Fife complained to the Scottish Privy Council about Mason's actions in July 1612 and maintained their pressure even after Mason's tack had expired. Robert Alexander, commissioner for the burgh of Anstruther Easter, pressed in 1614 for compensation for the burgh's fishermen from whom, he claimed, Mason had earlier extorted £400 worth of herring while they plied their trade in around the Orkneys and Shetlands.⁴³ Mason seems to have believed, or wished to believe, that this tax had first been levied by James V on every last of herring, but if so, such a tax had probably never been levied in the waters where Mason had attempted to raise it.⁴⁴ The Scots fishers seem to have been successful in stopping Mason's exactions on the grounds that this was a novel imposition and that although they were technically fishing in domestic waters, in practice their expeditions incurred an outlay akin to that of a foreign merchant voyage. In addition to this, they claimed that all the herring they caught were 'saltit and barrelit upoun the sea,' and the fishermen thus never set foot on Scottish soil. The burghs, successfully, claimed that the introduction of this levy originally granted to Mason had been and continued to be unjust, that it led to the decay of trade and the impoverishment of their own trade and that, therefore, it imperilled the livelihood of the fishermen.⁴⁵

Mason's Career: Piracy, Plantation and Naval Procurement

Mason's involvement with the Hebrides came in 1610–14, briefly in 1615, and again in 1630–34. Given Mason's long lasting, intermittent, association with the Scottish islands, it is worth paying brief attention to the wider span of his career, 1610–34, as his actions elsewhere, whether in Newfoundland as a privateer in

42 Macinnes, 'Making the plantations British, 1603–38,' 106–107. Macinnes, *The British Revolution, 1629–1660*, 61. Van Ittersum, 'Mare Liberum versus the propriety of the seas?' 239–276.

43 *RPCS*, ix, 427–8, 507–8. *RCRBS*, ii, 455.

44 TNA, SP 12/237, fol. 15, 135.

45 Letter, 16 May 1614, from the Privy Council, Edinburgh to the King in London. NLS, Adv MS 33.1.1, vol. 5, no. 25.

the English channel, in England as commissary for the English navy, or in New Hampshire and New England, have a direct bearing and relationship to his activities in Lewis in the 1630s. Captain Mason, following his disappointing attempts to secure the herring revenues from the North Isles, 1612–1613, attempted to make good his losses through trade in 1613 and 1614, by bringing cargoes of goods from Carrickfergus in Ireland back to his home port of King's Lynn and seems to have traded regularly with Amsterdam, France and possibly Denmark.⁴⁶ He returned briefly to the north of Scotland in 1615, perhaps disgruntled with his lot as a trader. His brief, unhappy, spell as a tacksman of the assize herring in Hebridean waters may have proved unprofitable, but he had seen at first hand the volume of foreign mercantile traffic on the shipping lanes to the north of Scotland.

When Mason returned to the environs of North Rona, the most northerly part of the Lordship of Lewis, in early 1615 his intention appears to have been plunder rather than taxation. He patrolled from North Rona across to the Shetlands and towards the coast of Norway and took several Baltic and Scandinavian ships as prizes.⁴⁷ Mason had made plenty of enemies during his spell as the collector of taxation of fisheries off northern Scotland and this may have contributed to the alacrity with which he was seized when he put in to a harbour in Caithness. He was transferred to Edinburgh and imprisoned in the tollbooth there for some eight weeks in the summer of 1615 charged with piracy.⁴⁸

Mason was eventually released, presumably due to his connections and influence of some of the powerful patrons with whom he would be later

46 Mason landed a cargo in King's Lynn of 17,000 pipe staves, together with beef pork and tallow from Carrickfergus, 11 February 1613 on the *Golden Fleece*. Around the same time he traded in Scots coal and brown papers from Amsterdam, April and May 1614 on his ship, the *Neptune*. In the summer of 1614 his cargoes also on the *Neptune* included 15 lasts of Danish rye and half a hundredweight of cork, 14 lasts of Flemish wheat, and five hogsheads of French wine. By September he was bringing rye, hops and malt in from Amsterdam to King's Lynn and selling goods in Ireland. G. Alan Metters (ed.), *King's Lynn Port Books, 1610–1614* (Norfolk Record Society, Norwich, 2009), 159 162, 164, 170, 173, 178, 196, 198. Mason also engaged in coastal trading from Lynn to London, Berwick, Blakeney and Scarborough around this time. G. Alan Metters, 'Corn, coal and commerce: merchants and coastal trading in early Jacobean King's Lynn' *International Journal of Maritime History*, 23 (2011), 149–178 at 170. Mason bought the *Neptune*, from three merchants in Amsterdam, Roger Dickenson, John Hairar and Peter Allane. NRS, E 90/1.

47 Murdoch, *The Terror of the Seas?* 132–3, 140. Pitcairn, *Trials*, iii, 109–111.

48 Mason was seized 15 June 1615 and held until 24 August. NRS, E 90/1. Laing, (ed.), *Royal Letters Charters and Tracts relating to the Colonisation of New Scotland*, 4–5 & note 3. *RPCS*, ix, 18, 377, 530–32. Pitcairn, *Trials*, iii, 100–111. NLS, Adv Ms 33.1.2, vol. 14, fol. 48.

associated in both the navy and the British fisheries company, not least Sir William Alexander. Mason, though, may only have been freed at the cost of his boat, the *Neptune*, which he sold or had to sell, 24 August 1615, to Gideon Murray, the Lord Treasurer of Scotland, possibly to cover the costs of claims arising from the alleged piracy. A measure perhaps, of Mason's stock in London, if not in Edinburgh, was that no sooner had he disengaged himself from Scotland than he was appointed as governor in Cupid's Cove, Newfoundland, where he spent five relatively successful years, 1616–21. His achievements there included producing the first accurate map of Newfoundland (published in Edinburgh) and, no doubt, regulating and overseeing the taxation of fisheries.⁴⁹

Peter Pope has, however, suggested that Mason's interest in the development of the fishery industry during his spell in Newfoundland was limited and that Mason had a greater interest in the raising of revenue than in development of the fishery itself.⁵⁰ His preoccupation with the income generated by fishing was paralleled by one of his colleagues in North American plantation, Sir Fernando Gorges, who was quoted around 1621 as saying that if 'the fishing be made free the plantation will fayle,' reflecting the economic importance of the fisheries for underwriting plantation.⁵¹ Keen to drum up commercial interest in the area and attract settlers, Mason gave a description of Newfoundland 'in too glowing terms,' anticipating later, similarly rosy, descriptions of Lewis in 1630. The transatlantic aspect of Mason's career included early signs of his ambition to further his own wealth in English service and also, in common with his compatriots, to check Dutch competition where ever it manifested itself. As early as 1621 Mason, together with Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, among others, who was later to be one of the leading backers of the British fishery company, expressed concern about Dutch encroachments in the 'north partis of Virginia' and in New Netherlands. Mason's own colonial

49 NRS, E 90/1. The publication of Mason's tract on Newfoundland at Edinburgh in 1620, suggested that he had influential friends in Scotland and of these Sir William Alexander, a Privy Councillor from 1615 and later a planter in Nova Scotia, is the easiest to identify. D.C. Harvey, 'Alexander, Sir William, Earl of Stirling,' and G.T. Cell, 'Mason, John.' Both of these accessed via the website *Online Canadian Dictionary of Biography*: <<http://www.biographi.ca/>>.

50 Pope, *Fish into wine*, 48–51.

51 This comment, relating to the fishing in New England and Newfoundland (1621), was scribbled on the reverse of a copy of a patent for the plantation of two colonies at Virginia, 1607. University of Virginia Special Collections, MSS 11625. I owe this reference to Dr Sarah Barber, University of Lancaster.

ambitions in New England and in New Hampshire were realised when he was granted large tracts of land, some 5000 acres there, in 1622.⁵²

Mason built a fort on an island in the Piscataway river on the border between New Hampshire and Maine and the area was also carefully surveyed. Mason similarly commissioned a map in Newfoundland and was later to do in Lewis. Cartography in these areas, as in Virginia, Bermuda, Ireland was an important tool for English colonists. Maps facilitated a better awareness of boundaries, spatial relationships and greatly helped in managing unfamiliar acquisitions.⁵³ Mason, soon after his return to England, 1621–22, caught the eye of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the Lord High Admiral of England. Buckingham was determined to revitalise the corrupt and inefficient navy through reforms in administration and a programme of shipbuilding and was on the lookout for ambitious and capable officers. Mason, a deputy of the Duke of Buckingham, was Commissary General and then treasurer of the army and navy in the unhappy English campaigns in Cadiz (1625) and La Rochelle (1627–8) although not held to blame for either of these humiliating defeats.⁵⁴

Mason became captain of the *Constant Reformation* for a period after 1626 and supplemented his income as well as meagre naval funds by taking a number of (mainly) French prizes in and around the Narrow Seas (English Channel) in the later 1620s, and at least one prize off the Irish coast in 1626.⁵⁵ His enthusiasm

52 TNA, SP 84/144, fol. 184. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720*, ii, 304. The Earl of Arundel had been involved with the fishery at Yarmouth as early as 1623. J.R. Gruenfelder, 'Great Yarmouth, its haven and the Crown, 1603–1642' in *Norfolk Archaeology, or Miscellaneous tracts relating to the antiquities of the county of Norfolk* 43 (1998), 143–154, at 147.

53 Tuttle & Dean, (eds.), *Captain John Mason*, 5–6, 10–12, 130–131, 142. W.C. Ford, 'Captain John Smith's map of Virginia, 1612,' in the *Geographical Review*, 14 (1924), 433–443. Many such English maps survive from Ireland at this time. J.H. Andrews, 'Sir Richard Bingham and the mapping of Western Ireland' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, vol. 103C (2003), 61–95. A. Margey, 'Representing plantation landscapes: the mapping of Ulster, c. 1540–1640' in J. Lyttleton & C. Rynne (eds.), *Plantation Ireland. Settlement and material culture, c.1550–c.1700* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2009), 140–164. M. Jarvis, 'Bermuda's 'Domesday Book.' Richard Norwoods' surveys and the development of the Somers Islands, 1616–63,' in *Post Medieval Archaeology*, 45 (2011), 54–73 at, 55–57. For the later map of Lewis drawn at Mason's direction see the discussion in the main text, below.

54 Dymond, *Captain John Mason and the Duke of Buckingham*, 4.

55 Dymond, *Captain John Mason and the Duke of Buckingham*, 5–9, 10, 11–13. Mason captured a Turkish man of war off the Irish coast in April 1626 and brought it into Plymouth. Appleby (ed.), *Calendar of Material relating to Ireland from the High Court of Admiralty Examinations*, no. 1295, p. 309.

for privateering, which had seen him spend time in prison in Edinburgh in 1615, was to remain constant throughout his career, as were his colonial, entrepreneurial, naval interests all of which would feature in his involvement with Lewis, 1630–34.⁵⁶ Mason was also deeply involved in affairs in New Hampshire at the time of his death in 1635. His last will and testament largely deals with unresolved issues relating to properties in New Hampshire, but also shows concern for the poor in his home town of King's Lynn, England, reflecting the transatlantic nature of his career and ambitions.⁵⁷ The development of the fishery and the English station (rather than a colony) at the Isle of Lewis, were part of the wider strategy of Mason and his colleagues aiming at developing a global network of power at the expense of their Dutch competitors, whether in the East Indies, the New World, the Arctic, or indeed, in the Hebrides.⁵⁸ These ambitions and concerns can be seen outlined in a memo written for Mason's close associate, Secretary John Coke, around 1630, which stressed the need for English interests to press for advantage at home and abroad. This was not confined to fish but concerned a range of commodities from cloth, bullion, iron ordinance, and timber to tobacco. All of this was in the wider strategic interest of the country, of England if not Britain, in terms of commerce, security and prestige. The mention of Lewis in the middle of this document neatly ties the proposed English plantation of Lewis with wider English or British naval strategic interests. It is not clear if Mason was the writer of this particular memo, but he certainly appears to have shared similar sentiments.⁵⁹

56 G.P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes 1620–1686* (Glasgow 1922), 33–39. Tuttle & Dean, (eds.), *Captain John Mason*, 81, 82, 131, 140. G.T. Cell (ed.), *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610–1630* (London, 1982), 12–14, 53, 89–99, 271. TNA, SP 84/144, fol. 18. TNA, Prob/11/169, ff. 277v–279r.

57 When Mason drew up his will he left '2000 merks of land in my county of New Hampshire... Mannor of Mason Hall in New England.' He stipulated that his heirs should after his decease 'plant and sett upon the said two thousand acres of land five families of people at least to plant upon the same and that the cleare yearly profit...' be donated to the poor in (his home port) of Kings Lynn. He also left lands, a further 3000 acres of New Hampshire and lands in 'Capeham of Wagen upon the south east side of New England' to his wife and John Wollaston his brother in law. Mason's will, 22 December 1635. TNA, Prob/11/169, ff. 277v–279r, fol. 278r–278v. J.R. Danielle, *Colonial New Hampshire: A History* (Millwood, New York, 1981) 21–25, 42–43. D.R. McManis, *Colonial New England: A Historical Geography* (OUP, London, 1975), 33–34. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes 1620 – 1686*, 33–39.

58 Calder, *Revolutionary Empire*, 102, 111, 133–134. Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 713–715. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720*, ii, 361–362. For the global scope of Anglo-Dutch rivalry see, Geyl, *History of the Dutch Speaking Peoples*, 462–468, 486–488, 491–492.

59 TNA, SP 16/229/102. See appendix F7 and also appendix F6.

In addition to his naval duties, Mason also took charge of the refurbishment of coastal defences on the south coast of England, including Southsea castle outside Portsmouth. It was when visiting Mason's house in Portsmouth that the Duke of Buckingham, was assassinated in 1628.⁶⁰ In an era when patronage and connections were vitally important, Mason's connections with the Earls of Portland, Arundel, Sir Edward Nicholas, Sir John Coke and others enabled him to remain in post following his master's assassination. He continued to be active in the docks at Woolwich and Portsmouth in this period, overseeing the refurbishment of the fleet.⁶¹ Mason, attempting to build ships, was in need of timber, an expensive resource imported to England mainly from Scandinavia and the Baltic.

Mason, with his previous experience in the north of Scotland, was well aware of Highland timber reserves. He would know, for example, of the Mackenzie saw mills and iron works in Wester Ross taken over and developed by Sir George Hay, and had very likely seen them at first hand. Certainly the Mackenzie/Hay iron works, if not timber reserves, had attracted the attention of Mason's compatriot, John Speed in his map of Scotland of 1610.⁶² Mason would also have been aware of Cailean Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth's use of his timber reserves in Wester Ross for supplying the Dutch partners in Stornoway between 1628 and 1631 for building piers, habitations and perhaps even fishing vessels.⁶³ Over twenty English naval ships of varying sizes were built between 1622 and 1634 during the period of Mason's involvement in naval procurement and much of the timber needed for the construction of these vessels will have been imported.⁶⁴ Seaforth's dealings with the Dutch understandably rankled with English naval personnel, dependent on expensive imported European

60 W.G. Perrin (ed.), *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett* (Navy Records Society, London, 1918), 140.

61 Dymond, *Captain John Mason and the Duke of Buckingham*, 17–20. For Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, Sir John Coke, the Earls of Arundel and Pembroke and their place in the Caroline regime see Sharpe, *The personal rule of Charles I*, 145–164.

62 Speed's map bears the legend 'mines of iron' marked on Mackenzie country in Wester Ross. *The Kingdome of Scotland. Performed by John Speed and are to be sold in Popes head alley* [London] by John Sudbury and George Humbell cum priveligio, 1610. This map accessed via 'Maps of Scotland' an online resource at the National Library of Scotland: <<http://maps.nls.uk/scotland/detail.cfm?id=134>>.

For Mackenzie iron working and timber reserves, more generally, see MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', 279–296. MacCoinnich, 'Cleiffis of Irne' Clann Choinnich agus Gnìomhachas Iarainn', 137–152.

63 NRS, GD 46/18/140/1–2. NRS, GD 46/18/139.

64 Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea*, 481–482.

materials and often forced to make the 'tedious voyage to the Baltick Ocean.' Indeed one of the reasons given by an advocate of an English plantation in the Hebrides, adjacent to Highland forests, was that the Dutch

have allmost all theyr timber w[i]th w[hi]ch they build theyr ships and
busses out of yo[u]r ma[jes]tys dominions...⁶⁵

Building a Fleet: Timber and Iron

Mason, however, due to his previous experience in the Highlands and through the personal contacts he had made in Scotland, was well placed to try and source Scottish timber. He was probably, also, as part of his duties as commissary, in charge of procurement for the English navy during the latter half of the 1620s and, given his prominence in the British fishery company and his naval experience, may well have been involved in directing the building of a fleet for the British fishery company if not for the navy. The presence of Phineas Pett, the chief English shipbuilder at Chatham and Deptford on the list of the shareholders in the British fishery company, 1635, further suggests that the woods in the North, if not the fishery, may have been of considerable interest to the subscribers of the company.⁶⁶

Mason, perhaps as part of his duties on behalf of the British Fishery Company, surveyed upper Strathspey in 1630–31 and negotiated a deal with the chief of Clan Grant, May–August 1631, to lease the woods there. Sir Iain Grant of Freuchie was given £20,000 in exchange for surrendering the logging rights in three large parishes, Abernethy, Glencairnie and Kincardine to Mason and his associates. This arrangement leased them these woods for forty one years, and involved the building of saw-mills on-site and Mason also obtained the right to alter the watercourses in the area as necessary. The timber was to be cut and floated down the Spey to the sea. Much of this timber, presumably, went to build the ships either of the navy or of the British fishery company. One of the clauses in the contract that Mason drew up with Grant, at Freuchie, 28 August 1631, concerned the mineral rights, particularly any iron ore that English surveyors should find on Grant's lands. This was not simply an exploitative

65 TNA, SP 16/229/100, 'Plantation of fishing on the Islands of Scotland.' See appendix F6, at para. 9.

66 Pett owed the society for fishing £60 of unpaid subscriptions in 1635. Appendix F10. See also R. McCaughey, 'Pett, Phineas (1570–1647), shipbuilder and naval administrator,' *ODNB*, entry, no 22060.

arrangement, however, with an incoming colonial power asset stripping natural resources. Mason's workmen who were to lease the 'dwelling rowmes of Culnakyll & Abernethie' were to pay reasonable rates to Grant's men for their labour. Moreover, if ironstone was discovered in these lands, Mason was bound to enter a co-partnership with Grant to develop these resources.⁶⁷ This was clearly inspired by and in imitation of Mackenzie enterprise in Wester Ross and the Earl of Seaforth's deals with Sir George Hay, English gunsmiths and Dutch merchants.

The Mackenzies had long been ironworkers, albeit initially at a local level. They had leased their saw-mill and works in Wester Ross to Sir George Hay in 1610 as part of the deal by which they acquired Lewis from him.⁶⁸ Hay wasted no time in developing this resource, investing in new furnaces and forges. The role of the Mackenzies of Kintail and Seaforth, however, has been underestimated. By 1623 the Earl of Seaforth sought English specialists to come in and develop his foundry in and around Loch Maree, luring them away from England, presumably with the promise of higher wages. The resulting guns produced by these men at Seaforth's works in Wester Ross, were, like Seaforth's timber, being offered for sale to the Dutch using Seaforth's Dutch partners and exported to the Netherlands via the Dutch settlement at Stornoway.⁶⁹ This combined with Seaforth's parallel offers to his Dutch partners of tracts of mature timber meant that this was a loss of resources to a rival if not a potential enemy that English officials could not afford to ignore. A memorandum on the reasons for proceeding with a plantation in the Hebrides, addressed to Sir John Coke, English secretary of State (1630) makes this clear, stating that

noe Iron Ordinance be transported from Lewes apon any termes whatsoever. It is such a treasure as no nation but our selves have, and is not to be given or to be sold to oure best friends, they may turne enemies...⁷⁰

If the loss of these resources were not enough, the exploitation of the Hebridean fishery by the Dutch was something Mason and his countrymen simply could

67 This seems to have worked well for a number of years following on from the contract of August 1631 although relationships appear to have become strained between the English workmen and their hosts by 1638, following Captain Mason's death. NRS, RD 1/441, fol. 191v & 192r. NRS, GD 248/166/1/65. This antedates the better-known later eighteenth century English logging activity in the area by the York buildings company of 1728 by nearly a century. A.C. O' Dell & K. Walton, *The Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (London, 1962), 117.

68 NRS, RD 1/192, fol. 305r–314v.

69 MacCoinnich, "Cleiffis of Irne: Clann Choinnich agus gnìomhachas iarainn," 137–152.

70 TNA, SP 16/229/100 (appendix F6).

not countenance. The concurrent opposition being mustered to Seaforth's schemes in Lewis by both the Scots burghs and Lord Lorne, was watched with growing interest and anticipation by Captain Mason and his English associates.

The Emergence of the English interest and the British Fishery

The successful halting of Seaforth's plan was something of a pyrrhic victory for the Scots burghs. Having stopped Seaforth's plans to take Dutch in, the Scottish burghs were then, perhaps, taken by surprise by the interest, not only of the king who was keen to set up a 'British' fishing company, but by the strength of involvement of his English backers. The English were well aware of the size and scale of the Dutch fishing effort, long regarding it with some envy.⁷¹ English merchants aimed to supplant others in this respect and were already familiar with Irish waters. They were well aware of the potential of the fishing of the Isles and the Dutch presence there. As early as 1609 William Sebright, the town clerk of the city of London, had sought to garner English support for the Plantation of Ulster by pointing (among other things) to its proximity to the rich fishing grounds of the adjacent Scottish Islands. However, the English were not the only nationality present in Irish waters. The Dutch had also acquired, by 1611, a significant presence in the carrying trade, especially in timber, to the plantations in Ireland.⁷²

Mare Liberum?

The Dutch presence in northern and western British waters continued in the subsequent decades against a background of growing English intolerance of

71 Oppenheim, *Monson*, v, 207–11. 'Holland, not so big as one of your Majesties shires... [has] ... 20,000 ships... ..which is more than France, England, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Scotland, Denmark, Polland, Swethen and Rushea have all put together...' This in, J. Keymour, *John Keymours Observation made upon the Dutch Fishing, about the Dutch Fishing About the Year 1601, Demonstrating that there is more wealth raised out of herrings and other fish in his Majesties Seas, by the neighbouring nations in one year, than the king of Spain hath in four* (London, 1664), 2. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*, 108–110.

72 English merchants had also sought to establish fishing posts on the southern and western coasts of Ireland in the sixteenth century. Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580–1650*, 75, 151, 214, 311. For the Dutch trade in carrying timber to Ulster c. 1611, see Brewer & Bullen (eds.), *CSP, Carew, 1603–1624*, 150, 153, 297. For William Sebright, town clerk of the City of London, 1574–1613, see B.R. Masters, 'City Officers, 111. The Town Clerk,' in *The Guildhall Miscellany, volume III* (October 1969–April 1971), 55–74, at, 61–62, 72.

foreign competition and commercial rivalry. This English position was set out in the publication of a legal tract, '*Mare Clausum*,' by John Selden in 1635, dedicated to Charles I, which justified the restriction of foreigners in 'British' waters. This was a belated riposte to Hugo Grotius's '*Mare Liberum*' (1615), which had promulgated open access to all seas (to the benefit of the Dutch).⁷³ This growing southern interest in the Hebrides, which became apparent in the autumn of 1630, was outlined by English Secretary of State John Coke in a letter to Captain John Mason setting out some of the details of the proposed English-led scheme. Mason was to brief the Privy Council in Scotland of these plans, already approved in England. Despite the presence of some Scottish nobles on the committee, few Scots invested in the venture. It was primarily designed to open Scottish waters up to English fishermen at the expense of the Scottish fleet as much as the Dutch.⁷⁴ In England stock was to be raised by venturers, and 200 vessels of 30–50 tons each would be built and supplied. The clear profit was estimated at £164,414 per annum.⁷⁵

The first flush of enthusiasm for the enterprise diminished as investors proved wary and the practicalities of building an industry up against an established, efficient and technically-superior Dutch competition was realised. Once the Englishmen did get established and overcame the teething problems, they were dogged by under investment and it was alleged that their product was cured to an inferior standard than Dutch herring.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the English merchants and fishermen persevered and more realistic plans to centre the industry on Lewis involved the initial production of a fleet of ten busses. These busses, fully provisioned, would involve an initial outlay of £8350. However, it was calculated that a successful fishing season of four months duration would bring in £10,000 thus repaying the initial outlay and, it was noted in the same business plan, that 'a busse will last twenty years and better.'⁷⁷

For the Mackenzies the outlook was bleak. Cailean Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth, was still unsure about whether or not his family would be able to

73 Elder, *The Royal Fishery Companies of the Seventeenth Century*, 70. Butel, *The Atlantic*, 97. Van Ittersum, 'Mare Liberum versus the propriety of the Seas,' 239–276.

74 Macinnes, *The British Revolution, 1629–1660*, 103–105.

75 CSP, Domestic, Charles I, 1629–1631, 322, 450. APS, v, 221–2. TNA, SP 16/229/97 (see appendix F4). This echoes plans which had been mooted by Captain Robert Hitchcock in the 1570s, when he advocated the formation of an English fishing fleet along similar lines. Hitchcock, though, like the English state of his own day, advocated free and open seas, unlike the *mare clausum* approach later adopted by the Stuart monarchs. Fulton, *Sovereignty of the Seas*, 95–98, 105.

76 Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies*, ii, 364–371. Elder, *The Royal Fisheries Companies of the Seventeenth Century*, 82.

77 TNA, SP 16/229/98 (see appendix F5).

retain the Island in July 1631.⁷⁸ Charles I, encouraged by his Secretary of State, John Coke, and a cabal of London-based merchants and nobles including Lords Arundel, Pembroke and Portland, pressed ahead with plans to build a 'British' fishing company which was to have a substantial presence, if not a base, in Lewis. This was an unpalatable prospect for the Scots burghs who responded by attempting initially to restrict the ingress of foreigners and Englishmen fishing in Scottish territorial waters. In return for allowing the English into Scottish waters, the Scots countered by demanding reciprocal Scottish access into the tightly regulated English pilchard and herring fisheries.⁷⁹ This last gambit does not seem to have been successful, reflecting the lack of Scottish political influence in Caroline Britain. The Scots were forced to cede the right of the English to set up a station at Stornoway provided that the English encroached no further on Scots waters and that the Scots too be allowed to set up stations in Lewis.⁸⁰ The geographical orientation of the new company and was made explicit by the plans, in 1630, for the location of its supply warehouse in Deptford on the river Thames and a later reference, 1635, to a supply warehouse at Wapping, London.⁸¹

Ideology or Prejudice? Sir William Monson and Civility

Sir William Monson, appointed Vice Admiral of the fleet in 1635, had despite English naval preoccupations with the Narrow Seas and the English Channel, a

78 Correspondence, Cailean Mackenzie, first Earl of Seaforth (in London) to his brothers. BL, Add. MS 39187, fol. 2–4.

79 A.R. Macdonald & M. Verschuur (eds.), *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs, 1555–1631–1648* (Scottish History Society, Woodbridge, 2013), 113–114, 118–119. *RCRB*, iii, 325–326.

80 Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*, 108–113. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies*, ii, 361–371. Sharpe, *The Personal Rule of Charles I*, 154–5, 201, 250–252, 777–8. Stranger access to the English fishing grounds such as the pilchard fishery off Devon and Cornwall, the herring fishing off Yarmouth and the Newfoundland fisheries was well monitored and controlled at this time. G.G. Harris, *Trinity House of Deptford, Transactions, 1609–35* (London Record Society, 1983), no 502–513, p 154–6. Fulton, *Sovereignty of the Seas*, 227–237.

81 TNA, SP 16/229/95. SP 16/291/50 (see appendix F2 & F10). Oppenheim, *Monson*, v, 204–215. CSP, Domestic, Charles I, 1631–1633, 488–9. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*, 108–113. One of the investors, the Earl of Arundel, had a keen eye for a potential profit. As soon as the Lewis venture folded he looked to invest in Madagascar. G. Parry, *The Golden Age Restor'd: The Culture of the Stuart court, 1603–42* (Manchester, 1981), 128–129. For a full list of the supporters of the British fisheries company in 1631 see APS, v, 239–240.

keen appreciation of the strategic importance of the north and west coast of Scotland and Ireland. He also appreciated the necessity of prosecuting the British fishery for the benefit of the state not least with the aim of depriving his rivals and potential enemies, the Dutch, of fish, a 'strategic commodity'.⁸² Monson approached someone with first hand experience of plantation in Lewis, a former Scottish planter, Captain Alexander Muir of Cotland, as his consultant. Muir, who had spent several unhappy years in Lewis as one of the minor portioners at the time of the Fife Adventurers between 1598–1602 and 1605–1607, no doubt provided Monson with the first hand details of the measures necessary for plantation.⁸³ Monson then detailed in writing his six points necessary for the planting of Lewis. These were that Seaforth should have his patent to erect a burgh and introduce Dutchmen revoked, that he would resign the Isle of Lewis to the King and that English, and possibly Lowland Scots, should take over the fishing in Lewis. He had, moreover, clear ideas of how the Hebrideans should be dealt with. A governor should be appointed, a garrison built in Stornoway to help subdue the natives, and, furthermore, a rigorous programme of education introduced to teach them English. The final point stated that there should be no further traffic and especially no breeding between the Islesmen 'who are naturally the worst people in all His Majesty's dominions' and the Dutch: views shared, perhaps, by many in English naval and government circles.⁸⁴ Evidently, these two groups, the Dutch and the Scottish Gaels, were regarded as potential opponents by Monson who feared that they would co-operate to the detriment of English interests.⁸⁵

Most Scots were distinctly unenthusiastic about sharing their territorial waters with their neighbour in 1630. This had not always been the case. David Hume of Godscroft had, somewhat idealistically, shortly after the Union of the Crowns, 1603, called for the plantation of English citizens in the Hebrides as a way of simultaneously civilising the area and cementing the regal Union.⁸⁶

82 Oppenheim, *Monson*, v, 227–249. G.T. Cell (ed.), *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation, 1610–1630* (London, 1982), 32.

83 TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 92. See also Appendix C4 under 'Muir.'

84 See undated, and unattributed report, 'Survey of fisheries within the King's dominions,' probably written by or for the benefit of Secretary of State John Coke c.1630, describing how the treasure of his majesty's seas were being 'abated' by 'Belgic Pismires,' and recommending 'settling a trade and plantation in Lewis with 200 busses.' *HMC 12th Rep. App. part 111, The MSS of the Earl Cowper*, iii (London, HMSO, 1889), 146–147.

85 Oppenheim *Monson*, v, 257–260.

86 McGinnis & Williamson (eds.), *The British Union*, 216–217. Williamson, *Scotland and the Rise of Civic Culture*, 111–112. Williamson, 'Education, culture and the Scottish civic tradition,' 50–51.

This was echoed by Sir Thomas Craig, writing around 1605, also advocating the establishment of a colony of Englishmen in Skye and Lewis, 1604–05. This may have been due, perhaps, to the failure at the failure of the first attempt of the Fife Adventurers 1602 and the long hiatus before they returned for their second attempt at subjugating the area in the Autumn of 1605. Craig's reference to the mooted formation of a London Merchant company to exploit Hebridean fisheries in 1604–05 shows that the later schemes, far from emerging as a new, fully formed, concept in 1630, may have had a long period of gestation.⁸⁷ Both Hume and Craig, Scottish writers, had both seen the plantation of Englishmen in the Hebrides, 1603–05, as a means of building amity between the uneasy partners in regal union. Ironically, and unfortunately, when an English move to plant or colonise the Hebrides did emerge in the 1630s it did little to foster amity among the various groups who rubbed shoulders in the area. The lack of enthusiasm with which both 'natives' (Highlanders) and 'Scots' (Lowlanders) greeted English initiatives was, perhaps, not surprising. While Gaelic 'natives' in the western Islands, disregarded due to their perceived barbarity and inability to speak English, were unlikely to do well out of this, Lowland Scots who saw a threat to their burghal monopolies were similarly unimpressed.⁸⁸ The English initiatives were led by secretary of state Sir John Coke in London and, seemingly, by Sir William Monson. Sir William advocated a much stricter English line against the Hebrideans:

Of the many hundred islands belonging to this kingdom of Scotland and Ireland, I may say, those of Lewes exceed the rest in fertility of soil; it yields, with the labour of people, (which they are not guilty of) all manner of grain, cattle fish and fowl; and although the fire be not of wood or coals, which we esteem the best fewel, yet it hath plenty of peat or turf, and they have little cause to fear the cold. There is an old saying, which may be well applied to those islands, and the inhabitants of them, That they have a good land, and are ill people; for to speak the truth, the Christian world cannot shew a more barbarous, more bloody, and more

87 Terry (ed.), *De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus*, 288–289.

88 By the end of the seventeenth century many 'natives,' especially in the Islands could already understand if not speak 'English' (or perhaps Scots), presumably due to the nature of education in the islands (such as the school in Stornoway) and through contact with the fishing industry. If literacy (in English) is any measure, the ability to operate in that language was widespread and supposes some level of education – at least for the more advantaged members of Gaelic society – from an earlier date than is sometimes thought. See Martin, *A description of the Western Islands of Scotland circa 1695*, 203–208. MacCoinnich, 'Where and how was Gaelic written,' 319–321 & notes 15, 31–42, at 335, 338–340.

untamed generation. But his majesty being lately informed of their breeding and uncivil living, is graciously pleased to reduce them to the knowledge of God, and the acknowledgement of him, which hitherto they are ignorant in.⁸⁹

Thus the Gaelic-speaking, clannish and clearly uncivilised if not semi-savage Hebrideans were contrasted with the Scots/English-speaking, relatively civilised, inhabitants of Orkney and Shetland who were: 'good people, but possess an evil soil,' goodness and evil having taken on a linguistic/ethnic dimension. While acknowledging that these 'ill people' in the Hebrides had been reduced to a semblance of 'civilitie,' Monson wrote of a stratagem that could be implemented to help them to improve and fully civilise over time. This involved the learning of a civilised language, English, and the planting of civilised people amongst the natives in the Isle of Lewis.⁹⁰ Monson will have been aware that most of the islanders in Lewis were Protestant. While much of the rhetoric associated with Scottish, if not English, civility was bound up with Protestantism, Monson, himself a covert Catholic, unsurprisingly made little mention of religion in his views on Hebrideans.⁹¹ Monson seemed to advocate the full planting of English civility in the Isles of Scotland in 1630, in much the same manner, perhaps, as matters were proceeding in Ireland.⁹² Monson, like Mason, had a commercial interest in Lewis and had seen service in the Isles as long ago as 1614, when as admiral, he had patrolled the coasts between Lewis and Ireland in order to suppress 'pirates.'⁹³ His description of Lewis shows a

89 Oppenheim, *Monson*, v, 257–258.

90 Oppenheim, *Monson*, iii, 58–59, v, 259–260. The notion of the Gaelic language as an impediment to progress may have been adopted already as part of the mental baggage of educated Scottish Gaels in the seventeenth century, and Martin Martin arguably thought along these lines by 1695, Martin, *A description of the Western Islands of Scotland circa 1695*, 203. For civility in Ireland see J. Ohlmeyer, 'Seventeenth century Ireland and the New British and Atlantic histories,' in the *American Historical Review*, 104 (1999), 446–462, at 459–460. See also Withington, *Society in early modern England. The vernacular origins of some powerful ideas*, 210–215.

91 For Scottish Protestant civic values as espoused by David Hume of Godscroft see Williamson, 'Education, Culture and the Scottish Civic Tradition' 46–53. Monson, Hume's contemporary, in contrast, was a secret Catholic and suffered a career setback when it emerged that he had been in receipt of a Spanish pension. Andrew Thrush, 'Monson, Sir William (1568?–1643),' *ODNB* entry no. 18991.

92 *CSP, Domestic: Charles I, 1629–1631*, 109. For plantation in Ulster and Jamestown, c. 1610, see Canny, *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650*, 200–205. Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project*, 195, 201–203.

93 A. Thrush, 'Monson, Sir William (1568?–1643),' *ODNB*, entry no. 18991.

good knowledge of the environment, no doubt helped by his consultant, Muir. Sir William was prepared to countenance some concession to Lowland Scottish involvement in Lewis but the dislike he showed for Gaels was only approached by his suspicion of the Dutch, both groups viewed as obstacles to 'British' supremacy.⁹⁴

These attitudes towards Gaelic Highlanders were not confined to Monson and may by this time have been widespread among English speakers (as indeed they may have been, to some extent, shared with some Lowland Scots). Richard James, travelling and writing, 1614x1624, some years after the Mackenzie take-over of Lewis in 1611, and evidently not having gone there himself, was content to repeat the experiences of an informant who had had a narrow escape on Lewis during the lifetime of Ruairidh Macleod, the last undisputed chief of the Macleods of Lewis (†1595). Lewis apparently was (both then and apparently in Richard James's own time) inhabited by a:

[...] strange vncivill people, robbinge and spoilinge such merchant ships and fisshermen as are forct into their partes by storme and crosse windes, these they sett in and spoil killinge the men and taking their goods with gallies which they have [...]⁹⁵

Seaforth and the Mackenzie's introduction of 'civility' to Lewis had not gone far enough for these southern observers. While the Mackenzies may have considered themselves planters, they spoke Gaelic and were organised on a clan basis. In addition to this the Mackenzie also now stood between the English venturers and their anticipated profits as did the presence of the Dutch.⁹⁶

English Mercantile Connections with the Netherlands?

While Scots and Englishmen, such as Monson, readily complained about Seaforth's co-operation with Dutch merchants, Seaforth was by no means the

94 Oppenheim, *Monson*, v, 259–260.

95 E. MacGillivray (ed.), 'Richard James, 1592–1638; Description of Shetland, Orkney and the Highlands of Scotland,' in *Orkney Miscellany, Being Orkney Record & Antiquarian Papers*, vol. 1 (1953), 48–56, at 51–52.

96 These profits were estimated by Sir John Coke, in April 1630 as being £12,270 for three fishings per year. *CSP, Domestic: Charles 1, 1629–1631*, 241–2. Both Seaforth and the Scottish Privy Council considered that the Mackenzies had planted and civilised Lewis by 1630. *RPCS* (2nd Ser.), iv, 106–7.

only Scottish or British figure cooperating with them at this time. National boundaries and interests could be permeable, particularly when it came to trading opportunities. This is most obvious in the case of international traders like Philip Burlamachi, of Franco-Italian origins, naturalised in England, 1614, and the Courteen brothers, particularly Sir William Courteen. Courteen, born in London to Flemish parents, had extensive Dutch trading contacts and traded widely not only in Europe but in Barbados and the East Indies. Both Burlamachi and Courteen were investors in the British fishery company but based in England despite their foreign connections. Indeed, Courteen, treasurer for a while of the British fishery company, had a close personal and trading relationship with his brother Pieter who was based in Middelburg, Zeeland.⁹⁷ Despite this many of the English naval personnel such as Monson and Mason were from eastern England were, ostensibly, anti-Dutch. Indeed, a memorandum on the proposed English fishery in Lewis, probably written by Secretary of State John Coke, 1629, invoked the massacre of Amboina referring to the torture and execution of ten Englishmen in the Dutch East Indies in 1623, a rallying call in England long used to justify anti-Dutch sentiment.⁹⁸ Although much English rhetoric, however, was ostensibly anti-Dutch, other English merchants and nobles (if not Monson) were not above inviting them into their towns and even colonies when and where it was expedient.⁹⁹

97 TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 50. *CSP, Domestic, Charles I, 1631–1633*, 543. See also R. Ashton, 'Burlamachi, Philip (d. 1644),' *ODNB*, entry no. 37246, and J.C. Appleby, 'Courten, Sir William (c.1568–1636),' *ODNB*, entry no. 6445.

98 TNA, SP 16/152, fol. 121. See also E6 and E7. Calder, *Revolutionary Empire*, 111. Enthoven, Murdoch & Williamson (eds.), *The Navigator*, 97–98. C.H. Firth (ed.), *Naval Songs and Ballads* (Navy Records Society, London, 1896), 60. The English published a tract, 1632, with the title 'a true relation of the uniust, cruell and barbarous proceedings against the English at Amboyna in the East Indies by the Netherlandish counsell there.' At least one copy of this (and probably others) found its way to an audience in the Netherlands. W.P.C. Knuttel (ed.), *Catalogus van de pamfletten – verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek. Achtste Deel. Supplement* (1890–1920. Reprint, H & S Publishers, Utrecht, 1978), no. 4205a, p. 64.

99 Jean or Jasper van de Bogarde, a Rotterdam merchant and other Dutchmen were actively trading with English settlements in Munster between 1613 and 1617. Van de Bogarde was also actively involved in Seaforth's scheme to import Dutch expertise to help develop Stornoway in 1630. Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580–1650*, 311. NRS, GD 46/18/142. Thanks to Dr Esther Mijers for discussing the cognate name forms 'Jasper' and 'Jean' with me. Dutch engineers were imported to drain the Fens in England in 1637. One Cornelius Vermuyden was engaged in drainage schemes in Yorkshire and Nottingham, 1628–1633. See Calder, *Revolutionary Empire*, 169. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies*, ii, 357.

Mason had, moreover, traded with Amsterdam himself earlier in his career (above) and, intriguingly, some of the ships from eastern England seem to have had Dutch shareholders. Perhaps this is not surprising, given the amount of migration from the Low Countries into eastern England over the prior century.¹⁰⁰ William Monson was critical of the men of Yarmouth, in particular, for their long lasting and continuing friendship with the Dutch.¹⁰¹ Indeed, some of the ships in the British fishery company at Stornoway, the *William and John* of Colchester, and the *Peter*, Mason's own ship in 1633, together with other vessels from Ipswich and Maldon appear to have been the subject of legal challenge from the widow of a Dutch merchant who claimed to have shares in these vessels.¹⁰² If these were the same vessels, it is unlikely that this action succeeded because John Mason in Stornoway, had a commission in 1633 to use one of these very same ships, the *Peter* of Maldon to pursue and punish Dutch shipping.¹⁰³ One of the Dutch merchants who had been associated with the Zeelanders working out of Stornoway, 1628–30, was a Jan Cornelisz Noortwits (Norwich?), his name, perhaps, hinting at East Anglia connections.¹⁰⁴ While the English appearance of Noortwits's name might merely have been coincidental he did

100 See N. Goose, 'The Dutch in Colchester in the 16th and 17th centuries: opposition and integration' and J. Tsushima, 'Melting into the landscape: the story of the 17th Century Walloons in the Fens,' both these essays in, R. Vigne & C. Littleton (eds.), *From Strangers to citizens. The integration of immigrant communities in Britain, Ireland and colonial America, 1550–1750* (Sussex Academic Press, Brighton, 2001), at 88–98 & 106–113.

101 Oppenheim, *Monson*, v, 269. See also W. Klooster, 'Anglo-Dutch trade in the seventeenth century: an Atlantic partnership?' in, A.I. Macinnes & A.H. Williamson (eds.), *Shaping the Stuart World, 1603–1714* (Brill, Leiden, 2006), 261–282, at 261–2.

102 'Attestatie of verklaring,' Jans Sanders 'Engels Coopman' v Susanne van Quickelberch, 20 January 1633. One Susanne Van Quickelberch, a widow of Jonas van Cabbeljouw took legal action against an English merchant called 'Jan Sanders,' Jan 1633, as she owned a 6.25 % share in the English ships *the Fortune*, a 12% share in the *William and John*, both ships from Colchester. She also owned a 25% share of *the Peter* based in Maldon, and an 8.33 % share in a ship named the *William and John* from Ipswich. Some ships of this name also turn up in Stornoway and is probable although not certain that they are the same vessels. GAR, ONA 97/130/310. GAR, ONA, 97/131/193. GAR, ONA, 105/101/176. These references taken from the online catalogue of the notarial deeds in the Gemeent Archief, Rotterdam. <<http://www.gemeentearchief.rotterdam.nl/collectie/notari%C3%A9le-akten>>.

103 CSP, *Domestic: Charles I, 1633–1634*, 42.

104 'Jan Cornelissen Noortwits coopman.' 1 October 1630, GAR, ONA, 92/390/643. Whether Noortwits (or Noortwits) had a connection, ancestral or otherwise, with Norwich or eastern England there can be no doubt that he was a citizen of the Netherlands. He appears in over forty deeds in the online catalogue of notarial deeds, Gemeent Archief, Rotterdam, between 1620 and 1648.

have business dealings with Englishmen. Indeed, he bought, in 1634, a ship from Sir William Courteen, who was an investor in the British fishing company.¹⁰⁵

Monson planned to maximise profit by exploiting the natives through cutting down on the number of Englishmen on each fishing vessel and replacing them with Hebrideans, who he thought, would be happy to work for half the salary of their more civilised shipmates.¹⁰⁶ This echoes earlier Tudor attitudes to the Gaelic Irish (c. 1570) who, it was thought, would be happy to work for their new English masters once the Gaelic lords had been ejected. The 'docile' Irish labour force could then be instructed in English methods of production and exploited with low pay for their 'virtuous' labour and thus enriching their new lords.¹⁰⁷ Such an approach may also explain Monson's fear that the natives would co-operate and even league with the Dutch (and the Mackenzies) against them: that they would realise they were being exploited and that the Dutch could offer more remunerative employment.¹⁰⁸ Such a scenario, particularly the depression of wages, could only work when and if the English could achieve a position of dominance, and Seaforth had no mind to relinquish control of his hard won lands. Captain Mason, in his 'overture concerning the Island of the Lewes,' and much more attuned to local conditions than Monson, clearly recognised this. Mason appreciated that Monson's proposal to strip Lewis off the Mackenzies and Seaforth was unworkable. He had been present when the Mackenzies had planted Lewis, and he realised how difficult the business of uprooting the Mackenzies would be. Mason instead advocated that Seaforth be recompensed for his loss of the island and that he should be kept in as an 'adventurer' for the practical reason that Seaforth 'may much accommodate the buisines, and keep the islanders in awe.'¹⁰⁹

Mason's experience as a planter and knowledge of the area can be seen from his plan, outlining how the company of Lewis should be established. This

105 GAR, ONA 274/135/207 (Online catalogue, notarial deeds, Gemeent Archief, Rotterdam). For Jan Cornelisz Noorwits's business dealings with Englishmen see GAR, ONA, 121/69/167; 94/27/52; 150/456/722; 328/153/321; 263/340/491.

106 '[...] and we will ease the charge of wages eight in sixteen in our fishings in and about the Lewes, viz, we will carry but eight men to the place of fishing, where we will hire eight more for less than half the wages we give the rest.' Oppenheim, *Monson*, v, 247.

107 H. Morgan, 'The colonial venture of Sir Thomas Smith in Ulster, 1571–1575,' *Historical Journal*, 28 (1985), 261–278.

108 Seaforth was not the only magnate in the Gaidhealtachd to cut a deal with the Dutch. Sir Dòmhnall Mackay of Reay granted Cornelius Leidecken permission to fish for ling and cod off the shores of his estates in July 1637. NRS, GD 84/2/193.

109 Appendices E-F, in Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 589–590.

set out a series of practical measures about how this could be achieved. An accommodation was to be made with Seaforth, as noted above, and his cooperation sought. While Mason had an appreciation of the damage that the Mackenzies could wreak if they were antagonised, Seaforth too, appreciated the fragility of his situation recognising, in a letter to his brother, the possibility that they might lose the island.¹¹⁰ To this end Cailean, Earl of Seaforth, and his brother Seòras, who succeeded him in 1633, were cooperative with the English merchants.¹¹¹ The English, having supplanted the Dutch in Stornoway, soon after 1631 and certainly by 1633, built their own structures in the town. The storehouse and magazine in Stornoway could be guarded by a battery of cannon placed on a prominent island commanding the sea road in and out of the harbour. A memo in the English state papers from around 1630 identified the markets that this enterprise involving Stornoway could service, together with the types of fish and their respective monetary values. This document also spelled out some of the rules by which Mason, as ‘thesaurer’ and surveyor for the society should raise stock and invest this money.¹¹² Much of the information about the nature of the fishing in terms of its scope and the marketing of the product in Baltic ports was garnered by Mason’s subordinate, Captain John Dymes, from both the Dutchmen resident in Lewis, presumably Jan de Bogarde, the Dutch commis, and from the Mackenzies, probably Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty.¹¹³ Indeed, the English may have grudgingly acknowledged local expertise. Achilty had been running Mackenzie fishery operations for twenty years and he dealt directly with visiting Lowland Scots fishermen, Dutch fishermen and merchants, especially between 1628 and 1631, and increasingly, through the 1630s, Englishmen (below).¹¹⁴ These Englishmen, despite their intentions regarding the establishment of a fishing station, if not a colony, on Lewis, worked closely with Achilty. Indeed, one English writer noted that with regards to the water of the north west of Scotland, around, 1630:

110 BL, Add MS 39187, fol. 3r. MacCoinnich, ‘Tùs gu Iarlachd,’ 445.

111 CSP, *Domestic: Charles I, 1633–1634*, 71. Captain William Buxton, at Chanonry of Ross to Secretary Nicholas, dated 25 May 1633. TNA, SP 16/293/65.

112 Appendix F2. TNA, SP 16/229/85.

113 Captain Dymes’s ‘description’ of 1630, transcribed in Appendix F, in Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 593.

114 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 312–325. A. MacCoinnich, ‘Tùs gu Iarlachd,’ 327–38.

...there is none who can give better advice annent the fishing in theis pairts and managing of the same than Alex[ande]r McKenzie of Achiltie, Chamberlane of the Lewis....¹¹⁵

It may have been Achilty who wrote the surviving description of the fisheries of Lewis, written in 1631, describing the properties in various sea lochs round the island (appendix A1&2). Achilty, due to his position in the Seaforth's regime on Lewis, must also have worked with Captain Mason. Mason, a hard-headed businessman (and army treasurer in the preceding decade) seems to have been more concerned about the practical day to day running of the settlement at Lewis than about the imposition of ideals of civility.¹¹⁶

English Plantation in Stornoway: Maps and Descriptions

Captain John Mason, together with Monson and Coke, intended to 'settle collonyes and plant corporations' in the Hebrides.¹¹⁷ Mason himself, as discussed above, was an experienced planter. He had also been hankering after a foothold in Lewis, and an interest in the fishing, ever since he had commanded three pinnaces in an expedition to the isles against 'rebellious Redshankes' there in 1610–11. Mason was keen to overcome the obstacles in Scots law which hindered the activities of 'strangers' in Scottish waters. Only those born after 1603 were automatically British citizens and Englishmen in Scotland (as was the case with Scotsmen in England) and could face barriers or be regarded as strangers. Scots who engaged in plantation in Ireland had faced pressure to renounce their Scottish citizenship and take up English denizenship.¹¹⁸ In Lewis, Englishmen now faced a similar question. To get around this obstacle Mason lobbied to try and get this waived for Englishmen and recommended that in the meantime all the 'adventurers' become naturalised Scotsmen.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Copy, made c. 1755, of English papers dating from 1618 × 1630 relating to the fisheries. NLS, Adv.MS., 31.2.16, fol. 39r.

¹¹⁶ Appendix F2 & F3, TNA, SP 16/229/96.

¹¹⁷ *CSP, Domestic: Charles I, 1629–1631*, 449. See appendix F2, and transcripts in Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 589–595.

¹¹⁸ Rev. D. Stewart, 'The Scots in Ulster: their denization and naturalisation, 1605–1634,' in *Familia*, 11 (1995), 78–118, at 78–84.

¹¹⁹ For this, and some of the reasons proposed by Mason in 1632 for a fishing station in Stornoway, including details of projected profits and a base in Deptford for the manufacture of nets and the costs of building a fleet of fishing busses and equipping the company see: *CSP, Domestic, Charles I, 1631–1633*, 300, 488–9. English subjects born since Elizabeth's

The actual progress of the English presence in Lewis and the islands is harder to trace. They tended only to have made the historical headlines when things went wrong. But there certainly was an English presence in Lewis in 1630 with Captains Mason and Dymes and their respective ships' crews and it is possible they were accompanied by other vessels.

By 1633 there was a well-established English presence at Stornoway and Captain John Mason, was the governor of the fishing station at Stornoway in April 1633 Mason was master of the *Peter* and he was given permission to pursue Dutch ships in retaliation for English ships which had been captured by the Dutch.¹²⁰ Clearly the four Dutch ships at Lewis that the Scottish burghs and the English had been complaining about in 1631 had gone by 1633 although, more curious, perhaps, is the question of why the English (and the Lowland Scots) were prepared to tolerate the Dutch and Hanseatic presence in Orkney and Shetland but could not countenance it in the Hebrides.¹²¹ One clue may lie in a document drawn up by Captain John Mason, his opinion on how the stock raised for the fishing in Lewis should be spent. One of the clauses in this stated that whereas the fishings of Shetland and Orkney were free, as they were the king's land, title to the Isle of Lewis was held by Seaforth – meaning

death (1603) already had rights of succession to land in Scotland (and similar rights applied to Scots in England born after 1603) since 1607. *APS*, iv, 370–371. Reciprocal legislation was pushed through the Scots parliament by William Alexander in 1630. In July it was stipulated that all adventurers in the Common fishing could be active and fish freely in 'everie kingdome' *APS*, v, 222. By November 1630, issues concerning naturalisation were being addressed by the parliament, with members keen to ensure that Scots were not placed at a disadvantage in the naturalisation stakes vis-a-vis Scots in England and vice versa. *APS*, v, 228, 232.

120 *CSP Domestic: Charles I, 1633–1634*, 42. 'Concerning the busines of the fishing' 29 April 1633. This is suggested by the timing of a 'sollicitor' being despatched to the Netherlands on the same day that Mason was granted this permission. The solicitor was instructed to try and bargain for the release of English ships captured by the Dutch. This instruction to Mason may have been a diplomatic gambit by the English intended to pressurise the Dutch during negotiations. *TNA*, SP 16/238/5.

121 German merchants, from cities such as Hamburg and Bremen together with Dutch traders were commonplace in Orkney in Shetland (but not in the Hebrides) until the Union of the Parliaments in 1707. Shaw, *Northern and Western Islands*, 175–177. Zickermann, *Across the German Sea*, 87–103. For the arrangements between Dutch fishermen and the Stuart lords of Orkney and Shetland in 1575 and some of the tensions between the government of James VI and the government of the United Provinces over the issue of taxation from the visiting Dutch fishermen in Shetland from 1609 onwards, see Fulton, *Sovereignty of the Seas*, 169, 174–181, 187, 194–197.

visiting fishermen were obliged to pay a fee for ground leave – suggesting this exaction was not raised in Orkney and Shetland but could be in Lewis.¹²²

Mason, like English colonists and planters elsewhere, was keen to get the bounds of the new possessions mapped and described (as he had previously in Nova Scotia), the better to administer and control.¹²³ He ordered one of his subordinates Captain John Dymes to make a map of Lewis around 1630 (see fig. 17). Dymes was a junior naval officer who had been active in the service since 1628 off the southern and eastern coast of England.¹²⁴ Dymes's survey of Lewis included a chorological description intended to accompany the map and is one of the earliest detailed descriptions of these lands.¹²⁵ There may have been multiple copies made of Dymes's map of Lewis for the benefit of the mariners of the British fishery company.¹²⁶ There is also a map by Dymes, giving a

122 '...The harbour and loughs on the maine land opposite to the Lewes must be free for our fishinge with ground leave also as in the Lewes to which end the kings letter must be obtayned to the proprietors of those places and the The[saur]er to make composition with them, the fishings of the Isles of Orknay and Shetland free being the kings land...' Appendix F2.

123 For the map of Nova Scotia see Tuttle & Dean, (eds.), *Captain John Mason*, 130–131. For near contemporaneous English mapping elsewhere see A. Margey, 'Representing colonial landscapes: early English maps of Ulster and Virginia, 1580–1612' in B. Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland, 1550–1700. Colonisation and its consequences* (Four Courts Press, Dublin, 2011), 61–81, at 72–75.

124 John Dymes was appointed a lieutenant on an elderly galleon, the *Nonsuch*, 28 June 1628, but had been forcibly prevented from taking up that post by a previous incumbent. In January 1629, however, he had become master of a newly built ship, the *Tenth Whelp*, with fourteen guns, and had taken a foreign vessel as a prize. By May 1629 Captain Dymes had stopped three Dutch ships, hoping to take them as prizes but he had been forced to relinquish them as they were not legitimate prizes. In September 1629 he escorted the herring fleet out of Yarmouth, guarding them against being spoilt by Dunkirkers, before going on naval patrol at the Downs (off the east coast of Kent). He seems to have been stationed in Lewis the following year, 1630–31. *CSP, Domestic, Charles I, 1628–29*, 179, 455, 457, 470, 535, 553. *CSP, Domestic, Charles I, 1629–31*, 58, 60, 449. *CSP, Domestic, Charles I, 1631–33*, 130, 325. For these ships see, Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea*, 480, 482.

125 *CSP, Domestic: Charles I, 1629–1631*, 449. This is printed in full in the appendices of Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 591–595.

126 A copy of this map from the National Library of Ireland has been published by G.A. Hayes McCoy (ed.), *Ulster and other Irish maps, c. 1600* (Dublin, 1964), map xiii. This was reprinted in F. MacLeòid, Cumadh nan Eilean,' in F. MacLeòid (ed.), *Togail Tir. Marking Time. The maps of the Western Isles of Scotland* (Acair Stornoway, 1989), 3–12, at 5, 9. However, another contemporaneous copy of the same map survives in the archive at Kew. TNA, SP 16/229, fol. 192, 194, 229.

detailed, accurate cartographical representation of the town and bay of Stornoway (see fig. 18).¹²⁷

Like the mapping of English possessions elsewhere, this was a process designed to describe, inform, empower and to facilitate better management. It was also meant as a practical tool for the use of the English mariners who came to the island during the 1630s with the depths of the anchorage of Stornoway harbour carefully marked in measures of fathoms. The description by Dymes accompanying these maps of the island of the nature of the people and something of the conditions on the island also conveyed information about the island that the map could not, all of which was vital to prospective investors or planters, not least a description of the fishing.¹²⁸

Dymes's map gives details of the layout of the town and his description commented on the diverse places suitable for building of magazines and other buildings all around the island for the processing of fish.¹²⁹ A subsequent map by the Cromwellian army who occupied Stornoway in the 1650s also shows the 'manor house built by English men' in the fishing trade sometime between 1630 and 1635.¹³⁰ By 1635 the British fishery company had spent £1000 on buildings and lands in Stornoway. They had also had a storehouse and a magazine holding 2827 barrels of salt, sufficient for 700 lasts of herring together with casks, nets and 'sondrie other provisions' on which the company had spent a further £4150.¹³¹ It is not clear how much of this they built themselves or if they had bought out the Dutchmen who had previously built a furnace for the processing of whales together with a magazine and a 'pretty dwelling house'.¹³²

There seem to have been four loosely associated groupings operating under the umbrella heading of the company or association of British fishing. All of these, like a similar contemporary scheme to form an English West Indies company, seem to have struggled to attract investment.¹³³ The Association, despite

127 Two almost identical copies of this map survive in the archive in Kew. Dymes, in his description of Lewis, alluded to this detailed map of Stornoway by referring to a 'more particular view' he had taken of the town and also that he had made a 'draught.' Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 594. TNA, SP 52/72. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 502–504.

128 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 593–594.

129 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 594.

130 Dennison & Coleman, *Historic Stornoway. The Scottish Burgh Survey*, 24–27.

131 TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 50 (appendix F10).

132 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 593.

133 The four groups were Sir William Noy's company, Lord Pembroke's association, Lord Portland's Association and Lord Arundel's Association. Little is known of Noy's company and Pembroke's interest seems to have been short lived. The associations of Arundel and

the emphasis on and investment in Stornoway and Lewis followed the herring migration around the coast of Britain and probably Ireland. The nature of the expenditure on the company's balance sheet, dated 20 June 1635, while emphasising the difficulties faced by the company established under the direction of the Earls of Arundel, Portland and Surrey in terms of under-capitalisation, makes the geographic spread of the company clear, with fishing boats active in Lewis, Vestmannaeyjayr at Iceland, the North Sea and Shetland, a factor resident in the 'Eastland,' presumably in one of the Baltic towns, a storehouse in Wapping at London in south east England, while one of the groups of investors was from Barnstaple, Devon, in the south west of England.¹³⁴ In addition to this, the deposition of Simon Ffarewell, discussed below, who went for a fishing trip to Lewis in 1638 and on to Newfoundland the following year, underscores the peripatetic nature of the fishery business in which they were involved.

The eventual failure of this scheme, a brainchild of the royalist establishment of Charles I, due to the outbreak of war, means that it can be easy to imagine that it could never have succeeded. This is compounded by the lack of hard evidence about the activities of the British or English fishermen in Stornoway during the 1630s. However, there is evidence, albeit haphazard and fragmentary that can indicate something of the outline of some of the personnel directly involved in Lewis. Dymes and Mason apart, over forty individuals, many of them masters of fishing vessels, ordinary sailors or merchants can be identified and named as having either been present in Stornoway in the 1630s, or are on record as purchasing a licence to go there. These individuals and their crews came from Yarmouth, described as England's 'premier herring port,' London, Bristol, Colchester, Southampton and King's Lynn. They were not, however, all English. One vessel seems to have come from Groomsport in Ireland. The English, like Sir William Monson, took a much more favourable view of the natives of Orkney and Shetland than they did of Hebrideans.¹³⁵ Indeed, Captain William Buxton, seems, in May 1633, to have intended to

Portland were the most successful ones in Lewis. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies to 1720*, ii, 369–371. J.C. Appleby, 'An Association for the West Indies? English plans for a West India Company, 1621–1629,' in, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 15 (1987), 213–241.

134 TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 50 (appendix F10). This balance sheet of 1635 shows six new fishing vessels built in that year.

135 Gruenfelder, 'Great Yarmouth, its haven and the Crown, 1603–1642,' 143–154. See the discussion of the attitudes held by Sir William Monson and Richard James, earlier in this chapter. For details of the identified participants active in Lewis see Appendix F1 and the relevant notes.

engage Orcadian crews to prosecute the fishery on behalf of the British fishery company in Lewis the following winter.¹³⁶

Most of the activity involving these individuals will, of course, have been fishing related. The presence in Lewis of two London goldsmiths, Daniel Kneveton and Robert Jeggs (implied by their purchase of passports) suggests, perhaps, money lending activity and the facilitation of trade, credit and exchange.¹³⁷ What little information can be gathered about two of the Englishmen in Lewis at this time, Richard Crowther and Humphrey Dewell, shows them dealing with cattle products in England, and, fish apart, the main produce of Lewis was cattle.¹³⁸ The chance and ephemeral nature of the references naming these individuals suggests that there was much more involved in their enterprise than the surviving sources can tell us. Adventuring in Lewis could be a lucrative enterprise for these English fishermen and merchants, albeit one fraught with peril.

The deposition of Richard Breame, a sailor in the *Speedwell* of Southampton illustrates some of the difficulties these English crews faced. They left Yarmouth, 18 August 1638, bound for Lewis. Stress of weather forced them to seek shelter in Orkney where they arrived around two weeks later. They anchored in a sound in the Orkney islands, hoping to ride out the storm, but their cable sheared and they were only saved by the quick action of their master, Simon Ffarewell. They remained in Orkney, waiting for a favourable wind until 3 November, when they finally were able to set sail for Lewis. They stayed in

136 Captain William Buxton, at Chanonry of Ross to Secretary of State Nicholas, dated 25th May 1633. SP 16/293 fol. 65. Possibly this included people like Oliver Mowat and Robert Leslie dealt with in the preceding chapter on the Mackenzies. See appendix D 2–4. Some Orcadians, a John Cromarty and his crew, were engaged at the fishing of cod and ling at Lewis later in the century, 1688. ICA, Bundle 982.

137 Appendix F1, see entries and notes in the appendix for Kneveton and Jeggs. See also Stephen Quinn's study of goldsmiths as bankers, c. 1660–1720, which may well be applicable to the period under discussion here. S. Quinn, 'Goldsmith banking: mutual acceptance and inter-banker clearing in Restoration London' in *Explorations in Economic History*, 34 (1997), 411–432. The goldsmiths' hall in London seems to have been a clearinghouse for monetary transactions, 1643–1649, if not earlier. 328. E.L. Sainsbury (ed.), *A Calendar of the court of the minutes of the East India Company, 1644–1649* (Oxford, 1912), 15, 259, 321, 330, 333–334. S.B. Quinn, 'Balances and goldsmith-bankers: the co-ordination and control of inter-banker debt clearing in seventeenth century London,' in D. Mitchell (ed.), *Goldsmiths, Silversmiths and Bankers: Innovation and the transfer of skill, 1550 to 1750. Centre for metropolitan history working papers, series no 2* (Stroud & London, 1995), 53–76, at 61–63. The London Goldsmiths' Company also played an important role in the Plantation of Ulster. Curl, *The Londonderry Plantation, 1609–1914*, 74, 278–280.

138 Appendix F1, see entries and notes in the appendix for Dewell and Crowther.

Lewis around six weeks, setting sail for England 21 December but were again caught by foul weather off the coast of Orkney and driven ashore. They only got clear by their 'care and diligence,' and took a further month before they managed to make it home, at the beginning of February 1639. If this had not been difficult enough they faced an inquest on their arrival back at Southampton from the merchant, Peter Pryaulx, who was, no doubt, unhappy at the poor return from this particular voyage.¹³⁹ If the weather did not hinder such fishermen they had to beware of piracy in the shape of the Dunkirkers. Losses to predatory Dunkirkers, ships from the Spanish Netherlands, played a significant part in the problems faced by the British fishery company: the damages incurred due to their activities was estimated at £2000 in 1635.¹⁴⁰

Indeed, the hapless Simon Ffarewell, by now demoted to mate, and his ship, the *Speedwell*, went to Newfoundland the following year and was captured by Dunkirkers and taken in as a prize to San Sebastian.¹⁴¹ There is no way of knowing how typical this was of the experiences faced by English fishing crews. Some of these English mariners may only have visited the area for one trip, others, such as Captain William Buxton (1633, 1635), on record twice in Lewis, will probably have been more regular visitors to the Hebrides.¹⁴² Once there, they faced not just the type of difficulties encountered by Simon Ffarewell, but they also had to negotiate complex and often troubled relationships with the Scots, both Highland and Lowland, at Stornoway.¹⁴³

The Earls of Seaforth and the English

Seòras Mackenzie succeeded his half-brother Cailean as earl of Seaforth in 1633. He also inherited the pressure felt by his late brother from Charles I and

139 R.C. Anderson (ed.), *The Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1622–1644* (4 vols., Southampton Records Society, 1929–1936), iii, 89–90.

140 TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 50. The Dunkirkers also wreaked havoc on the Dutch fishing fleet. J. de Vries & A. van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure and Perseverance of the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815* (Cambridge, 1997), 250–251. For the Dunkirkers see Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477–1806*, 314, 496–499. *The modern History of the World or a Historicall Relation of the Most Memorable passages in Germany... (a.k.a. Swedish Intelligencer) Divided into three sections: the eighth part* (London 1635), 60–61. Thanks to Dr Steve Murdoch for this last reference.

141 Anderson (ed.), *The Book of Examinations and Depositions*, iv, 9.

142 See appendix F1 and notes.

143 Appendix F1. For English mercantile operations in the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland more generally in this period see Elder, *The Royal Fishery Companies of the Seventeenth Century*. W.C. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 305–327.

the British fishery company with regard to Lewis – and for Seaforth the prospect of losing the island must have seemed a very real one.¹⁴⁴ He prudently chose to cooperate with Charles I and his company's requests. Captain William Buxton, an Englishman in Stornoway, May 1633, found Seaforth eager to help him with the fishing and noted the positive effect that Seaforth could have on the natives, both 'Scotch' and 'Highland' in making them co-operate with the Englishmen.¹⁴⁵ Seaforth was in a quandary regarding the fishing at Lewis. While he could, if he so chose, cripple any attempt by an outsider to prosecute the fishing industry, he himself could be equally hamstrung by any party or vested interest in either Edinburgh or London that might wish to impede him. Pressure was being applied increasingly at court by merchants and noblemen from England. Nevertheless, the strong local base enjoyed by Seaforth gave him an advantageous bargaining position, and he was able to extract the same ground rates from the English society of fishing in February 1633 as he had been able to from the Dutch.¹⁴⁶

Having fought off the threat posed by Seaforth's importation of Dutch fishermen to their monopoly, the Scots mercantile community resented losing out to a 'British' fishing company in the very same areas. Although for Charles the 'British' label was a reflection of his aspiration that this would be a genuinely British venture, in practice this was viewed and utilised by English entrepreneurs as an opportunity, and by the Scots with suspicion and hostility.¹⁴⁷ For the Scots burgesses there was little benefit, and much potential loss, in allowing

144 Seaforth's patent of erection of a burgh for Stornoway was cancelled in March 1630, and the Privy Council was able to stop any further introduction of Dutchmen. *RPCS* (2nd ser.), iii, 421–422, 427–429. '[...] Ryght as whereas yow did heirtofoir signifie that yow wer willing to submitt to wit your ryght to the Ylle of Lewis and to acquiesce with our royall deliberation in what maner we thoct fitt for the good of our service [...]' Charles I to Seòras, 2nd Earl of Seaforth, from Hampton Court, 17 October 1634. NLS, Adv MS, 34.2.12, fol. 328. Cailean, 1st Earl of Seaforth (†1633), to his brother, Seòras, in 1631. BL, Add MS, 39187, fol. 3.

145 TNA, SP 16/293, fol. 65. *CSP, Domestic: Charles I, 1633–1634*, 71.

146 Philip Burlamachi and Captain John Mason were admitted as members of the society the same day, 16 February 1633. *CSP, Domestic, Charles I, 1631–1633*, 543. Burlamachi, a French-born, naturalised Englishman was one of the principal moneylenders to James VI & I as well as Charles I, and became bankrupt due to this by 1633. A.V. Judges, 'Philip Burlamachi: A financier of the Thirty Years War,' in, *Economica*, vi, (1926), 285–300, at 286, 299. For a report by Lord Lorne and the Bishop of the Isles (by no means disinterested observers) on the rates of ground leave charged by Seaforth and all the chiefs on the western seaboard in 20 November 1634, on both herring and white fish, see *RPCS* (2nd ser.), v, 414–416.

147 Scottish fears seem to have been well-founded. For a list of the known participants in the British fishing company active in Stornoway see Appendix F1. For a list of the investors in the British fishery company (1635), almost all of them from England, see appendix F10. For a 'British' perspective on the fishery see Oppenheim, *Monson*, v, 204–215.

English mercantile interests to become established around the Scottish coast.¹⁴⁸ This manifested itself in increasing tension between the English and the Scots around the Northern and Western Isles, especially in Lewis, the centre of the 'British' fishery's activity in northern waters. Seaforth, who had earlier come under great pressure from the monarch, was prepared to play along with the English, at least in the mean time, rather than risk forfeiture, which had earlier been a distinct possibility.

Anglo-Scottish Tension in the Hebrides from 1634

James VI wished the ancient rivalries of Scotland and England away when he became king in 1603 and was able to pursue a British agenda, albeit with limits, due to his skill as a monarch until his death in 1625. His son, Charles I, proved much less adept at reading the tensions between the national interests in his composite monarchy, being particularly blind to the fears of his Scottish subjects.¹⁴⁹ Anglo-Scottish rivalry and enmity, feeding on a 'residue of resentment,' re-emerged despite the thirty-six years of regal union and became one factor among many motivating participants in the Wars of the Three Kingdoms of the mid seventeenth century from 1639 onwards.¹⁵⁰ While Anglo-Scottish amity generally held until the outbreak of war, some indications of ethnic tension can also be seen at Stornoway due to the presence of the British Fishery Association in the area during the mid 1630s.

Relations between two rival competing groups, English and Scots, in the Hebrides became increasingly acrimonious from about 1634 onwards. This became apparent in a number of complaints made by English fishermen and merchants in Stornoway. An Allan Burlingham from Yarmouth complained that Iain Mackay of Thurso and Oliver Mowat had assaulted his crew and illegally seized his ship.¹⁵¹ Mowat and Mackay both from the north of Scotland seem to have been Seaforth's men and had a long association with him as residents in Stornoway. Indeed Mowat had witnessed the sasine serving Seaforth as heir to his brother in Stornoway in May 1633. Mackay, very likely at the behest of the Mackenzies, had taken a cargo of fish from Lewis to Aberdeen in

148 Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*, 108–113.

149 Coward, *The Stuart Age. England, 1603–1714*, 107, 136–138. Macinnes, *Charles I and the Making of the Covenanting Movement*, 1–2, 36–41, 49–97.

150 S. Barber, 'The People of Northern England and attitudes towards the Scots, 1639–1651: 'the lamb and the dragon cannot be reconciled' in *Northern History*, 35 (1999), 93–118.

151 *RPCS*, (2nd Ser.), vi, 5–6.

1634.¹⁵² Mackay had also been in dispute with a number of Englishmen sometime during 1634 and when he arrived in Leith, 4 April 1635, with a cargo of herring it was promptly impounded at the behest of Englishmen who had been pursuing him through the courts.¹⁵³ It is unlikely that Mackay or Mowat would have displayed this level of opposition and hostility to English mariners without the connivance of the Earl of Seaforth. Seaforth in turn would have been unlikely to have permitted this harassment of the English seamen without himself first securing support (either implicit or explicit) in a Scottish context from the fishers and merchant burgesses of southern and eastern Scotland.

A more serious incident of Anglo-Scottish antagonism, this time involving southern Scottish merchants centred on an incident in Stornoway involving Thomas Lindsay, a fisherman from Crail in Fife and deputy vice Admiral of Scotland. The *William and John* of Colchester, a ship belonging to the British association for fishing, fully laden with a cargo of herring, hides and tallow was driven ashore by bad weather at Stornoway, 19 January 1634.¹⁵⁴ The ship foundered on the shore (within the harbour) and over course of the following weeks the master, Christopher Wilson, and his crew attempted to save the ship and the cargo. However, it was alleged that the Scot, Thomas Lindsay, violently commandeered this wreck, preventing the Englishmen, at sword point, from continuing their efforts to save their ship and salvage their goods. Lindsay was said to have stabbed and seriously wounded Robert Innes, one of Seaforth's merchants, in the process.¹⁵⁵

Wilson, with the backing of the British fishing association, attempted to press charges against Lindsay who was alleged to have claimed that neither the English nor the King had any right to the Lewis fishing. Lindsay further, allegedly, threatened to kill all the Englishmen on the Island and burn all the English houses. The association of British fishing then charged Lindsay with treason, for treating His Majesty's commission with contempt, and for promoting the colours of the Duke of Lennox and Admiral of Scotland, over those of the

152 Taylor (ed.), *Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts*, 193. NRS, RS 37/5, fol. 116r-119v. NRS, GD1/665/1.

153 *RPCS* (2nd Ser.), vi, 7–8.

154 The cargo on this ship was 43½ lasts of herring, nine hides and two barrels of tallow. The plaintiffs for this case were the English nobles: Henry Lord Maltravers, Sir Christopher Neville, the Earls of Arundel, Portland and Surrey, Viscount Savage and Secretary Windebanke, all adventurers in the 'Royal fishings of Great Brittain & Ireland.' Appendix Fg. Another English ship, the *William and John* (it is not clear if it is the same one), with a different master, was blown off course (London-Lisbon-Netherlands-Newcastle) putting into harbour at Kinsale in 1632. Appleby (ed.), *Calendar of Material Relating to Ireland from the High Court of Admiralty Examinations 1536–1641*, 206–207.

155 Appendix Fg.

king.¹⁵⁶ The British Fishery company attempted to get restitution for the damages and tried to get Lindsay punished at law.¹⁵⁷

Lindsay, however, claimed he was acting on the authority of the Lord Vice Admiral of Scotland, and had disregarded the commission shown him by Wilson on those grounds. He claimed that he had seized the wreck on behalf of the Admiral of Scotland. The Scottish admiral, Lennox, was dragged into the proceedings too. According to Lennox, the ship had been abandoned for three weeks, and Lindsay had claimed it as a wreck for the Admiral on behalf of the Crown.¹⁵⁸ Lennox's argument was undermined somewhat by the fact that another English ship, the *Messenger*, had ran aground around at Stornoway at the same time. This ship had been saved by the Englishmen and the goods salvaged but despite this it was clear that Lindsay and his servants had still stolen the goods away.¹⁵⁹

Although faced with seemingly damning evidence, Lennox nonetheless defended Lindsay's conduct, claiming that the English crew of the *William and John*, led by the ship's captain, Christopher Wilson, with up to 100 well-armed Englishmen had violently repossessed the 'wreck.' In addition, they had taken Stornoway castle by surprise and had charged all the cannon therein, great and small, and threatened to fire at shipping and to 'kill all the Scottish men who were there.' Then, according to Lennox, they took down the Union flag and ran up the cross of St George, in a display of nationalistic English sentiment which would have done little to mollify the Scots.¹⁶⁰ The dispute was resolved through the mediation of Mr Fearchar MacIennan, minister of Stornoway, a Seaforth appointee. When all parties went to Edinburgh, presumably to plead their case

¹⁵⁶ CSP, *Domestic Charles I*, 1633–1634, 130–132.

¹⁵⁷ Appendix F9. For an overview of the structure, activity and losses of 'The Society for the fishery of Great Britain and Ireland,' 1632–1640, see Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies*, ii, 361–371. For Scots law on this point: 'The admiral senn his erection amang us is iudge propir and ordinair thairto' Welwod, *The Sea Law of Scotland*, tit. 15, 'of the iudge ordinair to Seafair causes.'

¹⁵⁸ 'Complaint by James, Duke of Lennox, Lord High Admiral of the Kingdom, Alexander Earl of Linlithgow, Vice Admiral to the said Earl and Thomas Lindsey Admiral-depute in the Lewis' *RPCS* (2nd Ser.), vi, 12–13. This was James Stuart, fourth Duke of Lennox, 1612–55. Murdoch, *The Terror of the Seas?* 166.

¹⁵⁹ Appendix F9.

¹⁶⁰ *RPCS*, (2nd Ser.), vi, 12–13. A proclamation of 1634 had stated that merchant ships of Scotland and England were to fly their respective national flags and that the Union Jack was reserved for men of war. M. Oppenheim, *A History of the administration of the Royal Navy and of merchant shipping in relation to the navy from MDIX to MDCLX* (London, 1896), 300.

before the Privy Council, Lindsay and his fellow Fife men abused Maclellann, calling him 'an English' as he had interceded to stop the conflict.¹⁶¹ There also appears to have been a more general anti-English sentiment in and around Leith and Edinburgh. The English sailors, Christopher Wilson, Edward Rand and their crewmen were

jeered at by everyone and called English dogges and soe abused by them that it is not to be spoken of...¹⁶²

It is probable that this reflects an increasing strain in relations between Englishmen and Scots on the north western littoral if not a sharpening of national sentiment from people of both nations in the 1630s. Seaforth seems, in the latter half of 1634, to have had a relaxed attitude towards the harassment of English fishermen in and around his lands. The adventurers of the fishing association of Great Britain and Ireland sought legal action against the inhabitants of Lewis in May 1635 in order to combat this.¹⁶³ The Scottish Privy Council however, were not, seemingly in any hurry and took until the end of summer 1635 to put pressure on Seaforth.¹⁶⁴ By then, after sanctions were finally implemented and took effect, much of the best of the weather, if not the herring fishing for that season, may have passed by.¹⁶⁵

The English lords and merchants had no intention of quietly relinquishing the fishery not least due to their substantial investment in materials and shipping. In 1636 fresh proclamations were issued by the Scottish Privy Council restricting the activities not only of foreign fishermen in Scottish waters, but also re-affirming the need of fishermen to secure a licence from the company to fish in the waters of Lewis.¹⁶⁶ This is generally taken to be

161 TNA, SP 16/291/20.

162 TNA, SP 16/291/20.

163 CSP, *Domestic: Charles I, 1633–1634*, 90.

164 6 & 7 August 1635. *RPCS* (2nd Ser.), vi, 96–97, 102.

165 Weather dictated that the best months for fishing would have been summer. However, some of the sea lochs in the area such as Loch nam Madadh (Lochmaddy, North Uist), Loch Tairbeirt (Tarbert, Harris) were frequented by herring shoals in winter, as was Loch Beàrnaraigh (Loch Bernera), Loch Ròg (Roag) on the west side of Lewis. The Isle of Barra was, apparently, good for cod and Ling fishing in the summer, as were the lochs on the east side of Lewis. Loch Seaforth in Lewis had 'grey fische' from January to March. NRS, GD 46/18/147 (Appendix A1 & A2).

166 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 318–321. Proclamation, 12th July 1636, forbidding foreigners from fishing in Scottish waters without a licence from his majesty, read at the mercat crosses of burghs and at 'the castell of Stornoway,' *RPCS* (2nd Ser.), vi, 279–280.

the society's last sustained attempt to prosecute their fishery company. Charles I's 'British' fishery scheme was in serious trouble by 1636–7, having made losses totalling £21,070.¹⁶⁷ The settlement at Lewis was thought, indeed, to have been such a 'source of trouble and a loss' that the Society for British fishing abandoned it by 1637.¹⁶⁸ There is no doubt that interest in the Lewis settlement may have cooled by this date. Despite this, however, English fishermen and merchants demonstrably continued to frequent the waters of Lewis until the outbreak of war forced them to stop, probably coming to a halt before 1640. Indeed a large proportion of the individuals who can be identified and placed at Lewis during the period were present at the island July 1637 and 1639.¹⁶⁹ By the early 1640s, however, the impact of the War of the Three Kingdoms, meant that this company's investment in Lewis was irrevocably lost. Captain William Cobb, a long-time associate of Sir William Courteen who was an investor in the British fishery company, became involved in an acrimonious dispute with Oliver Mowatt a merchant in Stornoway in 1642 (see appendix F1 and note below). Little is heard after this about English involvement in Lewis until the Cromwellian occupation of Stornoway during the following decade.

For Seòras Mackenzie, second Earl of Seaforth (like his brother Cailean before him), the intention seems to have been to try and hold onto to their possession of the the Isle of Lewis against pressure from all fronts.¹⁷⁰ To this end, Seaforth's tactic of intermittent collaboration and harassment with both groups, 'English' and 'Scots' was successful in terms of negating the prospect that the island of Lewis would be expropriated by the crown or granted to the British fishery association. Seaforth had, moreover, entered into fresh negotiations with the king by this time (October 1636) over his title to Lewis. This title had, due to the machinations of the British fishery company, been in doubt since 1630.¹⁷¹ Seòras, Earl of Seaforth, became a Scottish Privy Councillor, 14 February 1637, and he was given a Royal title confirming Lewis to him in March 1637. This title expressly stipulated Seaforth's rights to fish in the island, and his right to supply ground leave to the fishing society, thus giving reluctant Royal assent to what was in effect a *fait accompli*, reflecting too, perhaps, the

167 Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint Stock Companies*, ii, 367–368.

168 Oppenheim, *Monson*, v, 213.

169 Appendix F1.

170 BL, Add MS 39187, fol. 3r. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 445.

171 HMC, *Appendix to the 9th Report, part II*, (London, 1884), 253. Cailean, Earl of Seaforth, to his brother, Seòras, July 1631. BL, Add MS 39187, fol. 2–4.

escalating political difficulties of the crown as much as Seaforth's strength in the locality.¹⁷²

Conclusion

Although the Hebrides were well known to English sailors from at least as early as the mid sixteenth century, the first official presence of Englishmen in the area was not until shortly after the Union of the Crowns, 1603, during various campaigns to suppress Hebridean disorder. English naval levies played an important – if under-appreciated role in the pacification of the Isles, 1605–1610. One of those who was present and possibly supported the Mackenzies during their conquest and plantation of Lewis was Captain John Mason of King's Lynn and also Sir William Monson. Mason and Monson were influential figures in the English naval establishment and retained an interest in Hebridean matters through into the 1630s. Indeed in the 1630s Mason was to become governor of the settlement at Stornoway and Monson referred to the Hebrides (a good land) and Hebrideans (an ill people) and plantation at Lewis in several passages of his voluminous memoirs.

The English involvement of the early decades had faded away after the Mackenzie settlement of the Hebrides although Captain John Mason, in particular, retained an interest in the area, albeit his zealous collection of fishing tithes landed him in trouble with the Scots in 1616. The attention of the English naval establishment was again drawn to the Hebrides from 1628 onwards as they became alarmed at Seaforth's collaboration with Dutchmen and plans for a plantation of Dutch fishermen at Stornoway. The English were engaged in global commercial competition with the Dutch, and envious of the size of their fleets and the wealth generated by their fisheries. A grouping of English nobles, merchants and naval figures moved, with crown backing, to forestall Seaforth's plans to introduce Dutch fishermen and merchants in Lewis. A Common fishery company was established, mainly with English backing, to raise capital and

172 *RPCS* (2nd Ser.), vi, 278–9. *RMS*, ix, no. 672, p. 241–242. Matters then seemed to have quietened down with the exception of an incident involving Captain William Cobb, an Englishman whose ship, the *Roc* of London, was, he alleged, seized at sea off the Isle of Skye by 'pirates' led by Oliver Mowat a merchant in Stornoway. Cobb and his crew were detained for four months prior to July 1642. Seaforth himself had intervened and seized Cobb's ship and goods, and the claim and counter claim in this dispute dragged on into March 1643. *RPCS* (2nd Ser.), vii, 399, 548–549, 611–614, 619. Iain Mackay was also implicated in the charges that Cobb successfully raised against Mowat at Kirkwall. Orkney Archives, SC 11/5/1942/3.

establish a fleet and infrastructure to challenge Dutch supremacy. The grant given by King Charles to Seaforth to enable the Dutch to settle at Stornoway and allowing Seaforth licence to erect a burgh was withdrawn. A substantial English presence was mobilised at Stornoway, in place of the Dutch, which lasted throughout the 1630s. Harsher voices such as Monson advocated the complete ejection of the Mackenzies from Lewis and thoroughgoing English colonisation of Lewis but cooler heads, such as Captain Mason, instead argued successfully for an accommodation with the Earl of Seaforth. Although the evidence is fragmentary, what does survive is indicative of a great deal of English activity in the area. For the English, Lewis was one important piece in the Atlantic-wide scope of the Common Fishing that had a presence in the North Sea, Shetland, Iceland and also looked across the ocean to Newfoundland. Although the company suffered from under-investment throughout its lifetime as well as Dunkirker piracy, the biggest threat to the Common fishery company, a project fully supported by Charles I, was from the rivalry and opposition of the Scots. Increasingly militant Lowland Scots fishermen and merchants resented the English presence in Scottish waters which they considered to be to their disadvantage, leading to escalating tensions between Englishmen and Scots at Lewis in the build up to the Wars of the three kingdoms (1639–51). Although Lowland Scots fishermen had an increasingly strained relationship with the Englishmen of the Common fishing company, the Mackenzies, pragmatically, managed to co-operate with both groups and retained their own foothold in the island.

Conclusion

This study has attempted to explore the patterns of plantation and the implementation of the civility agenda in the North Minch area and how this process affected five groups, Macleods, The Fife Adventurers, the Mackenzies, the Dutch settlers invited in by the Mackenzies, and finally the English. Some of these groups, especially the Fife men, the Mackenzies and the English, all strove, in various ways, to control a discrete area and impose their version of civility on the area and its inhabitants by means of plantation between the end of the sixteenth century and the end of the 1630s. This area was prized by outside interests in the Early Modern period due to its rich fishery and also for its strategic value on the north-west corner of the British Isles, adjacent to the main European sea roads. Yet Gaelic Scotland, both area and people, has often been seen in the past by historians as peripheral from a Lowland Scottish or English perspective. Although a growing body of recent historiography has become more nuanced and more accommodating of the ‘periphery,’ such long-established mainstream, ‘external’ viewpoints have also leached back into the ‘internal’ perceptions regarding their past held by some modern Gaels.¹ It has been argued here that, irrespective of historiographical perspectives, the presence of these external groups in Lewis demonstrates that for early modern

1 For traditional approaches to the Highland periphery, see, for example, H. Trevor-Roper ‘The invention of tradition. The Highland tradition of Scotland,’ in E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), 15–42, at 21. J. Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1999), 223, 283. G. Donaldson, *Scotland: James v – James VII. The Edinburgh History of Scotland, volume 3* (Edinburgh, 1990), 13–14, 50–52, 72. Some recent scholarship has taken a more inclusive approach to the ‘periphery.’ A. Cathcart, ‘The forgotten ‘45: Donald Dubh’s rebellion in an archipelagic context,’ 239–264. For a surprisingly downbeat ‘internal,’ Gaelic, or Hebridean perspective, see some of the comments of Professor Derick Thomson, the most prominent and prolific champion of the Gaelic cause in Scotland during the latter half of the twentieth century. D.S. Thomson, ‘Influences of medieval thinking on the Gaelic world in Scotland in the sixteenth century and later,’ in M.F. Alamichel & D. Brewer (eds.), *The Middle Ages after the Middle Ages in the English speaking world* (Woodbridge, 1997), 15–42, at 17, 24. D.S. Thomson, *An introduction to Gaelic poetry* (2nd ed., Edinburgh, 1989), 58. A stimulating appraisal of Highland and Gaelic perspectives in historiography is given by D.U. Stiùbhart, ‘Eachdraidh na Gàidhealtachd aig toiseach linn ùr,’ in C. Ó Baoill & N.R. McGuire (eds.), *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig, 2000. Papers read at the conference, ‘Scottish Gaelic Studies, 2000,’ held at the University of Aberdeen, 2–4 August, 2000* (An Clò Gàidhealach, Obar Dheathain, 2002), 279–284.

Scotsmen, some Dutchmen and Englishmen, while the Hebrides may, of course, have been on their periphery, they considered the area sufficiently important to directly intervene or attempt plantation. If anyone had asked either the Macleods of Lewis or their Mackenzie successors, it is unlikely they would have considered their lands peripheral. For the latter group the area was a long sought after and prized possession, the Mackenzie clan chief taking 'Seaforth,' the name of the longest sea-loch in the island of Lewis, as his comital title in 1623.

Of more immediate concern to King James VI of Scotland in the later 1590s was that a plantation in Lewis would not only prove a boon to his treasury but also serve as a valuable footing from which his plantation agenda, and more direct royal control, could be extended throughout the Scottish Isles. For James in 1598, anticipating his accession to the throne of England, the Plantation of Lewis, led by a cabal of loyal courtiers and nobles, could demonstrate to his future English subjects, mired in a debilitating struggle in Ireland, that he could and would crack down on Scottish Gaelic barbarism or 'incivility.' This, doubtless, was meant to signal to an English audience that James would, in a similar fashion, be able to bring a similar resolution to their own Gaelic problem in Ireland.

All of those groups active in this area during this period, c. 1580–1640, had very different experiences of plantation and perceived 'civility' in different ways. The Macleod writer of 'Ewill Trowbles,' (c. 1626) was extremely and understandably critical of the 'civility' agenda, stating that the Fife Adventurers, informed of the potential of the island by some who had been there, came to Lewis seeking to make a profit 'under pretence of civilizing the inhabitants of the I[s]le...' This was echoed by W.C. Mackenzie, another Lewisman, writing nearly three centuries later (1903), who saw the Fife Adventurers' attempt at securing Lewis as little more than a cynical and disingenuous land-grab: an attempt at dispossession and profiteering which he compared to the exploitative behaviour of contemporary settlers in Australia towards the aboriginal population.² The opinions of Mackenzie, seem, almost, to anticipate modern post-colonial theoretical approaches but it is in keeping with the tone of the earlier Macleod writer, and, indeed, it must have seemed to the contemporary Macleods, in 1598 and in succeeding years, that the civility ploy was no more

2 *Highland Papers*, ii, 270. W.C. Mackenzie, writing (1903) at the time of the British Empire's conflict with the Boers also drew parallels between the Lewismen and the Boers in their struggle against a greater power and contrasted the honourable behaviour of the Lewismen in 1601 with the perfidious behaviour of the 'civilized' Lowlanders. Mackenzie, *The History of the Outer Hebrides*, 178–181, 198–199, 203–204, 219–220.

than a ruse to strip them of their lands and seas.³ This may have seemed all the more pointed for members of Sìol Torcaill given the targeting of Lewis rather than a number of equally 'incivil' neighbouring clans.

It is unlikely that the Macleods considered themselves out on a limb from their Scottish contemporaries, despite the trouble that marked their final decades. Education is meant to be one of a number of the hallmarks of civility. Yet, the much maligned Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis (d.1595), had despite his apparent incivility, ensured that his sons, legitimate and illegitimate were given an education and evidence survives which shows that at least three of them could write fluently in Scots. If the illegitimate children were literate, the inference must be that all (or most) of Ruairidh's other children were similarly educated. Civility is hard to pin down and while one can poke holes in the definitions and the categorisation of people as 'civilised' there can be no doubt that from a Lowland Scots perspective the Macleods (literate or not) were perceived as uncivil and disordered, with different social and cultural mores than their southern countrymen. It is, moreover, no coincidence that the civility agenda and the action at implementing this in the shape of plantation came at the same time as two other key factors: James's ambition to inherit the English throne and a simultaneous boom in the herring fishery in the waters controlled by the Macleods of Lewis. The resources of the Sìol Torcaill lordship in the North Minch drew attention from southern nobles and merchants, while the continuing dynastic instability and internecine squabbling amongst the Macleods, greatly exacerbated by Mackenzie pressure over a 50 year period, underscored the vulnerability of the Sìol Torcaill lordship.

The royal forfeiture of Macleod title and the grant to the Fife Adventurers was seen, from a Macleod perspective, as an action that was immoral and even possibly illegal. This overturned not only the title of the Macleod hierarchy, but it also shook up the land rights of the remainder of the people of Lewis: the group the chaplain to the Adventurers called the 'country people:' threatening the customary rights of the 'ancients inhabitants.' Each rising of the Lewis men against the settlers, 1599–1602 and 1605–1607, occurred soon after the settlers started dividing the lands amongst themselves, presumably disregarding local continuity of tenure. This may have been one of the major drivers contributing to the widespread and popular support in Lewis for the Macleod opposition to the Fife Adventurers. This has been largely obscured due to the portrayal of the Macleods by some contemporary writers and subsequent historians as incorrigibly barbarous and bloody and their characterisation as one-dimensional

3 C. Carroll, 'Introduction: the Nation and Postcolonial Theory' in C. Carroll & P. King (eds.), *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory* (Notre Dame, 2003), 1–15.

banditti with a penchant for fratricidal strife. Some of this, of course, was (and is) well-deserved. It is undeniable that the Macleods were a ‘wicked, bloody crew,’ but the attention given to the bloodshed can obscure the underlying causes for the conflict. By the mid seventeenth century, however, if not sooner, any indigenous, Hebridean, perspective to the story was diminished and their story had become an object lesson for neighbouring clans of what befell a clan who let disunity run unchecked and what could happen when internecine rivalry burgeoned.⁴

Nevertheless, there was nothing in the mid sixteenth century to suggest the decline of the Macleods of Lewis was inevitable. The catastrophic nature of this clan’s collapse and their targeting for expropriation by King and Council in 1598 was not signposted by the experience of earlier generations. They were no better, no worse, than neighbouring clans – at least until the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Several factors combined to create a perfect storm of misfortune for Siol Torcaill. Of these, dynastic accident looms the largest. Had Torcaill Oighre Macleod lived beyond 1566, and had the Macleods continued to benefit from Royal interest as Torcaill Oighre had during in the early 1560s, then the rival Mackenzie-backed claimant, Torcaill Conanach, might have been unable to undermine the Siol Torcaill lordship. As it was, Torcaill Oighre was drowned in 1566, an accident closely followed by national civil war and a long royal minority. This ushered in a bitter period of internecine strife in the Lewis lordship that lasted over thirty years, as various factions strove to press their own advantage. Of these factions, Torcaill Conanach, backed by the Mackenzies, posed the most serious threat to the independence of Siol Torcaill. He was, as a source sympathetic to Siol Torcaill put it, the ‘fountaine of all their miseries and troubles.’⁵ Torcaill Conanach, and more particularly his Mackenzie backers, had the sharpest elbows and were undoubtedly the single biggest factor in destabilising both the Macleod lordship and even the subsequent plantation of the Fife Adventurers. This may, however, or may not, have resolved itself in a number of other ways, but the coalescing of several other factors, not least the Irish dimension, royal interest, the wealth of the fishery, the ambitions of Lowlanders (and Mackenzies) to exploit the resources and, above all, the inability of the clan to present a united front in the face of these pressures meant that there could be no easy way out for the Macleods of Lewis.

This was made clear in the language used by the Scottish Parliament in December of 1597 which stated, ten months prior to the Fife Adventurers’ expedition setting sail for Lewis, that that barbarous inhabitants of the

4 Chron. Frasers, 41. MacCoinnich, ‘Mar Phòr san t-Uisge,’ 214–231.

5 *Highland Papers*, ii, 272.

Highlands and Islands had no 'honest or civill societie amongst thame selffis,' they brought no profit to the country (or into the pockets of those in power) and that they needed to be 'reduced to ane godlie, honest and civill manner of living.' Three burghs were to be set up, in Lochaber, Kintyre and Stornoway (although Stornoway was the only plantation set up at this time), to promulgate 'civilitie and polecie' within the Isles.⁶ The paradox that forcible 'reducing' was necessary in order to achieve such 'civility' would not have troubled late sixteenth century Scots. There was a contrast in tone, however, between the rhetoric of King and Council on the one hand and the writings of people on the ground. While the former roundly condemned Highlanders and their society from a safe distance, the writings of those present on the ground, in Lewis, such as the account of the chaplain (appendix C3) seem more nuanced. This does not necessarily mean that the Adventurers' views differed much from those held by those in Edinburgh, but they simply did not have the benefit of detachment. Sources such as the chaplain's account clearly show that the 'Hieland men' were viewed as the 'other' by the 'inland men,' as the Lowlanders in Lewis referred to themselves. These group identities and prejudices, while real enough, were probably driven to a great extent by mutual fear. The sporadic outbreaks of fighting would only have reinforced these feelings of alienation and isolation both among the natives and especially among the beleaguered settlers in Stornoway.

While the king and his council could muse about the necessity of 'reducing' people into civility in the abstract, the reality of having to deal with the 'Hieland' men meant that, for the chaplain at least, the justifications given for the expedition were more practical and threefold: that the Macleods had 'misruled': they were not peaceable and they were not 'civil.' The chaplain placed the emphasis on the 'rebelliousness' of the Macleods as much as their incivility, categorising the Macleods of Lewis as simple outlaws, thus outwith the protection of the law. A surgical removal of the leadership, it had been thought, would solve the problem of incivility. The 'country people' of Lewis, having long suffered from the misrule and oppression of the Macleods, would, the chaplain reasoned, welcome the new order. This failed to take the close knit, interconnected, nature of Highland claniship, kinship and association at all levels of society into account. The term 'country people,' for example, used by the chaplain may be a half-translation of a Gaelic word such as 'dùthchasaich': those who claimed they had 'dùthchas.' This can mean a kindly, or customary, tenancy but this term also encapsulated a much wider and deeper range of ties of association and affinity between people and the land in the

6 RPS, 16 December 1597/11/40-41.

Gaidhealtachd. The Fife chaplain's account not only assumed, optimistically, that the men of Lewis would be glad to be rid of the Macleod leadership, on the grounds that they had 'misruled,' but that they would welcome new 'civilised' management in their stead. The Fife men must have thought that as the new, rightful, masters, they could dispose of the land as they saw fit and they probably believed their own propaganda that, as rightful rulers they would be embraced by the natives.

However, the continued presence of members of the Macleods of Lewis and also other leading families throughout the island such as Clann MhicAmhlaigh (the Macaulays) and Sliochd a' Bhrithheimh (the Macbreifs or Morrisons), of whose role we know less, was, from the beginning of the Plantation of Lewis, a major threat to the Plantation's stability. Unlike Ulster, where the native lords, the leaders of the indigenous society had taken flight to the continent in 1609, opening up the way for plantation, many of the hierarchy of the Macleods of Lewis and their dependent clans such as Clann MhicAmhlaigh and Sliochd a' Bhrithheimh, remained in situ after 1598, watching, waiting, biding their time. The widespread discontent with the appropriation of the lands of Lewis by the planters for themselves and for their friends resulted in widespread support among the 'country people' for the opposition (or may have left people little alternative other than opposition). The surviving hierarchy of Siol Torcaill, led ably by Tormod and Niall Macleod, were certainly able to harness this popular unrest.

By the time of the second expedition, 1605, wiser after experience, the planters referred to the men of Lewis as their 'enemies,' and carefully targeted all the leading men, those who would and could resist, for removal. In so doing, however, the planters must have further alienated most of the native population. This, the failure to either make an accommodation with or neutralise the local population, can be seen as the biggest failure of the venture. The leaders of the Fife Adventurer expeditions clearly expected some resistance and knew that there would be fighting but they underestimated the attachment of the Lewis people to their land and also their capacity to resist.

One of the charges thrown at the first Scottish plantation, the Fife Adventurers' plantation of Lewis, was that it was ill-conceived, badly planned and somehow bungled from the start. The disastrous capitulation to the Macleods of Lewis in early 1602 and the defeat of the second plantation by the Lewis men by early 1607 certainly gives the impression that this was simply an ill-judged, ill-thought out venture. Yet, there is evidence to show that this was not the case. This was not a leap in the dark by these Lowland Scottish settlers, but an attempt to take control of an area about which they already knew a great deal. As the chaplain to the Adventurers' stated, they drew information from those

who had been there and knew the island, its waters and its people well. Such documents as have been discovered, appendices, C2, C3, together with the discussion in Chapter three, provide ample evidence of a well-planned, well-funded, well-organised and determined attempt at establishing a plantation, 1598–1602 and again in 1605–1607. A society of Lewis was established with a constitution and well-defined rules. Those in charge of this were competent individuals, such as Colonel William Stewart, Sir James Spens and Sir George Hay who had long and otherwise successful careers – in Stewart's case before Lewis and the latter two long after Lewis. Plantation was a difficult, dangerous and uncertain business, whether for the English in sixteenth century Ireland or later in Virginia, or for the Dutch and Spanish, all of whom occasionally suffered setbacks in various colonial ventures, in a similar manner as the Fife men failed in Lewis.

Might it have worked? The rhetoric of plantation and of 'civility,' especially in the Privy Council and Parliament, suggest the idea that the expedition to Lewis in 1598 was a crusade to spread higher-minded and more enlightened mores of living on the island and set an example to neighbouring clans. This is challenged somewhat by the need to impose the new order by force and the realisation no one was in a hurry to plant anywhere unless it was economically viable. Profit as well as (if not more than) 'civic' duty surely underpinned the initiative of plantation. While James VI and theorists on plantation could place the emphasis on the rooting out of barbarity and the inculcation of civility, those implementing such an agenda had to have an eye for the bottom line. The economic rationale behind the venture, the exploitation of the fisheries, was sound and economic development, indeed, would have been regarded as one of the benefits of civility. The evidence, albeit fragmentary, shows a continued fishing effort in the waters round the Lewis from Lowland boats and trade being conducted between these boats based in Lewis and south eastern Scotland. Had the Fife Adventurers had two or three seasons to establish themselves they might quickly have recouped their outlay and made a success of their plantation. The planters also had a firm idea of what they wanted to do and a clear sense of purpose. By their building of the town of Stornoway in a civil fashion, using vernacular architecture imported from Fife, and by the rules of their society of Lewis, they represented a clear contrast with 'clannit' society in the surrounding Highlands and Islands. They will have seen themselves as a beacon of civility in a wilderness of barbarism. It may have been expected that the reproduction of the society and structure of a Fife burgh in a Hebridean context might, as they and their king anticipated, have resulted in the surrounding Lewismen being drawn in to more civil forms of living: controlled, of course, by newcomers.

Certainly, the chaplain was keen to stress their fair treatment of the natives during the first expedition to Lewis – but such amicable relations did not survive the partition of the lands and the separating of natives from their possessions. The imposition of civility (or other creeds) at sword point renders the reception of this agenda uncertain, particularly where those on whom such agendas are being imposed are simultaneously losing control of their natural resources (whether fish or land) by those purporting to ‘help’ them ‘develop.’ Had the plantation succeeded, however, it might well have, as James and the planters had imagined, succeeded in accelerating the spread of the ‘civil’ Lowland Scottish mores in the Highlands and Islands. It was never going to be to the benefit of those who lost their lands, not only the Macleods of Lewis, but also, probably, almost all of the kindly tenants throughout the island.

Apart from native opposition, the other single biggest factor in destabilising the Fife Adventurers’ Plantation of Lewis was the covert opposition of neighbouring clans, particularly the Mackenzies of Kintail. If the Fife Adventurers underestimated the capacity of the Lewismen to resist their schemes, they also underestimated the guile, strength and persistence of Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail. The Mackenzies were the obvious choice to solve the problem of Lewis for James VI once it had become clear, by 1609 (if not 1607), that the Fife Adventurers were not able to continue with plantation. This also has to be considered in the context of James VI & I’s wider strategy aimed at finally settling his troublesome north-western British-Gaelic-Atlantic seaboard stretching from Ulster to the north of Lewis. The Plantation of Ulster would, it was thought, settle the turbulent north of Ireland, the well-known Statutes of Iona dealt with the chiefs in all the Hebrides save Lewis. The Mackenzie acquisition of Lewis, surely linked to these two other initiatives completed the settlement of the Gaelic Atlantic seaboard and offered James VI a face-saving and practical alternative to the failed Lowland Plantation.

The Mackenzies, politically well-connected, and well-practised in appropriating their neighbours’ territories, were much better equipped than their predecessors in taking on a plantation in Lewis. They not only had advantage of geography and a short supply line but they spoke the language of the area and, indeed, were organised along clan lines like the population over whom they assumed control in 1610. The fact that they were a Gaelic-speaking clan has, perhaps, suggested to some commentators that King James somehow washed his hands off Lewis in 1609–10. The granting of this to the Mackenzies is, perhaps, seen as a failure or royal policy and a step backwards, a last resort rather than ‘progress.’ However, the Mackenzies, whose archive, significantly, contains papers relating to the terms of settlement of Coleraine, June 1613, demonstrating their awareness of contemporary plantation elsewhere, saw themselves as modern

Jacobean and, indeed, described their acquisition of Lewis as a plantation.⁷ They may have been Gaels, but they also, in common with the Campbells of Argyll and the Macdonnells of Antrim, embraced the civility ethos and saw no paradox in this.⁸ While some clans did, clearly, find closer integration with the state uncomfortable this was not the case with the Mackenzies. The Clan Mackenzie played a full and proactive role in the Jacobean settlement of the north western littoral to their own benefit as much as that of the state.

Gaels are traditionally viewed in historiography as inimical to trade and as the victims of the state formation process. The example of Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh (Mackenzie of Achilty) and his clansmen, if not the Campbells and Macdonnells of Antrim, suggest that such interpretations may need some revision or qualification. The Mackenzies succeeded in building a plantation where others had failed. They were more successful as they managed to adapt, to build on, and work with existing societal structures rather than rooting them out completely. The Mackenzies, unlike their predecessors, were better able to integrate with and, to some extent, work with the native population. The solution to the problem of Lewis, that had plagued James VI was partly local rather than nationally Scottish or, more widely, British.

The emphasis on the locality does not, however, mean that the Mackenzies were insular and cut off from wider developments. The Mackenzie clan may have been Gaels and at home in Gaelic society, but they also had wider horizons and were switched on to all the latest developments of their own day whether in Edinburgh, the Netherlands or London. Many of Achilty's kinsmen fought, like a great number of their fellow Scots, in European theatres of war, whether in Dutch or Scandinavian service. The clan chief, Cailean Ruadh, the first Earl of Seaforth, took his night's rest in an elaborate four poster bed which had originated in the Dutch East Indies, a wedding present from Mackenzie kinsmen domiciled in the Dutch republic. They brought their European, if not Atlantic, perspectives to bear on their enterprises such as plantation in Lewis from 1611 and in Nova Scotia from 1628 and in commercial developments, such as iron-working or fisheries. They combined these initiatives with their roles as Highland barons, landlords and clan chiefs. Fish from Mackenzie lands went through Scottish ports and all over Europe. In a similar manner, grain was exported from Mackenzie lands and iron manufacture was established on their landholdings in Wester Ross in conjunction with external partners. As planters themselves, their method of developing expertise and capacity was by hiring

7 NRS, GD 46/5/1. NRS, GD 46/18/138. *Highland Papers*, ii, 62. *RPCS* (2nd ser.), iv, 106–7.

8 Macinnes, *The British Confederate*, 44–63. Ohlmeyer, *Civil war and Restoration in the three Stuart Kingdoms*, 18–25, 74–76.

in external experts: whether English gun founders for their works at Wester Ross or inviting a plantation of Dutch fishermen to help to modernise and build up their fishery.⁹ The Dutch, Calvinist co-religionists of the Mackenzies, were brought in as equal partners on carefully defined terms (with explicit guarantees of full religious freedom). The fact that the ventures were short-lived was due to the opposition of vested interests rather than to any inherent flaw in these schemes.

The strength of the opposition encountered by Mackenzies' scheme with the Dutch in Stornoway, 1628–30, was an indication of its potential for success. Scottish opposition emanated from the camp of Lord Lorne, determined to revive Clan Campbell fiscal and political power in the Hebrides and not be eclipsed by Seaforth, together with a concerted campaign from most of the Scottish burghs who feared losing out to Dutch fleets. While this was a serious setback to Seaforth's ambitions, he was not without good political connections and seemed, initially, to be able to offset this challenge. However, the Lowland Scots' ambitions of muscling in on or curtailing Seaforth's partnership with the Dutch was trumped by the English with whom the balance of power in the British state now lay, under the government of a British king, Charles I, less sympathetic to Scottish concerns than his father had been. The English (or British) agenda, driven by a naval cabal based in London, was Atlantic in scope, if not global, and it was driven by a desire to catch up with, match and overtake their Dutch competitors on both sides of the Atlantic. Lewis, for the English, was a key piece in this larger anti-Dutch strategy as well as a potentially lucrative source of revenue. The position of Lewis meant that it was ideal not only for fishing but also, potentially, as a base for English privateering. This English intervention was of great concern to the Mackenzies, who feared, between 1630 and 1631 that they would not be able to retain a hold of Lewis.

What the English made of the Mackenzies is unclear. Did they differentiate them from the 'barbarous' Macleods and others with whom the Mackenzies shared cultural and linguistic similarities? Some English voices, such as that of Sir William Monson, had little regard for anyone in the Gaidhealtachd. For Monson, Hebrideans in general were an 'ill-people' in a 'good land' and needed to be removed, ideally, and if not, then tightly controlled. Monson envisaged an exploitative colonial model, pioneered in Ireland and thought the Irish template (where the English had a great degree of control) could be transferred to Scotland (where the English did not have such a degree of control as Monson

9 Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 293–326. A. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 298–349. A. MacCoinnich, 'Cleiffis of Irne'Clann Choinnich agus gnìomhachas iarainn, c. 1569–1630,' 143–146. MacCoinnich, 'Long, fion is fine,' 141, 152 & n. 28.

imagined). All the resources were to be commandeered for the greater good of the mother country. The natives of Lewis were to be taught English and thereafter to be relied on to supply cheap labour to their masters. They would, opined Monson, be happy to crew English vessels for half the rates of pay than Englishmen would accept. Monson also advocated the ejection of the Mackenzies from Lewis. As was the case with the earlier Fife Adventurer period, there seemed to be a distance and a disconnect between the rhetoric of those cheerleading plantation from the sidelines and those actually engaged in the work. One of the English leaders of the Lewis settlement, Captain John Mason was much more circumspect and careful in his approach than the hawkish Monson. Unlike Monson, Captain Mason seems to have good personal relationships with the Scots and worked well with many Scotsmen over a long period of time. Mason was widely experienced in the practical application of plantation in Newfoundland and New-Hampshire and knew conditions in Lewis well. He had probably been present when the Mackenzies had invaded Lewis in 1610 and had a better appreciation than most of the many pitfalls in this type of project. He realised that any English attempt to uproot the Mackenzies from the locality would be disastrous (as it had been earlier for the Fife Adventurers) and seems instead to have favoured co-operation with the Mackenzies in Lewis.

For the Mackenzies, maintaining their hard won hold on Lewis was the main objective during the English phase in the 1630s. The Mackenzies kept calm in the face of the English pressure, bluster and provocation (such as the threats to deprive the Mackenzies of the Island of Lewis) and carried on developing their fishery as they had been prior to the arrival of the latest wave of newcomers. Indeed, there seems to have been a relatively co-operative and cordial relationship between the English and the Mackenzies. The opposition the English faced was from Lowland Scottish vested interests who resented having to share their national waters with their southern neighbours. Having previously seen off the competition of the Macleods and the Fife Adventurers for Lewis, the Mackenzies were in no mood to relinquish their possession and to this end they maintained a judicious balancing act between both parties. Mackenzie's minister at Stornoway even acted as a mediator between the contesting English and Lowland Scottish factions at Stornoway in 1635. This, together with Seaforth's careful balancing act with the two groups, Lowland Scots and English in Lewis, may have been the reason that British fishery company was prepared to countenance a fresh royal charter of Lewis to Seaforth in 1637, the advent of the company having placed this in doubt. The new grant recognised the strength of Seaforth in the locality and granted him with a fresh charter to his possessions of Lewis: albeit reserving the town of Stornoway as

royal demesne, no doubt on the understanding that Seaforth and the Mackenzies would support the British fishery company. The Mackenzies continued to develop their trade in and around Lewis while building up a commercial relationship with both the Scots and the English parties in the island. Increasing Anglo-Scottish tensions at Stornoway did little to help the English venture, but the debts owed the fishery company by many of the English subscribers and Dunkirker piracy proved to be a bigger brake on progress. Nevertheless, English activity continued in Lewis at least until 1638 although the subsequent outbreak of war curtailed further involvement. The Mackenzies of Seaforth, however, remained and managed to hold on to the island. The Mackenzie plantation, despite the failure of their attempt to introduce Dutch settlers, 1628–31, proved in the end to be more durable and the Seaforth family's control over the island was to last another 200 years.

List of Illustrations



FIGURE 1 *This birlinn is on the tomb of Alasdair Crotach Macleod (d.1548), chief of the Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan, at Teampall Chliamhain, Roghadal, Harris. This, one of several images carved on his tomb, probably depicts the flagship of his fleet. Similar vessels would have been used by both the Macleods of Lewis, and also by neighbouring clans such as the Mackenzies and continued to be used as late as the eighteenth century. Reproduced courtesy of the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historic Monuments, Scotland.*

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FIGURE 2A *Effigy of one of the chiefs of Siol Torcaill, possibly Gillecaluim Macleod of Lewis, d. ca. 1498, in Teampall na h-Aoidhe, the church where the chiefs of this family buried their dead at Aiginis, near Stornoway. This shows the Macleod chief clad in the armour of his day grasping a spear in his right hand and a sword in the left.*
© PHOTOGRAPH, AONGHAS MACCOINNICH.



FIGURE 2B *The coats of arms of the Macleods of Lewis appear in three national collections of heraldry from the fifteenth and sixteenth century, an indication that they had not always, perhaps, been considered barbarous and incorrigible. The Armorial de Berry, left, dates from the fifteenth century, the Sunderland Hall and the Workman's MSS, centre and right date from the sixteenth century. The burning mountain motif, present in all three armorial devices may hint at a system of signal fires. The image on the left from the 'Armorial de Gilles Le Bouvier, dit Berry, Héraut d'armes du Roi Charles VII', MS Français 4958, Bibliothèque Nationale de France. The images centre and right reproduced from R.R. Stoddart, Scottish Arms, being a collection of armorial bearings, A.D. 1370–1678.*

REPRODUCED IN FACSIMILE FROM CONTEMPORARY MANUSCRIPTS (2 VOLS, EDINBURGH, 1881), VOL. 1, PLATES 23, 37.



FIGURE 3 *Portrait of Sir James Anstruther (1555–1606) painted in 1591 by an unknown artist. Sir James was present in Lewis during the plantation, 1598–1602 and probably again in 1605. Prior to his engagement in Lewis he was a courtier and his fine dress in this portrait better reflects this activity than his time as a Fife Adventurer. Such court dress could be expensive. Sir James's fellow planter, Colonel Sir William Stewart, also spent time at court, and had to dress accordingly. Stewart was pursued in 1600 by an Edinburgh merchant, Robert Joussie, for a debt of 3750 merks due to money owed by Stewart for 'certain clothes and abuilments,' possibly similar to those pictured on Anstruther (NLS, Ch. 6392). This image of Anstruther reproduced with the assistance of the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland, Antonia Reeve photography, Edinburgh, and by courtesy of the owner.*

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FIGURE 4 Portrait of Sir James Spens of Wormiston (1568–1632), by an unknown artist. Spens was to the forefront of all three attempts by the Five Adventurers to settle in Lewis, 1598–1609. He subsequently became an ambassador for James VI & I to Sweden and settled in Sweden becoming a member of the nobility there, as Baron Orreholm. ©REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF THE SPA/NATIONAL MUSEUM, STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.



FIGURE 5 *Portrait of Sir George Hay, Earl of Kinnoull (1570–1634) painted by Adam de Colonne, 1625. Hay bought out some of the original planters and joined the second expedition to reconquer Lewis in 1605. His subsequent career was much more successful. He became chancellor of Scotland from 1622 until his death in 1634.*

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LONDON. ©CROWN COPYRIGHT: UK GOVERNMENT ART COLLECTION.



FIGURE 6 *Portrait of Ludovick Stuart, Duke of Lennox (1574–1624) by Isaac Oliver in 1605. This portrait, painted in 1605, was made at the same time of the second plantation in Lewis although there is no record of Lennox at the island at anytime after the initial phase of plantation in 1589–9. Similarly, although he was a planter in Ireland, 1611–24, he is not known to have visited his holdings there.*
©IMAGE REPRODUCED COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON.



FIGURE 7 *a. top left, the seal of the burgh of Anstruther Wester.*
b. top right, the seal of burgh of Burntisland.
c. bottom, the seal of the burgh of Crail.
The images on these seals reflect the centrality of the sea and fishing to the life of these burghs.
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FIGURE 8 *This pair of iron manacles with chains were found at Largo, Fife, and date to the seventeenth century. The men of Lewis who refused to quit their lands to the incoming Fife Adventurers in 1605–06, were captured and put in irons, probably much like these, and placed in the hold of a ship at Stornoway, ready for transportation to Fife for trial (see appendix C2 at fol. 354v).*

©IMAGE REPRODUCED COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF SCOTLAND AND SCRAN. LICENSOR WWW.SCRAN.AC.UK.



FIGURE 9 *Unish House, Vaternish, North Skye. This house is thought to have been built by Sir James Spens of Wormiston, c. 1598–1609. It was later occupied by tacksmen of the Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan. The Outer Isles and Lewis are easily visible from this location on a clear day. Image reproduced courtesy of the Royal Commission for Ancient and Historic Monuments, Scotland.*

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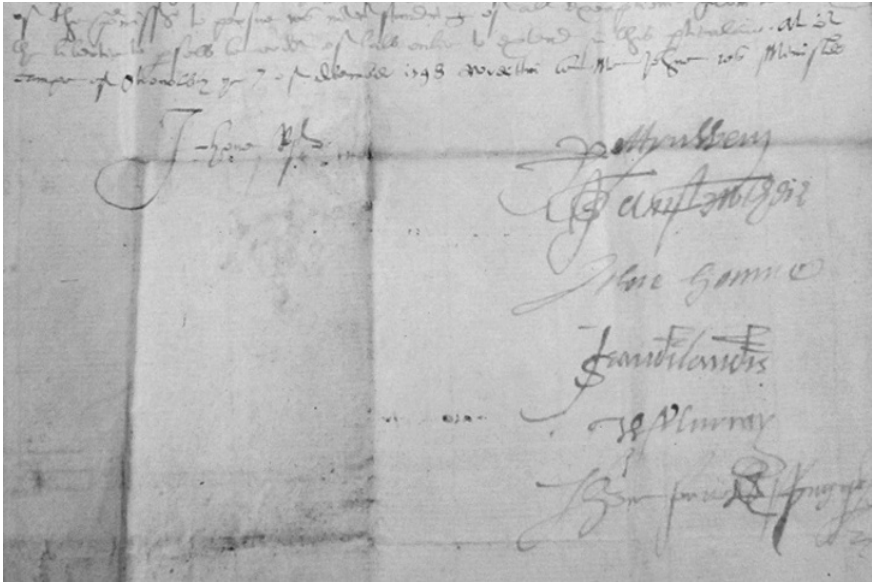


FIGURE 10 *Signatures of some of the Fife Adventurers. Detail of a document, NRS, RH 15/45/30, written: 'at our campe of Stornoway 10 December 1598 wreitten be Mr Jhone Ross men-ister.' This shows the signatures of John Ross (on the left) and also some of the principal planters, from top to bottom, William Stewart Commendator of Pittenweem, Sir James Anstruther, John Hume, Sir James Sandilands, William Murray and John Forret of Fingask. Photograph by Aonghas MacCoinnich.*

©IMAGE REPRODUCED BY COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL RECORDS OF SCOTLAND, EDINBURGH. RH 15/45/30, THOMAS ADAMSON, TOWN CLERK OF CRAIL, BONDS AND LEGAL PAPERS, 1594–1683.



FIGURE 11 *Portrait, 1626 (possibly a later copy of an original), by an unknown artist of Cailean Ruadh Mackenzie, Lord Kintail, first Earl of Seaforth, known in English as Colin. Seaforth combined being chief of the Mackenzie clan in the locality with being a modern planter and entrepreneur with wider Scottish, British and European perspectives. The portrait currently hangs in Fortrose town Hall.*

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FIGURE 12 *A Dutch ship and fishing boat in a fresh breeze by Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom, early seventeenth century.*

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GREENWICH LONDON.

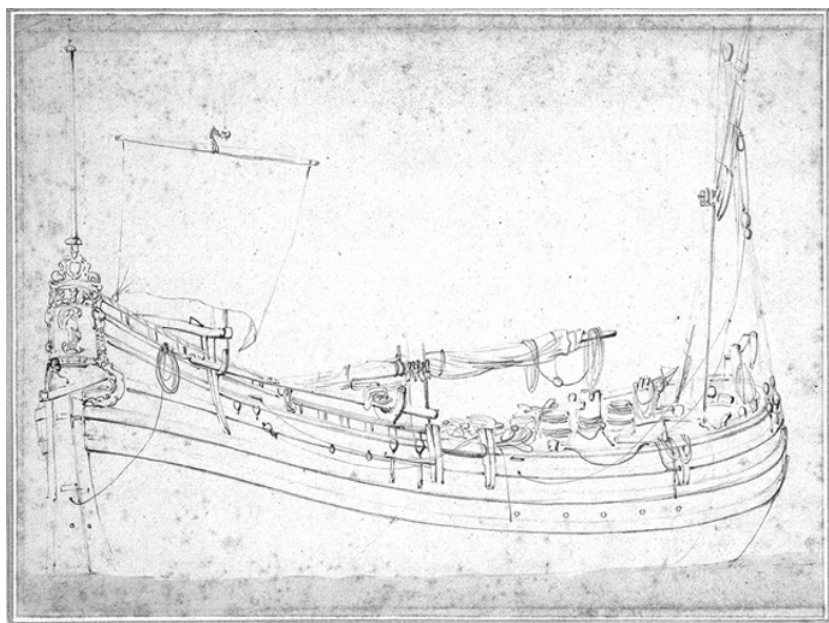


FIGURE 13 *Portrait of a Dutch fishing buss by William Van de Velde the younger, c. 1655.*

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GREENWICH LONDON.

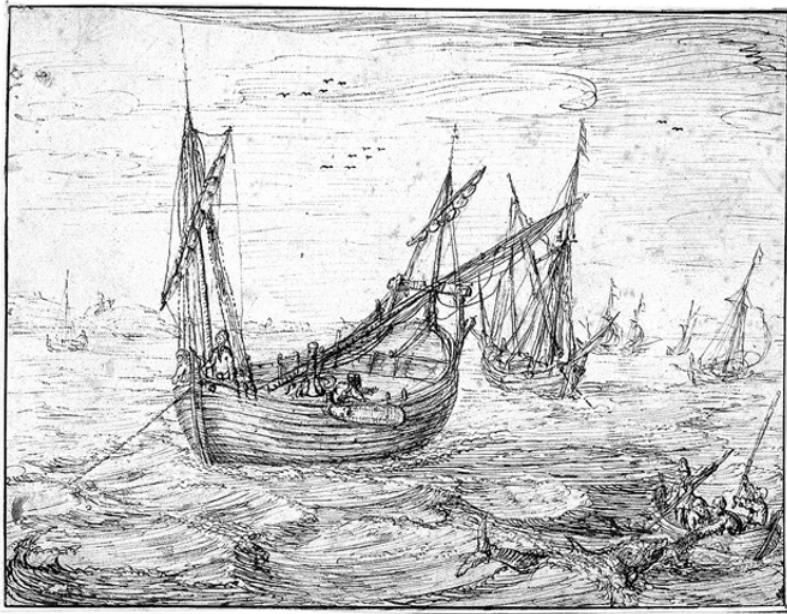


FIGURE 14 *A herring buss catching a large fish by Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom, c. 1600. It is likely that the Scots and English fishing boats that came to Lewis during this period, c. 1580–1640, were broadly similar to these Dutch vessels.*

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FIGURE 15 *Dutch herring busses on the fishing ground by William Van de Velde the elder, c. 1655. The larger ship pictured here may have been a man of war, or a waughter, present to guard the fishing fleet. This was common practice by the Dutch in Shetlandic waters although not recorded in Lewis. The English used similar practices in the North Sea.*

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FIGURE 16 *Sir William Monson (c.1568–1643), advocated an English colony in Lewis.*

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FIGURE 17 *Map of Lewis, probably by Captain John Dymes, c. 1630. TNA, SP 16/229.*
©REPRODUCED COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES, LONDON.



FIGURE 18 *Map of Stornoway. TNA, SP 52/72. This map is bound up with a bundle of papers relating to the 1580s, but it is more likely to date to 1630 given the identical style and draughtsmanship with the previous map, above, and also the description of Lewis by Captain John Dymes, c. 1630, where he states that he was going to draw a plan of the harbour and the town.*

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I would like to thank the Strathmartine Trust, St Andrews, for their generous grant towards the costs of publication of these illustrations.

Appendices

A1 A Description of the Lewis Fisheries, c. 1631 (Part 1)

This description lies in two separate parts within the Seaforth family papers NRS, GD 46 (A1 & A2 here). The dating and authorship is uncertain. It has been argued in the text, above, that this may have been written around 1630 by Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty, for his chief, Cailean Mackenzie, Earl of Seaforth.¹

Ane descriptioun of the course that the Fflemings taks to fisch in the seas belonging to the sacred Ma[jesti]e of Great Brittane: q[uha]t places they fish into and also ane trew relationne off the fishings and seas q[ui]lk lyes to the west and north never zit fished by them:

They set to sea about the letter end of Maii and keips ane straicht course till they all meit at Brassasounde in Zetland and begins the[i]r fisching the Twentie day of Junii paremptorie: The first Months tryell they mak[e] tuixt Zetland and Kynnardes head in Aberdeinescheyr q[ui]lk ar tuo hundreth mylls distant, and tak[e]s th[e]r course tuixt North Ronilscha Iland, and the Ile of Sanda in Orkney: this north syd of Orkney lies sum tyme ane monthes fishing of herings tuixt it and the co[a]st of Norroway: bot no harbors for schipping of any importance: On the south syd ther is no fishing except of small fishes betuixt the Ilandes: becaus of the contrarius tyds th[e]r[e] ar[e] betuixt Cathnes Stranauer [and] Orkney.

Eftir this first course of the heyrring is endit to Kynnards head their course is to the west along the coast of Buqhan, Banff and Morray and returnes throu the midle of Murray Firth to Piterhead, And follows to the red head in Angusscheyr and from th[a]t to Fyfes Nes and lastly taks th[e]r course to Bambrughscheyr and fisches on the English coast till they cum to Yearmouth.

Followeth q[uha]t fishings and harbors ar on the North and West sea.

Ther lyes right off the Parro Head² in Stranaver on the continent tua rocky lands the name of the one is the stack and the other is called the Skelly:³ fra thir tua rocks to the

1 This transcription from NRS, GD 46/18/147. This document (A1), and the following item (A2), from the Seaforth Muniments (NRS, GD 46) are reproduced here by kind permission of Mr Andrew Matheson, Brahan.

2 Known in Gaelic as either 'An Carbh' or 'Am Parbh' and in English as Cape Wrath: the most north-westerly point of the Scottish mainland.

3 One of these, Sulaisgeir, is about 60 miles north-north east of Robha Robhanais (the Butt of Lewis) and the other rock, Sule Skerry, is 37 miles west of Brough Head in Orkney and about

Isle of Barray is nyne scor mylls of sea of one firth. The firth is thretty mylls of breadth. No land is intersected except the Island of the Lewes and from litle land belong to Mcloid of Heres q[ui]lk is drye maiched v[ith] Lewes: On the south syd of the Lewes and of this firth is the landes [and] loches of the continent sick as the loches of Assint, Loch Incha[ard ?], Loch Broome [and] Loch Ew[e]. On the vther syd no land but of the great oceane except one Island called Rona belonging to the Lewes q[ui]lk is thrie scoir mylls to the eist north eist from it. The llands nixt to the continent to the south vest part of this firth ar the Iles of Sky [and] Uyst. The Ile of Sky hath no loches for fishing, but hes ane good harbor called the Kings Port,⁴ bot the lland is plentefully served of all sorts of fishes on the coast by smalboats. The Ile of Uyst hath ane speciall good fishing loch in vinter for hering called Lochmady: ther as also vther tua good harbors in th[a]t Ile that may be saif for schips in storme: The Ile of Barray is ane very good place for cod and ling in the symmer seasonne, bot the harboris of it ar scarce for gre[a]t vessells. That peice of ground, belongs to MacLoid of Heres nichburing w[ith] the Lewes hath only on[e] loch q[ui]lk is the great sea called Loch Tarbet q[ui]lk hes her[r]ing fishing in winter.

The names of the Loches th[a]t ar in the north syd of the Lewes.

1. Loch Roqe is tuelf mylls of lenth ane large myll broad and is good for hering fishing and keipes them [the] longest of any loch on the Island.⁵

2. Loch Berneray is seuin mylls in lenth and four myll broad it is good for hering in vinter and hes sundry harbors for schipping.⁶

3. Loch Carlua in lenth is tua mylls and scarce myll of breid[th]. It hes ane good harbor for the quantety of it and hes fishing as the rest of the loches her[e]. From this loch to the eastmost p[ar]t of the Ile th[e]r ar no loches but sum creiks q[ui]lk keips boats for the comonns of the lland. Summ expence vald mak ane profitable fishing for cod and ling ther.⁷

60 miles north of Tongue in Sutherland. Tradition in Lewis has it that there was rivalry between Sutherland men and Lewis men for the possession of these sea stacks.

4 'Port Rìgh', the Gaelic name meaning literally 'the King's Port' (Portree) in Skye.

5 Loch Roag or Loch Ròg, a large sea loch in western Lewis.

6 Possibly this is East Loch Roag or Loch Ròg an Ear, by Eilean Bheàrnaraigh (the Island of Bernera), to the west of Lewis (NB 180380).

7 The north coast of Lewis stretching from Loch Càrlabhaigh on the west coast (NB 185422) all the way north to Ness and then round southwards to Loch a Tuath (Broad Bay) on the east of Lewis (NB 500370). The Seaforth estate did encourage fishing here in later centuries and by the nineteenth century crofters from Ness and the Loch a Tuath area and also, to a lesser extent from the Atlantic villages of the (north) West Side of Lewis, prosecuted a successful ling and cod fishery.

4. On the south syd of the Iland of Lewes towards the continent is the Broad Loch.⁸ It is nyne mylls of lenth – in breid[th] sax mylls. In this loch th[e]r is takin gray fysh only fra Merch till Julii. It is most p[ar]t fortene fadome vater bot in sum places fortie fadome deip.

A2 A Description of the Lewis Fisheries, 1631 (Part 2)

*Although these papers are kept separately in the archive this item seems to be a continuation of the previous document.*⁹

Not[e] q[uhai]rin the most convenient places of fishing and harbours is schortlie set downe. 1: June 1631

5: Loch Stornway n[ea]r fra the entrie of the broad loch aucht mylls. This loch tua myll in lenth and ane myll broad. Here is in this loch ane good harbor for schipping, quher they lyke to lye at anc[h]or or aground. There is to be had in it her[r]ing in vinter and hes variety of small fisching most pairt of the yeir.

6: Loch Grymsay is distant from Loch Stornway four mylles, It is tua mylls of lenth and half ane myll broad. It is a[u]cht fadom deip in all places and of the quarterly (?) of it is also rich in fishing as any loch in the island, spe[cial]y at the entrie thereof.¹⁰

7 Loch Heres¹¹ is from Loch Grymsay tua mylls. It is ten mylls in lenth, thrie mylls broad and in the narrowest part, ane myll. It hes dyvers good harbries in it, It is to be fished all the yeir as the former loch.

8. Loch Shalt¹² is from Loch Heres ane myll in lenth. It is ane myll and halff myll broad, Ther are herbours wthin it for sum few schips and is good for gray fishing wt small boats in winter.

9. Loch Oir¹³ is fra Loch Shalt tua mylls & is in lenth fywe mylls, half myll broad. It is sax or aucht faddomes in all parts, no harbor in it for gret vessels. It hes gray fisching as former.

10. Loch Shalg¹⁴ is from Loch Oir four mylls in lenth. In lenth it is aucht mylls, tua mylls broad at the entrie and is to be fished as the rest of the loches bothe in summer and winter and hes food harbor for schipping.

8 Loch a Tuath, to the north of Stornoway (NB 500370).

9 This transcription is taken from NRS, GD 46/20/Box 5.

10 Loch Griomsiadar, south eastern Lewis (NB 415256).

11 Loch Eireasort, south-eastern Lewis (NB 340205).

12 Perhaps, Loch Liurbost (NB 375245).

13 Loch Odhairn, south-eastern Lewis (NB 410145).

14 Loch Sealg, south-eastern Lewis (NB 340105).

11. Loch Cloy¹⁵ is from Loch Shalg sax myll. In lenth, thrie myll, and aucht brod. It hes no harbors for gret schips wt in it bot only for small pinkes or boats for taken of hering in winter.

12. Loch Seafort is fra Loch Clay four mylls.¹⁶ The lenth th[er]r off is saxtene mylls, ane myll and a half broad. It hes in all places of it good harbors for schips and keips herings long in the winter seasons

The seasones of the fisching of the Ile of the Lewes, as now they are fished for heirings, cod and ling ar devydit in this maner.

The fyfteine day or tuenty day of Junii the fishers begins to drywe wt nets for herings and fishes in this maner untill the first of October fywe or sax mylls fra the port and magasine.

Secundly, they fish for full herings for drying w[i]t[h] in the loches and in the entries of them wt smaller veschells fra the first of October to the first of Januar.

Lastly, fra the first of Januar till the fyfteinth of Junii, cod and ling ar fished both within and without the loches.

Sua that all the dayes of the yeir ther is ather fishing for herings, cod and ling to him q[uh]a is recedent wt his magasine at Stornway with in ane tyds sayling. It is also considerit if fisching be knawin to abound ather in the continent in any loch or bay throff, or in any of the lles aforsaid, he q[uh]a remaines at Starnuay may upon adverteisment, in one tyd or tua at most, come to any place or harbor thereoff.

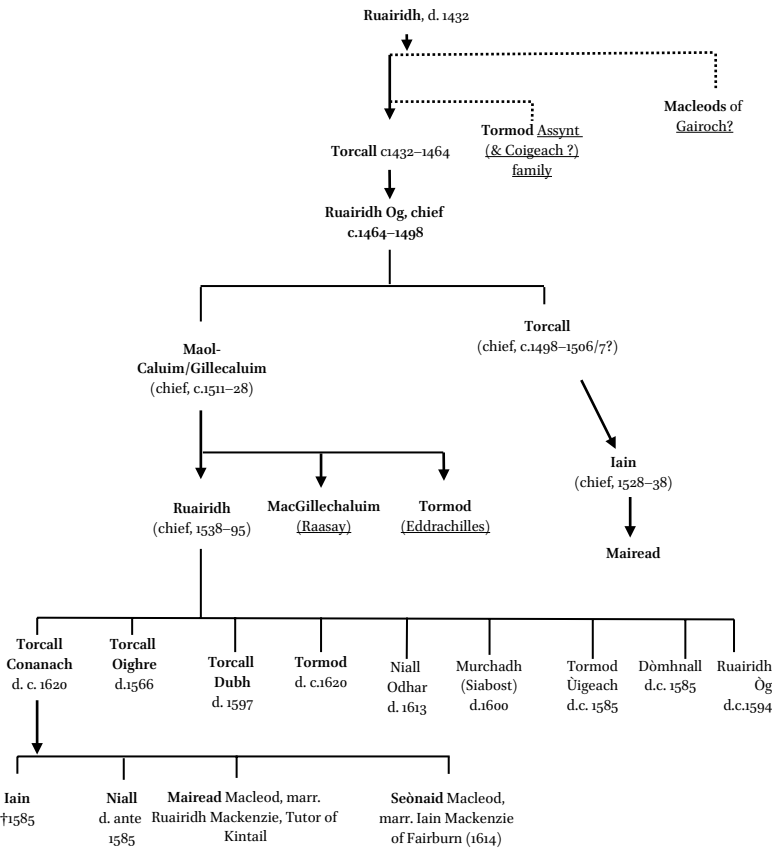
Nixt it is to be observed by these Fleydings q[uh]a has remained at Lewis that the bruid or spawning of the hering is twyes in the yeir in Merch and October.

15 Loch Claidh, south eastern Lewis (NB 270030). Interestingly Loch Bhrollum in between Loch Sealg and Loch Claidh is omitted from this list.

16 This is the sea-loch from which the chief of Clan Mackenzie drew his title, the Earl of Seaforth.

B1 Some Siol Torcaill Family Relationships, 1572

A table showing the relationship between some of the branches of the family and some of the claimants. Dòmhnall ‘Gormson’ Macdonald of Sleat attempted to claim the lordship of Lewis in 1566 due to his mother Mairead having been a daughter of Iain Macleod, chief of Lewis, 1528–38.



Ruairidh's marriages. Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis, chief c. 1538–1595, had (1) Torcall Conanach by his first wife, Seònaid Mackenzie, of the Mackenzie family of Kintail. He put Seònaid away c. 1540, and later disinherited their son. Ruairidh married, secondly, Barbara Stewart from Orkney. His son by Barbara, (2) Torcall Oighre was favoured as heir. After Torcall Oighre's death, 1566, Ruairidh married thirdly, a daughter of Maclean of Duart and had two further legitimate heirs: (3) Torcall Dubh and (4) Tormod. Ruairidh's other sons, Niall, Murchadh, Tormod Ùigeach, Dòmhnall and Ruairidh Òg were all illegitimate.¹⁷

17 For further information on this family see Morrison, & Mackinnon, *The Macleods – The Genealogy of a Clan and Mackenzie, History of the Outer Hebrides*.

C1 The Principal Adventurers in Lewis, 1598–1609

Anstruther, Sir James, fiar of that Ilk (1598–d.1606). Succeeded by son William Anstruther (active in the plantation 1606–1607 ?)

Elphinstone, James, Lord Balmerino (1607–1609 ?)

Forret, John of Fingask (1598–d. 1601) succeeded as a principal planter at Lewis by his son James Forret, younger of Fingask (1601–1607 ?)

Hay, Sir George of Nether Liff (1605–1609)

Hume, David, heir apparent of Wedderburn (1598–1605) and Hume, Sir George of Wedderburn, administrator for his son (1598–1605)

Learmonth, James of Balcolmie (d. 1599), succeeded by brother, John Learmonth of Balcolmie (1599–1607?)

Leslie, Patrick [*Leslie*], commendator of Lindores (1598, bought out by the Commendator of Pittenweem – c.1600x1602)

Lumsden, Sir Robert of Airdrie (1605–1607)

Murray, Captain William (1598–1607?)

Sandilands, Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno (1598–1605?)

Spens, Sir James of Wormiston (1598–1609)

Stewart, Colonel (or Crouner) William, Commendator of Pittenweem (d. 1602, heirs bought out by Lumsden, 1605)

Stewart, Ludovick, Duke of Lennox, earl of Darnley (1598–1607?)

C2 The Minister's Account of the Plantation of Lewis, c. 1607

*An eyewitness account of the Plantation of Lewis, undated, c. 1607.*¹⁸

¹⁸ This transcript from NLS, Wod. Qu. Vol. xx., fol. 352–357v. The text published here by permission of the National Library of Scotland. I am grateful to Dr Thomas Brochard, the University of Aberdeen, for bringing this manuscript to my attention in the first place and to Dr Ulrike Hogg, NLS, for arranging permission to reproduce it here. It was previously included in the appendices to my PhD thesis (2004). The transcript has been rechecked against the manuscript and some of the minor mistakes in the thesis rectified. Some punctuation has been added together with some additional text, supplied inside square brackets, to expand some of the contractions in the manuscript to make the text easier to read. This account was probably written (around 1607) for 'my lord of Sanctandros,' possibly George Gledstanes, Bishop of St Andrews (1604–15), whose successor as Bishop, John Spottiswoode (1615–39), wrote a history containing a much briefer account of the plantation. Spottiswoode, *History*, iii, 101–103, 165. The identity of the minister who wrote this is harder to ascertain. It was probably either Mr John Ross, chaplain to the plantation,

Right Honorable, To the end that I might satisfie your desyre & give some insight to my lord of Sanctandros in the mater of the Lewes I have schortlie comprysed the storie of it partlie as I hard it recorded be others, and partlie as I know it my selffe being minister to the co[m]paneis that wer imployed in that service & and ane eyewitnes.

First, the lairdis and gentilmen of the cost syd namelie the lardis Balcomie, the laird of Wilmerstown, the Laird of Anstruther, Crowner Stewart, my Lord of Pittinweem, Captain Murray, John Forret of Fingus, and sindrie utheris that wer joynit wt them, being greatlie offendit w[i]t[h] the many injures and oppressiones that wer done to ther freindis and to fischermen on the cost syd that yeirlie repairit unto the fisching of the Lewes, be the men of the Lewes in spoiling tham & taking ther barks & straking and billing some of them, they complaine to His Majestie of these wrongis. And his M[ajestie], because MacClaud of the Lewes and his sonnes that were speciall authors of thess wrongs wer outlawes and not subiect nor answerable to the kinges lawes, it pleasit His M[ajestie] to dispone the land and countrie of the Lewes unto the foresaid gentell men who takes upon them to doe ther best endevore, to reduce that countrie into civilitie and to plant religion unto it, whereby it might be maid profitable to the whole kingdome in regaird of the com[m]odities that it wes abill to afford being anes maid peceable & civill.¹⁹

The said gentill men therfor w[i]t[h] all expedition they address themselves to the warke and they hyre a great number of suddarts and they prepare armour & wapons and schipping and all necessaris requyrit for the subdewing of a rebellious people & conquensing of th[a]t land & countrie of the Lewes.²⁰ And they goe all in proper person

November 1598 to around 1600, and again in October and November 1605, or else an unknown and otherwise unattested fourth minister (the text was written from the standpoint of an eyewitness using the pronoun 'I' and the other ministers, Durie and Thomson, were all mentioned by name in the text). There is no signature on the manuscript, which was bound, together with a number of other unrelated papers in the early twentieth century. However, there is a single loose folio (fol. 354) bound in sequence immediately before this account, 'Be me Johne Ros, / Be me finis and ay / Be me / And aye the...' It might be that this folio was originally either the cover or the end page of this manuscript account.

19 Act of Parliament, 29 June 1598. *RPS*, 1598/6/5.

20 *Arms and soldiers*. The source of the weapons used to arm these companies of 'suddarts' (soldiers) has not been discovered. However, two armourer burgesses of Edinburgh appear in deeds made with the principal planters at this time, John Henryson and Thomas Winyettis, both armourer burgesses of Edinburgh. They may well have supplied the weaponry for the expedition and they appear in a bond together with James Spens of Wormiston, his brother David Spens, Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell and Thomas Spens, and both of the latter being directly involved in the plantation of Lewis, in January and

and they arryve into the loch of Starnewall, wher ther wes ane auld ruinous castell whilk the sea at the full usit to compass and ther upon a prettie place of gro[u]nd whilk the sea environed round about sawe at the east end

[fol. 352 v] [end] they encamped themselvis building within it ther howses to serw[e] ther turne for the tyme & for easing of ther companies, and out of that they had many out breaks upon the hieland men, persewit them, and chasit them, until the maist pairt of the countrie people wer movit to yeild thamselwes unto them to be ther servantis & tennents, vowing unto tham obedience & service & MacLawds sonnes that befor had oppressit and misrultit the wholle countrie wer taine to leave the countrie

March 1598–9 (1599). NRS, GD 147/35/5. A James Jak, gunsmith, pursued John Learmonth of Balcomie and John Balyaird through the Burgh Court of St Andrews for the costs of his workmanship on the ‘hagbut, pistoles and flais,’ on which he had worked but for which he had not yet been paid. Entry dated 4 August 1601, in ‘St Andrews Burgh Court Book, 1600–1603, B65/8/2,’ St Andrews University Library. I am grateful to Dr Dauvit Horsbroch for this reference.

Ships and Shipping. The shipping utilised in the plantation is hard to determine from the manuscript evidence discovered thus far. John Forret of Fingask (d. 1601), and his son James after him seem to have been involved in a number of deals related to ships and crews. John Forret had been charged, together with Patrick Stewart, Earl of Orkney, in seizing a Gdansk/Danzig ship, the *Ark of Noy* (Noah) at Orkney in 1594. John’s widow, Grissel Anstruther and their son, James Forret, were pursued for a debt, 25 March 1602, by a crew led by ‘William Yule, skipper, Thomas Forret, Thomas Gowane, Jon Gourlay, Patrick Forret, Andrew Yule, Andrew Ottar, David Reid, Andrew Corstorphine, Andro Greiff, John Dalgleisch (the latter on record as having had a house at Stornoway) and Arthor Mylne marineris in Sanct Andrews.’ Forret and his mother were ordered to pay them a sum of £440. 3 s. 10d which these mariners were to divide amongst themselves. A man named James Forret, ‘mariner citiner of Sanct Androis,’ it is not clear if or how he was related, pursued James Forret of Fingask at law for a debt of 700 merks in October 1603. John Forret of Fingask had also owned a ship called *the David* of St Andrews, which his family sold after his death (contract dated at St Andrews, 9 October 1602). Other maritime contracts involving James Forret included one with a Jerome Chalinte, skipper burgess of Kirkwall, 15 March 1605. While the preceding ships and personnel may well have been directly or indirectly involved in the plantation the three following ships three certainly were. One contract made at Stornoway, 22 February 1599, states that John Forret of Fingask co-owned a ship with James Spens of Wormiston, *the Blissing*, which was chartered to their fellow planters for their use in and around Stornoway, although it was explicitly specified that the ship was not to be used for the freighting of stones, lime or timber. A Robert Dundas, merchant of Leith, was freighting goods back and forward to Stornoway in his ship called *the Frope* in 1601. Robert Lumsden of Airdrie, bought a ship called *the Vanguard* from William Irving of Orkney in a deed made at Stornoway, 22 October 1605. Pitcairn, *Trials*, i, 336. NRS, RD 1/94, fol. 435v. NRS, RH 15/114/2. NRS, RD 1/93, fol. 284v. NRS, RD 1/123, fol. 205. NRS, RD 1/92/2, fol. 230. NRS, CC 8/8/36/245. NRS, GD 106/140.

being mair affrayed of the countrie people themselves nor of the gentill men. Whill things went on prosperously this way the laird of Balcomie intends to come ham[e], and haweing come into his schip to the sea & being ryding at ane anker on the maine syd for[a]nent Loch Broome or at least being calmed so that the schip could not sail thar comes some birlings of the land (whilk ar long bots lyk litle gallies) wherin wes Murdo MacClawd and a number of men w[i]t[h] him who boords the bark, bills the mariners, takis Balcomie himselfe, strips him of his claithing and keips him certain dayes w[i]t[h] hard handling & ever in danger to have his head strukin of him untill at last the laird of Hassone²¹ comes and deales for his lyfe, and payes his ransome & delyvers him. And after that he comes to Orkney and into the Earle of Orkneyes hows[e] hawing contracted a flux throw his hard handling be the Hieland men, he makes his testament & dies.²² The rest of the gentill men of the Lewes being desyrous to have his dead revenged & kenning no man to be fitter for this purposse nor his awin brother Neell MacClawd, be reason of some variance between him & Murdow, they deall wt Neell And conductes him to apprehend his brother & his men. Neell takes the mater in hand and drawes on a tryst betuix Murdow and him and in the mean tym [he] hes a

[fol. 353 r] no[m]ber of men lying in ane secret place who apprehend Murdow and vii of his men: from these vii he the strikes of the heads and sends therin to the camp of the gentill men & comes in [th]erunto the camp w[i]t[h] his brother Murdow, whom the Gentill men sends bund hame to Balcomie and in Sanctandrowes he is put to ane assyse & execut.²³

After this when the yeir wes spent to the great cost of the Gentill men, w[i]t[h] small harme wnto the men of the Lewes (for the gentill men wald not suffer the sud-darts to harme thame in any thing, or to doe them the least wrang calling thair tenants & esteeming all thair goods as thair awin). The cowntry seemed to be very peceable & the cowntry people verie officious comming in daylie unto thair campe w[i]t[h] giftes and propyns.²⁴ The next yeir some of the gentill men comes hame and prepares them selves for building of houses & for setling themselves into the cowntry and they deal w[i]t[h] Mr Robert Durie, minister of Anstruther, to goe w[i]t[h] them to

21 Dòmhnall 'Neilson' Macleod of Assynt, alias Dòmhnall Bàn mac Nèill mhic Aonghais, fl. 1581 × c.1630. For something of Dòmhnall's long, eventful, career see, Gordon, *Sutherland*, 262–266. *RPCS*, xi, 200–201.

22 Learmonth's last will and testaments survives and his death is dated 22 March 1598–9. *NRS*, CC 8/8/34, ff. 486–489.

23 The commission to try *and* execute Murchadh Macleod of Siabost is dated at Holyroodhouse, 17 January 1600. *NRS*, Calendar of charters, vol. xv, No. 3673 (*NRS*, RH 6/3673). *NRS*, See also W.C. Mackenzie, *The History of the Outer Hebrides*, 184–185, 189–191.

24 Provisions.

be ther minister for a tyme that he might assist them w[i]t[h] his counsell & in deviding & pairting of the land among the awners.²⁵ The land then be his help & assistance being devydit among the awners, and the men & tennents lykwyss being devydit, and conditions being aggreit upon & betuen the maisters & ther tennents, and the tenants hawing sworne ther fidelitie to ther maisters for paying of their dewties for all trew service, all things being peaceable, and the Laird of Wilmirstoun hawing begun the building of ane stone houss, whill the gentill men looked for nothing less. And being ower secur[e] & keiping ther watch to[o] negligentlie, the wholl countrie of the Lewes w[i]t[h] Normand Macclowd th[a]t wes the lawfull sone of awld Macclowd bot hated of his father that wes zealous of his mother & pat hir away & wald never acknowledg[e] hir sone to be his:²⁶ they come in

[353v] into the night, takes the camp that wes negligentlie keipit, sets fyre to the houses whill men wer sleiping, slayes many persons and takes many that wer fain to yield them selwes owt of the fyr. And they sould hawe bene maisters of the haill company wer not unto the providence of God the laird of Wilmerston that same night ludgit him into his stone houss, whilk wes not yet perfitit. And he w[i]t[h] the company that wes with him be ther schots maid way to many to flie to his houss for saf[e]tie. Now efter a whyl[e] fighting on both syds and after the laird of Anstruther houss wes sett on fyre & he himselve wes yeildit & wes unto the hieland mens hands. A conference is condisendit upon. And to that effect the hieland men gives in pledges to Wilmerstowns howss & Wilmerston & Mr Robert Durie comes furth and agres into ther termes, viz:

That the laird of Anstruther w[i]t[h] all the lawland men suld be suff[e]rit to transport themselves home, and that the laird of Anstruther s[h]owld purchas from the K[ingis] M[ajestie] [a] remission of all bygone fawltis to all the Lew[i]smen, and lyk wyss that all the gentillmen s[h]owld quyt al[l] title & right they had to the Lewes to Normand & sould purchase a new right & title of the Lewes to Norma[n]t Macclowd, and that for the harme that the gentill men had sustenit in taking the camp Normand oblisses himself to pay for many lasts of be[e]ffe & fesches to the gentill men and into the mean tyme that Wilmerston & Kinkell, his sone in law, & Balcomies brother s[ho]uld stay as pledg[e]s until the said remission & suretie suld be brocht unto

25 Durie went to Lewis sometime shortly after April 1601 and remained there until the planters were ejected from the island.

26 The chaplain here seems to be confusing this Tormod (Norman) Macleod, a son from the third marriage of old Ruairidh Macleod of Lewis to a daughter of Duart (the legitimate younger full-brother of Torcall Dubh who had been executed in 1597) with another of the old chief's sons: Torcall Conanach, the Mackenzie-backed claimant, whose mother Ruairidh of Lewis had put away. Tormod had been captured by Mackenzie who released him in early 1601. For further details see W.C. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 150–157.

Normand. These conditions being condiseindit upon Anstruther & the haill lawland people transports themselwes home & Wilmiston Kinkell & Balcomies brother staves still into the Lewes as pledges.²⁷

Anstruther and his companie arrives & lands into the harbour of Anstruther and the haill town, men and woman comes fourth to meet them and coming furth [of]

[fol. 354r] of the schip, they goe derectlie to the housse of the town wher the prayers ar daylie maid be the minister. And ther Mr Robert Durie, minister, conceaves a prayer wherin he giwes thankes to god for his fatherlie visitatione & chastis[ement]s & for his mighty delyverance that had delywered tha[im] owt of sic great dangers of ther enimies and brought many of thame sawe hame. After this ther is great caire had of the delyverance of Wilmiston and of thes that wer keipat as pledges w[i]t[h] him. Therfor a bark is quiklie provydit and ane sufficient number of men to goe into hir w[i]t[h] armowr & wapons. And that remission that the Lewes me[n] requyrit & that new securitie to Normand Macclawd is purchast of his M[ajestie] be the laird of Anstruther and put into the hands of ane sone of the laird of Darseis, who is put in as Captaine in the bark & commissioneris from his M[ajesty] to procure the libertie of Wilmistone and of these that wer w[i]t[h] him. Be this meanes Wilmistone is relisset & these that wer w[i]t[h] him and comes hame.²⁸

After this the wark was deserted for the space of thrie yeirs. And then, into the 1605 yeires, it was undertaken againe. And some of the forsaid awners wer interchanged that had sawld ther pairts to others: namelie to Robert Lumsdall of Ardr[e] and to Sir Georg[e] Hay. The wark therfor is begun afresh. Schipping is provydit, suddarts ar[e] conduc[t]it, wapons prepar[it]. And I wes dealt w[i]t[h] all to goe w[i]t[h] them to preach to them, who is content to tak assay wntill Mertinmes.²⁹ Charges fro[m] his M[ajesty] is directit to all the lairds v[i]z., Mack[a]y, Mackengye, Donald Goram & MacClawd Hereiss to concur w[i]t[h] all ther forces to satle the gentill men into the Lewes againe and to expell ther enimies.³⁰ So ther arrive[s] in the moneth of August 1605 the Laird of Wilmistoun, Robert Lumsdaill of Ardrie, and Sir George Hay and sundrie other partners at Starnewall, w[i]t[h] Mackengye, Mack[a]y, Donald Goram & a great pow[e]r of hieland men w[i]t[h] them. Conditiones ar[e] offerit to the Lewes men that if thei wald come in & gif assurance and find caution that

27 Sir James Anstruther was to lead the settlers home to Fife. Those kept as hostages were James Spens of Wormiston, Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell and William Learmonth brother to the laird of Balcomie.

28 Probably in Spring 1602.

29 Until 11th November 1605.

30 The chiefs named here are Dòmhnall Gorm Macdonald of Sleat (d. 1617), Ruairidh Mòr MacLeod of Dunvegan and Harris (d. 1626), Ùisdean Dubh na Tuaighe alias Huchean Mackay of Farr (d. c.1612x15), Coinneach Òg Mackenzie of Kintail (d. 1611).

[fol. 354v] thei suld remowe them selwes & ther goods of the cowntrie of the Lewes befor Fastrings Ewin³¹ & never returne to the cowntrie againe, no harme suld be done unto them. The maist part of them embraces the condition and finds caution to t[ha]t efect. Sic as had freindschip of Mack[a]y finds caution for them. Sic as had freindschip with Donald Goram finds Donald Goram caution for them. Sic as had freindschip of Macclawd Hereis finds MacClawd Hereiss caution for them. And the dependars of Mackenzie offerit Mackenzie to be caution for them. Bot Mackenzie refuset to be suretie for ther removell.³² Normand himself comes in & puts himself into the cawrtiesie of the gentill men and is brought to Londone. What order they tooke w[i]t[h] him I can not tell.³³ Things being this way setlit, and the camp stronglie fortfeit, and ane sufficient number of sudderts w[i]t[h] ther com[m]anders left to defend the camp for that winter seaseone. Wilmistown, Ardr[i]e And Sir Georg[e] returnes hame to prepair all things necessarie againe the faire of the yeir, and about Mertinmes I came hame also. Now when the tyme apointed for the Lewes men to transport themselves & ther goods did aproch, sic as had fund cawtion for that effect remowes themselves according to ther promiss bot Mackeingyeis freinds that had found no caution, remanes still into the land & refuses to remove. Therefor the companies at Starnewall goes fowrth to persew them and first apprehends twell[f] of the principalls of them, and brings them into the campe, and then resolves to send them sowth into a schip unto the gentill men that were at ham[e]. And forther mor[e], sure fast[e]ning, they bind ix of them w[i]t[h] chaines and puts them down into the row. And uther thrie wherof twa wer awld men they keip above into the cue. Bot these same thrie, convoyd down to ther ni[gh]bours in the rowm, uses & instrument wherw[i]t[h] they br[e]ak wp ther chainyes, and cam wp in a morning and cust ane of the mariners overboord and pressit to have done sa w[i]t[h] all the rest, but the mariners being weill wapinit, they owercam[e] them, and slew them all except thrie, whom they broght w[i]t[h] them to Craill, and being put to ane assiss[e] into Craill they ar condemit & hangit.

[fol. 355r] About Peace³⁴ whill Wilmistown was purposit to Londone the Laird of A[i]rd[i]e that now hed the greatest portione of the Lewes prepared a schip w[i]t[h] many necessities to be transportit to the Lewes hir[e]it Suddarts and measons for bu[i]lding a howss and dealt w[i]t[h] the presbyterie of Sanctandrows that now sat in Pittenweem, becaus of the pest in Sanctandrows, to giwe ordination to Mr James Thomsone that he might goe to the Lewes to be actuall minister to the companies

31 Fastern's Evin or Shrove Tuesday, 1606.

32 The words 'things being this way' are stroked out at this point in the manuscript.

33 This is discussed in the main text. Norman (or Tormod) Macleod was imprisoned in Edinburgh until 1615 and only released on condition of banishment from Scotland. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 260–261.

34 'Pasche,' i.e. Easter, 1606.

ther.³⁵ The laird therfor w[i]t[h] his wholl companie. And the minister taks schiping and sails to the Lewes and arryves at Starnewall, soone after Peace.³⁶ And after ther landing they find that the companies ther had not bene idill but went foorth of the camp and had persewit the men that had refusit to remove themselves out of the countrie, and had slaine some of them, being assisted w[i]t[h] Donald Gorom and Donald Mack[a]y that came to assist them bot at severall tymes and thei had many of them in fast prisone who after the arywall of the laird of A[i]rdr[i]e wer all put to ane assyss & wer condemit & execut.

Thir Lewes men, then, that refusit to goe out of the countrie being put out of the world for the maist part, the laird of A[i]rdr[i]e and Thomas Spens that wes doer for Wilmistou[n] addresses themselves to the building of ther stone howses. Wilmistowns howss being begun, at the first is now owtred all to the rooffe. And now the laird of A[i]rdr[i]e hawing conducit many masons & brought them w[i]t[h] him he grounds his howss upon a craig not fair from Wilmistowns howss and [he] uses greate diligence to get it up. This whyl being [wiser by their] former dul[e]full experince the companies keiped diligent watch and w[i]t[h] in the camp ther wes ane awld chappell whilk they repair w[i]t[h] ane roof and w[i]t[h] seats and w[i]t[h] desks w[i]t[h]in wher the companies convenit for hearing of the word preachit, and for publict prayers daylie at morn & at each even. And now all ther howsses wer within the trench dykes.

All this su[m]mer tyd owr eares wer fillit w[i]t[h] continuall reportes of enimeis and of the returning of the Lewes men

[fol. 355 v] againe to the Lewes. And particularlie we ar informit of ane certane bark that wes come from Sanct Jhonstown, laden w[i]t[h] some wines that wald not sell at hame. This bark being ryding befor Lochbroome, ther comes of the land ane birling bo[a]t, and some men into hir. Thir men speaks [to] the bark and inquiryes of thame what thay had in and gif they wald b[u]y hyd[e]s and beif and Tallou? They answerit, they wald. Soone after, this bo[a]t returnes to land, ther comes of the land ane number of birlings and many men into them who boords the bark and compels the mariners to sail hir to the I[s]land of Barra bewest Hereis. And ther the hieland men furnisch them selwes w[i]t[h] wapons and barters wine and uther things that wer into the bark with w[e]apons and barters wine and many things. And from Barra they come to ane of the loches of the Lewes. We, hearing of thir things and sending owt spys unto the cowntrey of some of the Lewes people and non[e] of them returning againe, we lay our compt for new troubles. And therfor we apoint to keip ane Sabboth day w[i]t[h] fastings & prayers, and to give owr selwes to diligent watchings & warding. Bot now owr companies wer

35 The pest referred to here is the pestilence, i.e., plague or black death. Mr James Thomson was the minister of Kilrenny in Fife. He graduated from St Andrews, 10 December 1586, and died in October 1646. *FES*, ii, 497.

36 Pasche, Easter Sunday, 26 March 1606.

diminished and growen thinner for the laird of Wilmistoun that had taken the burding³⁷ for Anstruther and sindrie uther pairtners, to intertaine and furnish ther men, finding small reward & recompence writtes to Thomas Spens that wes doer for him, to furnish onlie for his owin pairt and to divit the rest. Wherupon ane companie comes away & leaves the wark. And therfor wheras befor the haill companies wes devydit into fowr pairts and everie pairt keipit watch everie fowrt night, now, ane of the pairts being removit they behoovit to reduce ther watching to ewery thrid night, whilk some refusit to doe, so that be ther stryf & contention heirabowt. The watch wes neglected almaist where apoun some chydin upon the rest that wer sa negligent of the watching when ther wes sic great danger & the enimies wer returned againe to the countrie, and breakes out and sayes that it wer weell done to giwe the camp a fals alar[m]e to try what wald be ewerie mans pairt in cass of trew da[n]ger. This speach wes not weill utterit when it wes taken hold of & some vowed that thei suld heir ane fals[e] alarme befor the morne, so soone after midnight, ane pistill is schot and ther upon ane affray is given, all repaires w[i]t[h] great hast[e] as

[fol. 356 r] as soo[n]e as they could be armit to the trench dykes and ther, seeing no enimies, they goe furth w[i]t[h] owt the camp to spy the fields. And the mater in end turned to a sport, whilk did prove good earnest befor Yool, as some their did prognosticat.

And this, indeid, is to be observit as the malc[h]ance of this haill wark, nixt into sume that procures a curse upo[n] many good warkes, that the gentill men that wer partners being many of them under seas and not able to sustene the burding & charges of the wark: when thei suld have bene strongest they wer weakest. They wald begin strong & w[i]t[h] ane fresch ferd bot befor the yeir expyrit and namlie in harwest, when the fruits of the land & of the seas wes to be reapit; then thei wer weakest and ther number diminished. And now when the harvest wes drawen neer, fro[m] thir men that had taken this bark of Sanct Jhonstou[n] ar sent ane company that w[i]t[h] in ane myl[e] to owr camp drywes away some cattell. Owr men therfor into the camp breaks out after the[m] overhails them, chases them & brings bak the cattell w[i]t[h] in awcht dayes. After this, the hieland men having tryit be experience that owr men wes readie to hazard themselves to run[n]e owt for the reskew of ther goods, the haill cowntrie of the Lewes that now wer all returnit againe to the no[m]ber of thrie hunder[d] men, being assisted w[i]t[h] some of the other Yles, they come to the camp, but they kyth not themselves bot lurkes under ane hill on the other syd of the loch and sends out abowt xx or 30 men to drywe away some cattell that wes feeding not far from the camp in owr sight.³⁸

As soone as we sawe this, we apprehendit that ther wes a tram layd for us. Zit all owr people prepared themselves for the chass, and runs owt a peice after thir hieland men

37 Burden.

38 One of the most prominent of those hills on the south side of the Loch of Stornoway is Cnoc na Croich, or Gallow's Hill.

that seemit to be verie feared & rane away, yet owr men wer stayit be these that wer wayser. And advysit that some musketeers sowld be send bak to keip the camp to defend ther howses and th[a]t some few sowld goe up to ane hill on the other syd of the loch & suld spy the fields. Thir spyes discovers the hieland men that wer on the other syd of the hill, and they ryss[e] all chases thir spyes. And many of

[folio 356v] our men [who] s[ho]uld have wa[i]ted for intelligence from our spyes had no patience to stay bot ran furth after the hieland men that wer driven away for goods. And be that meanes ther wer broght into danger, for the hieland men had neer gotten in between them and the camp, and slew part of them into the chass, and suld undowtedlie [have] undone them all iff the fear of the schot of muskits from the camp had not hinderit them.³⁹ Now all our men that went furth of thei camp being safelie reteirit except twa or thrie & five men whilk that same morning had went furth to the quaie & had drawn ther bo[a]t & grownd, their, befor thei wer awar[e], wer slaine be the hieland men.

After theis chass the hieland men they goe and sets all owr peitstacks in fyre, they goe to the west syd of the loch & set on fyr[e] he[a]ther and wood whilk sends ow[e]r a filthie reik wpon us, the wind being into the west. And it was the great providence of God that the hieland men came against us this day, for the morne after, many of owr companies w[i]t[h] in the camp prepairet to goe to sche[a]r ther cornes into the countrie whilk they had sawen.⁴⁰ After this the hieland men layes about us on the other syd of the loch for the space of 14 or 20 dayes, and on the day tyme w[i]t[h] ther schots frayit owr masons to work upon the wal[l]s. And up on the night when owr men set ther watch & then schot all ther guns at anes, the hieland men lifte upon all ther voyces at anes,⁴¹ w[i]t[h] uncouth & horrible schowts & cryes, whilk wes more terrable nor owr schots. All this whyl we keipit stro[n]g watch, and becaws owr companies wer bot few, not abowe fowr scor men so that we wer not able to defend the camp, the companies are browght in, some to Wilmistouns ston[e] hows[e], some to A[i]rdr[i]e's to defend them & some to the castell.

At this tyme none of the stone howses wer perfyted for the roofs wer of deals for a tyme and ane of the gavels of Ardres hows[e] wes not half perfyted.⁴² Therfor it wes entrenchit befor the door th[a]t some men might stand w[i]t[h] out the howse w[i]t[h] in the trench & defend the hous. Ewery night it wes lookit that the hieland men suld have assa[u]ltit owr howses for thei lay not far from owr howses on the other syd of the loch w[i]t[h] in speich & cry, bo[a]sting us continuallie. Now after we had

39 'and slew part of them,' has been erased in the manuscript and replaced with 'had not hinderit them.'

40 Sown.

41 At once.

42 Perfyted, perfected, or completed. Deals are wooden planks.

continuit this way for the space of 20 dayes Macclawd Hereis w[i]t[h] a company of men comes to us as he professit to serve the Kings M[ajesty], and to owr relief. After him comes from Makingyie, Rore Makingyie and a nomber w[i]t[h] him, heirupon, the Lewes men flees. And, ther companie persewes them, sets fyr in some of ther houses, & burnes ther cornes.

[fol. 357r] [cornes] and spoiles ther goods, bot yet persons of the men the[m]s[e]l[ves] fled to the yles & escaped. The greatest benefit that we had be the coming of thir men for owr relief wes that owr masons, that wer impedit befor, ar now suffred to perfyt owr stone howses. After the departur[e] hame of thir companies that came for owr relief, we prepar owr selves for a new assa[u]lt of the Lewes men. And we mak owr howses mor[e] strong for defence by bigging rownds of timber on the fowr coinzeis⁴³ of the howses, whar hagbut[t]ers might stand and defend the howss & we keip strong watch looking nightlie when thei suld come and assa[u]lt us. At last they come into the night with burdins of he[a]ther on ther ba[c]kes & all the pow[e]r that thei had thinking to have destroyit us w[i]t[h] fyre.

Now, besyd Wilmistouns stone howss, ther wes howsses biggit of stone & feall⁴⁴ & a timber howss and other office howsses belonging to Sir Georg[e] Hay & to Wilmistoun. All these wer set on fyre and the low therof assawltit the roof of Wilmistouns stone house mightily & put it in great hasard if thei had not wat canine-ses & clathes & castin water, continuallie wpon the deals.⁴⁵ A[i]rdrees howss hawing no office howses abowt it that wald take fyre, they put fyre under the rownd timber that wes buildit upon the south west conzie of the howss. And becaws the fyre did not ascend sa high as to kendle the timber of the rownd, becaws under the rownd, ther wes a deep gulfe wherin the quarrier hed win many of the ston[e]s that buildit the hows, some man takes the baldnes to hold up a fyre on a trie for kendling the rownd whilk indeid bred a great fear to them that wer w[i]t[h] in the howss when they saw the low of the fyre abowt the rownd wher upon they wer movit to bring skeilfuls of water owt of ther sellers to quonch the fyre in caiss the rownd had kendlit, bot that fray lestit not lang, for the man, what ewer he was that held up that fyre is schot & f[o]und burnt into the fyre the morne after all this. Whill the sowlders wer busie schooting ther guns owt of the rownds and bye the fyre that the hieland men mad[e], had abundance of light to doe them harme and no question slew many of them and wo[u]ndit far mair as we had

43 Corners.

44 Turfs, sods of earth or peat, often used in the construction of houses due to the lack of timber on the island.

45 This sentence 'All of these were set on fire and the flames thereof threatened the roof of [James Spens of] Wormiston's stone house mightily, and put in great hazard if they had not wet canvases and cloths and poured water continually over the wood[en] planks, i.e. on the roof.'

afterward be report & some of them that thei could not ber away wer fund slaine in the morning abou[t] the howses. Now, after day light brak up, the hieland men stall away w[i]t[h] ane heav[i]e corinach.⁴⁶ And we conveind owr-

[fol. 357v] [owr]selves together to give publict thanks to God for owr delywerance. We gatherit together ther burdeings of h[e]ather & strow, and set them on fyre. After this, winter drawing on, haveing mad[e] owr howses yit mar fensable, the gentill men & haill camp resolves to com[e] sowth and to leawe into the Lewes a few companie that might be sufficient to g[u]ard the howses untill the fair of the yeir. The laird of A[i]rdrie therfor & a companie w[i]t[h] him sails to Ket[h]nes[s] and and from Ket[h]nes[s] sends some victuals to the Lewes. And owt of seison in Ket[h]nes[s], abowt Candelmes, we came in at Peterhead in a storm, and from that, comes be land to Sanctandrows.⁴⁷ Out of Sanctandrows, the laird of A[i]rdr[i]e takes journey to London to consult w[i]t[h] Wilmistown & other partners th[a]t wer ther who all finding great loss be ther enterprys & no benefit. And we heard it reportit that Wilmis[t]own and Sir Georg[e] Hay did bargan w[i]t[h] Mackingyie and sald ther right into him and so the cawss is quyt deserted.⁴⁸ And the poor men that wer left to keep ther howses in the Lewes ar faine when they wantit vivers, to come to the sea. [And they left] in some bo[a]t whilk they had & coming ower to the maine [land] comes hame be land.

C3 Contract Signed by the Portioners of Lewis, 1600

'Ane contract of the portioners of the Lewis' (19th & 28th June 1600).⁴⁹

At Bruntiland and Edinb[urgh] the nynteene and xxviii day of Junii the yeir of God I^m and Sex hundret yeiris it is appointit agreit and finallie contractit mutuallie and commonlie betuix the fewaris and portionaris of the Lewis underwritten, They are to say Lodovick Duk of Lenox [and] Earle Darnlie, Patrick [Leslie] Commendator of

46 Lament; songs or sounds of mourning.

47 Candlemas (between 25 January and 22 February) 1607.

48 Sir James Spens of Wormiston and Sir George Hay sold their right to Mackenzie who obtained a charter to this, 17 March 1607. This reference to the sale helps date the writing of this manuscript to the second quarter of 1607. This manuscript was written after Mackenzie was granted the title in March 1607 and before his grant was subsequently overturned in October 1607, James VI & I having persuaded the remaining adventurers, Spens, Hay and also Lord Balmerino to try again, although nothing else happened until 1609. RMS, vi, no. 1879. RMS, vi, no. 1982, pp. 719–720.

49 This transcript taken from NRS, GD 147/45/2.

Lendoris, Mr John Learmonth of Balcomie, Sir James Anstruther, fear of that ilk, M[aste]r [of] Houshald to His Majestie, James Spens of Wolmerston, Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno, knicht, Capitane William Murray, Johne Forret of Fingask, William [Stewart], Commendator of Pittenweem, David Home, apperand of Wedderburne and Sir George Home of Wedderburne knicht, his father, as administrator to him in maner and effect as followis. That is to say, the saidis baronis and gentilmen haifand obteinitt the richt and proppertie of the Lewis, Ronalewis, llandschand and Tronderness and willinge to reduce his maiesties peipill thairintill to the knowledge of God, christiane religion and his majesties obedience and utherwayis to establishe guid rewl, ordour and pollicie within the samyn, be thir p[rese]nts binds and obleiss thame, thair airis, successoris and assignayis mutuallie and commonlie to performe and fulfilthe conditionnis and circumstances following in maner rep[o]n[e]s.⁵⁰ efter mentionat. Viz.,

In the first to bige and beild ane kirk, kirk yaird and ministeris manss wt necessaris belonging thairto in the maist convenient place of the first buildit towne w[i]t[h]in the said Lewis and to appoint ane sufficient minister and pastor for preachinge of the word and administration of the sacramentis and to mak and doe ane sufficient stipend to th[a]t effect to be payit at twa termes in the yeir, Whitsun and Mertinmes, be equall portiones. And to contribut and pay to the said ministeris steipend and the expenss to be bestowit upone the bigging of the said kirk, kirkyaird, and ministeris manss, equallie and commonlie, everie ane for thair ane pairtis pro rata. And as to the establishing and sattling of the ministrie & kirkis in the rest of the boundis of the saidis landis referris to the samyn to the conclusion sett downe thranent. In the first contract made betuix His Majestie and thame tuicheinge the saids Lewis and uther lands rep[o]n[e]s.

Item, the said haill portioners and associatis is content and obleiss thame to plant ane towne in the said Lewis and that eweist to the castell of Starnwa and to devyd the samyne in ten equall parts and everie ane of thame to haif his tent pairt and ilk ane to bige upone his tent part ane sufficient fensiabill housse to serve himself, his men, servandis and dependaris. The said towne to be pairtit betuix [now] and Michaelmes nixtcomin and the said haill houses to be beildit betuix [then] and the feast and terme of Michaelmes thaireftir in anno 1^m vi^c and ane yeiris.

Item, the said portioneris and associatis [are] content and obleiss thame and thair foirsaidis to mak devisioun of the haill remanent lands of the Lewis and utheris foirsaid in the Ile betuix the terme of Michaelmes nixtcomin and to devyd the samyn first in thrie pairtis, and th[ai]reftir to devyd everie thrid pairt in ten equall portionnis and everie ane of the said portioneris to haif his tent pairt of ilk ane of the said thrid pairtis. And, for the better devisioun th[air]off and for the effectinge of the remanent circumstances befor and eftir specefeit, the said haill portioneris sall, godwillinge, be present be thame selffis of sum utheris haifand thair full power and commission to that effect

⁵⁰ Repone, to replace, or to restore to rights formerly held.

in the Lewis betuix [now] and the tuentie July nixt. And quhasoever salhappin to be absent fra the said division ather of toun of utheris lands, rep[o]ne, sal be astrictit. And be thair p[rese]ntis obleiss him and his foirsaidis to stand content with quhatsumever salhappin to be done thairanent by the devydaris p[rese]nt (they must be thrie in number at leist). And, sall never be haird to cum in the contrair of the said devisioun the samyn beinge maid be lot and cavill. Lyk as the haill pepill and guidis apone the saidis lland lands repon[e]s sall be equallie devydit amonge the said [associatis] be cut and cawill as said is. At the discretion of the p[rese]nt devydaris off the landis and ilk ane to haif his awin equallie pairt th[air]of and proportionallie.

As for the mynes, minerallis, salmond fischingies common mylnis to be appointit to the toun of Starnua, ankeraigis, teinds and utheris dewteis to be payit be straingeris and utheris personis nocht of the societie, the samyn ar co[n]cludit and appointit to be common amongis thame all equallie for the p[rese]nt. Yit, nevertheless, these thingis and uther thingis appointit to be common in the former band maid amongis the said portioneris and subscrivit be ane pairt of thame ather to be keipit in commontie or utherways to be alterit in propertie as sal be thocht expedient to the said associatis thame selffis at thair nixt cumminge to the Lewis. Bot as to the haill dewteis and commoditeis off the said Lewis lland and lands foirsaid, boith be sie and land, they sall be common guid and pertein equallie to the said haill associatis duringe the space of ane yeir nixt eftir the terme of Lambes nixtcomin. And to that effect they sall nominat and ellect and thesaurer to uplift and collect the said haill dewties, commodities and casualties imediatlie efter th[ai]r cuming to the Lewis quha salbe comptabill and ans[we]rabill for his intromission to the haill associatis at sic tymes as they sall pleas to appoint.

Item, ilkane of the saids principall portionaris sall bringe with him betuix [now] and the tuentie day of [April]⁵¹ ten abill men weill furneissit wt muskattis or hagbutts, poudher, lead, luntis, sufficient bandit stawis, and utharis arms affeiring thairto. And to interteine thame under commandment duringe the space of ane yeir nixt eftir thair cuminge to the said lles. And, q[ui]lk of them sall failyie sall paye the unlaw of sex sch[ill]ingis aucht pennyis money Scottis for ilk day that ony ane of the said ten men sall happin to be absent duringe the space and in maner foirsaid to be deliverit to the thesaurer and common purse imployit upone sic effairis as the haill remanent associatis sall think expedient. And, gif it sallhappin any of the said portionaris nocht to provyde sufficient interteinment for his ten men duringe the space foirsaid it sall be lesum to ony uther of the said associatis beinge p[rese]nt to furneis the persons quha wantis. And the portionar in quhais default the souldiaris laikis interteinment sall co[n]tent and peiy the sowme of sex schillingis viii d. money as expenss liquidat to the

51 The name of this month is obscured by an inkstain.

furneissar ilk day and for ilk souldiar q[uih]lk sall happin to be furnissit be ony uther nor his maister in maner foirsaid.

Item, it sal be lesum to everie ane of the said portionars to haif and keip in thair awin hands to th[ai]r awin use the teinds of the haill landis q[uih]lk sall happin to appertene to thame in propertie efter devesioun foirsaid, alsweill small as great parsonage and vicarage and to uplift the sa[my]n of straingeris nocht of the societie alsweill be sie as be land. Alwaysis, everie ane of the saids portionaris th[ai]r schippis and boittis salbe frie wth utheris quhair ever they land. Bot gif they haid ony straingeris pairtnaris w[i]t[h] thame in schippinge, the saids straingeris sall pay thair teinds and dewteis to the proprietars of the lands siclyk and also frielie as ony uth[er] straingeris q[uhai]rupone everie man salbe astrictit to gif aith to try the veritie.

Item, gif it salhappin ony herschipp of coirnis, bestiall or uth[er] guidis to be maid within the Lewis, [R]onalewis, Illanschant, Tranterness or ony part or pendicle th[air] off upone the said portionaris, th[ai]r servandis or tennentis, quhair ever thei ly, be ony forinaris or uth[er]is enimeis, in that cais the haill rest of the said associatis sall repair the samyn and to th[a]t effect co[n]cure efauldlie⁵² w[i]t[h] th[ai]r haill forcis and moyen to persew the maker of the said herschip be sie and be land ony q[uih]ll the partie intrest be satisfet, except it may be tryit that the partis interest he sone him particular injurie or invasion against the maker of the said hearschip w[i]t[h] out advyse of the rest of the said associatis. In the q[uih]lk caiss the rest sall na wayis be hauldin to repair the said hearschip.

Item, gif it sal happin ony question actioun or contraversie ciweill to aryss amongis the said principall portioneris th[air] servandis, pairtnairis, souldiaris, or dependaris, being in dyverss compaineis for quhat sumever caus or occasioun upone qtsuemever subiect, the said actiones questionis and contraversies salbe judgit and devydit be the remanent off the said associatis quhais judgement and decision the pairteis both persewaris and defendaris, now as then and then as now, obleiss thame to accept the renunciand all utheris in the first instance, and, q[uha]t sumever salhappin to be decernit be the said remanent associatis or greatest number of thame – baith the persewaris and defendaris sall abynd and stand at w[itho]ut contradiction. And, in caiss of equallitie of voittis, the ordinar judge of the laird to be o[ver] and oversman and to haif the voit to th[a]t effect. And gif ony persone thinkis him self to be hurt be the said decision he salbe astrictit to content himselff and keip silence w[i]t[h] the rest. And als gif he mynds to intend reduction in the second instance he salbe astrictit and be thir p[rese]nts now as then and then as now obleiss him to find sufficient caution to the said associatis actit in suir forms to pay the sowme of fyve hundret merkis to his partie adversar in cais

52 Efauldlie, meaning sincerely, honestly.

he happin to succiounn in the said reduction and sall find sic uth[ir] securitie for the said fyve hundret merkis as the remanent of the saids associatis sall think convenient. And forder, the said haill portioneris sall with diligence procure ane sufficient commission of His Majestie to thame selffis or ony sex of thame to decerne in all criminall caussis q[uhi]lk salhappin to result w[i]t[hin] the presink⁵³ of the said Ile and utheris landis, annexis, connexis, pairtis and pendicles th[air]off rep[o]ne or ann⁵⁴.....thame or ony of th[ai]r foirsaid men, tennentis, servandis, dependaris, comportioneris or souldiers qtsuemever. And quhen it salhappin ony of the said pri[ncipa]ll associatis to be abesent he sall constituit ane uth[er] deput be commission in th[ai]r placeis for quhom they sal be anssrabil, toties quoties, sa oft as they salhappin to be absent.

Item, the said associatis binds and obleiss thame and th[ai]r foirsaidis never to sell nor wodsett ony of th[ai]r pairtis of the said Ile, lands and uth[eris] repones to na person, nor personis unto the tyme they first mak ane reill offer thairroff to the haill rest of the saids portioneris. And forder, never to sell nor sett ony takis lange or schort of th[ai]r pairtis of the samin Ile, landis and utheris rep[o]ne nor na portionn th[air]off nor sett ony takis lange nor schort to ony maner of Hieland man nor strainger furth of this realme w[i]t[h]out speciall advyse and consent of the haill rest of the saidis associatis, q[uhi]lk, in cais they do it, salbe null land of nane avail force or effect as gif the samin hes never bein done. And to the effect that the haill premiss and uth[er] thingis q[uhi]lk salhappin to result thairapone sall be better performit, the saidis associatis sall convene and meit everie weik, anis upone Wednesday, at counsall and at sic tymes as occasionn p[rese]nt. Under the paine of sic unlawis as salbe thocht convenient to set down. And finallie for observeinge and fulfillinge of the premiss and all and sindrie clausis and circumstancis thair of the saids hail portionaris and associatis binds and obleiss thame and thr foirsaidis equallie and mutuallie as said is. And for the mair securitie they ar conteint that thir pntis be registered in the buikis of counsall to haif the strength of ane decreit ordinar w[i]t[h] all neidful l[ette]res and exe[cutoria]lls, to pas th[ere]upone the ane execution w[itho]ut prejudice of the ___ and the horninge upone ane simpl chairge of six dayis warninge allenarlie. And for registering th[air]off constitutis and nominatis [blank]. Thair verie lauchfull procuratoris c[onjunct]ie and severallie requesting thame also to comper and consent to the said registration promitten de rato.

In witnes q[uhai]roff they haif all subscrivit, w[i]t[h] th[ei]r hands, thir p[rese]nts, wriitten be Alex[ande]r Dick, servand to Mr Andro Wilson in Bruntiland, day yeir and plaice foirsaid. Befoir thir witness, Stevin Philp, citizenar of Sanctandrois, Mr Patrick

53 Precint.

54 There is a small hole in the manuscript at this point.

Orme, servand to the laird of Balcomie, Mr Andro Wilsone, common clerk of the said burgh of Bruntisland and the said Alex[ande]r Dick, servand.

Lennox
 George Homes
 Pettynweem
 Sir J Anstrudir
 J Balcomie
 W Murray
 J Spens of Wilmerston
 Jhone Forret of Fingask
 J Sandilands
 Patrick Commendator of Lindores

An. Wilson, notar test.
 Mr Patrick Orme witnes
 Stewin Philp witnes
 Alexander Dick witnes
 Joan Boig witnes.

C4 Non-‘Native’ Persons, Stornoway, 1598–1609

A table of persons from outwith the area who can be identified from documentary evidence as having been present at Stornoway or active on the island of Lewis during the Plantations of Lewis, 1598–1609.

Name	Date Year/month/day	Activity/comment
Anstruther, William, mariner burghess of Anstruther ⁵⁵	1608/ n.d.	Inventory of goods at his decease listed four lasts of isles herring, probably from Lewis.
Blair, Robert, merchant burghess of Perth ⁵⁶	1606/10/n.d.	Attacked while fishing in Loch Broom, and 'slaine in Lewis' according to his testament. Accompanied by John Pullour (see below).
Bosman [Boswell?], John ⁵⁷	1599/03/06	Witness in Stornoway.
Burne, James, sone to the gudeman of Bollprie ⁵⁸	1599/03/06	Witness in Stornoway.

55 NRS, CC 8/8/45/217. David Dobson lists two men of this name, father and son, as mariners in Fife at this time. D. Dobson, *The Mariners of St Andrews and the East Neuk of Fife, 1600–1700* (St Andrews, 1992).

56 NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 8v. Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials* iii, 245. NRS, CC 8/8/43/265. A Robert Blair, possibly the same man, also features in the Perth Kirk Session records from 1583–4 as a burghess, deacon and alms collector. A William Blair, burghess of Perth (possibly a relative of Robert?) appears in the inventory of the last will and testament of James Learmonth of Balcomie in 1600. M. Todd (ed.), *The Perth Kirk Session Books, 1577–1590* (Scottish History Society, Woodbridge, 2012), 256, 271, 289, 293, 295, 368–369. NRS, CC 8/8/34, ff. 486–489.

57 Probably 'Boswell', a common name in Fife, rather than Bosman. A John Boswell of 'Baglellie' or Balquholly was given an instrument of sasine in an eighth part of the lands of Kirkness, Sherrifdom of Fife, registered at Crail, 26 August 1603. NRS, RD 1/76, fol. 63r. NRS, RS 30/4/208.

58 A deed at Stornoway, witnessed by the younger James Burne, was made by James Forret of Fingask possibly a kinsman and, perhaps, an uncle. James Burne's parents were Beatrice Forret and her spouse James Burne of Bowprie, Fife. James (the elder) died, 13 September 1606. James Burne (the younger) survived the plantation and was served heir to his father for the lands of Bowprie, 27 April 1608. NRS, RD 1/76, fol. 63r. NRS, CC 8/8/42/602. NRS, SC 20/1/10, fol. 94v. NRS, RD 1/181, fol. 230.

(Table Continued)

Name	Date Year/month/day	Activity/comment
Cunningham, Thomas, burgess of Crail ⁵⁹	1598/12/28	Witness at Eilean Ristoll, bond by Balcomie to Macleod for 800 merks.
	1599–1600	Took legal action against Mackenzie of Kintail for encouraging the resistance against settlement in Lewis.
Dalglesche, John ⁶⁰	1607 April	His house in Stormoway burnt.
Dason, Andrew ⁶¹	1598/12/28	Witness at Eilean Ristoll to a bond, Balcomie to Macleod for 800 merks.
Dundass, James, skipper in Leith ⁶²	1601/n.d.	Freighting goods (fish and hides) from Stormoway to Leith.
Durie, Mr Robert, minister of Anstruther, 'to goe wt them to be ther minister for a tyme' ⁶³	1601/04/n.d.	Minister, probably in Lewis, April 1601 until the expulsion of the settlers in February or March 1602.
59	Thomas had a brother, Allan, also a burgess of Crail (1605). NRS, RD 1/127, fol. 284. NRS, JC 26/3. <i>RPCS</i> , vi, 4–5, <i>RPCS</i> , xiv, cxxiii.	
60	John Dalglesch was one of 12 mariners in St Andrews who raised an action against the heirs of the umkle John Forret of Fingask for non-payment of debts, 25 March 1602. NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 82v. NRS, RD 1/94, fol. 435v. According to Dobson there was one (and possibly two) mariner(s) of this name active in St Andrews, 1598–1628. D. Dobson, <i>The Mariners of St Andrews and the East Neuk of Fife, 1600–1700</i> (St Andrews, 1992).	
61	<i>RPCS</i> , xv, cxxiii.	
62	NRS, CC 8/8/36/245.	
63	Durie had not left Fife by June 1599 or January 1600 when the planters went before the church authorities in Fife seeking a minister to serve them in Lewis. The planters came again in April 1601 seeking a minister and this time Durie was directed to accompany them, staying until they settlers were ejected in February or March 1602. NRS, CH 2/1132/17, fol. 158, 168. <i>FES</i> , v, 182. NLS, Wod. Qu. Vol. xx., fol. 352–357v.	

'Fersars wyfe' ⁶⁴	1601/11/20	A mistranscription of 'Turclis wyfe'? See also below, under Macdonnell, Mairead.
Forbes, Alexander, servitor to the laird of Wormiston ⁶⁵	1599/02/22	Witness to a document in Stormoway.
Forret, John, son to the umqle John Forret of Fingask ⁶⁶	1605/10/03	Witness to a document in Stormoway.
Geddes, Robert (?) ⁶⁷	1601/02/10	Mentioned in correspondence from Lewis.
Giffert, Patrick servant to the laird of Airdrie ⁶⁸	1607/04/n.d.	Slain in Stormoway.
Gunn, Uilleam (mac mhic Sheumais), chief of the Clan Gunn ⁶⁹	1605/10/n.d.	Gunn in charge of levies sent to Lewis by the Earl of Sutherland to assist the planters.
Hamilton, Arthur son to the laird of Bothwellhaugh ⁷⁰	1600/01/n.d.	Slain at the taking of the laird of Balcomie's bark.
Home, John (brother to George Home of Wedderburne) ⁷¹	1598/12/07	Witness to a document in Stormoway.

64 Adam, *Calendar of Fearn*, 166.
65 NRS, RD 1/92/2, fol. 230.
66 NRS, RD 1/159, fol. 49v.
67 NRS, RH 15/45/45/2.
68 NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 82v.
69 Gordon, *Sutherland*, 273.
70 *RPCS*, xv, cxxvii. NRS, Cal. of Charters., Vol. xv, No. 367. For his father, James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who assassinated Regent Moray in 1570 see the *ODNB* entry by Peter Holmes. 'Hamilton, James, of Bothwellhaugh (*d.* 1581x5);'
71 NRS, RH 15/45/30.

(Table Continued)

Name	Date Year/month/day	Activity/comment
Inglis, Thomas, merchant burges of Edinburgh ⁷²	1599/04/n.d.	Fishing in the Lewis with the <i>Jonas</i> of Leith.
Kerr, Thomas, of Airth (with Hay and Spens) ⁷³	1605/07/n.d.	Given commission to pass to the Lewis.
Kirkcaldie, William burges of Kingorne ⁷⁴ (alias William Kerr)	1599/03/06	Witness to a document in Stornoway.
Learmonth [James] of Dairsie ⁷⁵	1601–1602/n.d.	Led the voyage to Lewis to free James Spens of Wormiston and others held hostage by the Macleods.
Learmonth, David ⁷⁶	1605/10/08	Witness to a document at Stornoway.
Learmonth, Joseph, servitor to James Learmonth of Balcomie ⁷⁷	1600/01/n.d.	Slain at the taking of the laird of Balcomie's bark.
72	<i>RPCS</i> , vi, 169–170. <i>Collectanea</i> , 104–105. Thomas Inglis, the son of James Inglis, a merchant burges of Edinburgh. Thomas was admitted as a burges in right of his father, 11 Jan 1591–92. C.B. Boog-Watson, <i>Roll of Edinburgh Burghesses</i> , 270.	
73	<i>RPCS</i> , vii, 86. Mackenzie, <i>History of the Outer Hebrides</i> , 217.	
74	NRS, RD 1/76, fol. 63r. Kerr, alias Kirkcaldie, may have been either a nephew or a grandson of the late William Kirkcaldy of Grange (d. 1573), and his wife Margaret Learmonth, daughter of Patrick Learmonth of Dairsie. E. Bonner, 'Kirkcaldy, Sir William, of Grange (c.1520–1573); <i>ODNB</i> , entry no. 15660. NRS, GD 66/1/77.	
75	NLS, Wod. Qu. Vol. xx., fol. 352–357v.	
76	NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 13v–14.	
77	<i>RPCS</i> , xiv, cxxvii. NRS, Cal. of Charters Vol. xv, No. 3673.	

- Learmonth, William, brother to the laird of Balcomie⁷⁸ 1598–9/03/02 Witness to documents at Stornoway.
1601/07/09
1605/10/08
1605/10/22
- Lovell, Robert (?)⁷⁹ 1601/02/10 Mentioned in correspondence from Lewis.
Macdonald, Dòmhnall ‘Gorm’ of Sleat⁸⁰ 1605/08/— With his clan forces in Stornoway and sold 30 cattle to Forret of Fingask.
1605/10/03
Macdonnell, Mairead (nì’n Alasdair mhic Aonghais), 1601/02/10 ‘Turclis wyfe’ in Lewis to pursue her and her husband’s right to two portions of the Lewis.
spouse to Torcall Conanach Macleod⁸¹
Macintosh, Donnchadh (son of Lachlann of Dunnachton)⁸² 1599/04/— Spuiye or piracy off Loch Sealg, Lewis. Macintosh in the company of ‘Huchcoun McGillaspeik in the Wattarnes.’
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- ⁷⁸ NRS, RH 15/45/32. CSP, Scot xiii, 915–916. NLS, Wod. Qu. Vol. xx., fol. 352–357v. NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 13v–14. NRS, GD 106/140.
⁷⁹ NRS, RH 15/45/45/2. A Robert Lovell was mentioned in Dundee, importing wine in 1583 and again in 1588 although it is not clear that this is the same person. A.H. Millar (ed.), *The Compt Book of David Wedderburne of Dundee 1587–1630 together with the shipping lists of Dundee, 1580–1618* (Edinburgh, s.n.s., 1898), 2, 211. A namesake, a James Lovell of Ballumbie, was given a grant of the ‘west cruik’ fishery of Balmerino in 1594. Although there is nothing to connect this James to the Robert Lovell mentioned in the Lewis correspondence, the Lordship of Balmerino was later granted to James Elphinstone, briefly one of the principal Lewis planters, 1605–09. R. Oram, ‘A Fit and ample endowment? The Balmerino estate, 1228–1603,’ in *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses* 59 (2008), 61–79, at 72.
⁸⁰ NRS, RD 1/159, fol. 49v. NLS, Wod. Qu. Vol. xx., fol. 352–357.
⁸¹ Aunt to Dòmhnall mac Aonghais, chief of the Macdonnells of Glengarry. NRS, RH 15/45/45/2. NRS, RS 36/2, fol. 94.
⁸² Donnchadh Mackintosh’s involvement in this area, Lewis and Skye, 1599, so far from his father’s lands, is a puzzle. His sister, Marsailli, later married Dòmhnall Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, c. 1612, and had lands in Trotternish, in North Skye, as part of her terce but there is no reason to suppose these circumstances are connected. *RPCS*, vi, 169–170. *Collectanea*, 104–105. NRS, RD 1/337, fol. 150.

(Table Continued)

Name	Date Year/month/day	Activity/comment
Mackay, Ùisdean 'Dubh na Tuaighe' of Farr ⁸³	1605/08/n.d.	In command of Mackay levies, supporting planters.
	1605/10/08	Witness to a document at Stormoway.
Mackay, Dòmhnall of Scourie (later Lord Reay) ⁸⁴	1605/10/08	Witness to a document at Stormoway.
Mackenzie, Ruairidh of Coigeach ⁸⁵	1605/08/n.d.	In command of Mackenzie levies supporting planters.
MacLellan (Maklellane), John ⁸⁶	1605/10/03	Witness to a document at Stormoway.
Macleod, Ruairidh Mòr of Dunvegan and Harris ⁸⁷	1605/10/08	In command of Macleod levies supporting planters. Taking surety for the Macaulay kindred and Torcall Dubh Macleod of Lewis's children.
McQuien, Mr Uilleam ⁸⁸	1605/10/08	Minister on Dunvegan estates. Witness at Stormoway.

⁸³ NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 13–14. NLS, Wod. Qu. Vol. XX., fol. 352–357v. I. Grimble. *The Chief of Mackay*, 40–58.

⁸⁴ NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 13v–14.

⁸⁵ NLS, Wod. Qu. Vol. XX., fol. 352–357.

⁸⁶ NRS, RD 1/159, fol. 49. The name would suggest a Galloway or Dumfries-shire origin, perhaps in the company of the Muirs of Cotland. A Thomas Maclellan, son and heir of John Maclellan of Balma, Kircudbrightshire, had a charter to his lands of Balma confirmed to him at Edinburgh, 31 May 1587. One of the witnesses was James Anstruther, apparent of that ilk, later a planter in Stormoway, demonstrating one clear link between a family of Maclellans with one of the principals of the plantation. It is not clear, however, that this individual at Stormoway belonged to this particular family. RMS, 1580–1593, no. 1589, p. 674. For the name 'MacClellan,' and its associations with the south west of Scotland, see Black, *The Surnames of Scotland*, 470.

⁸⁷ NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 13v–14v.

⁸⁸ NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 13v–14v.

May, Captain ⁸⁹	1605/10/08	English seaman. Master of His Majesty's pinnace, <i>the Moon</i> . In service with the adventurers in Lewis.
Monypenny, Thomas of Kinkell, son-in-law of James Spens of Wormiston ⁹⁰	1601/07/09	Co-portioner of Lewis, kept hostage in Stormoway by the Macleods, 1601–1602.
Mure [Muir], Captain Alexander ⁹¹	1600–1607?	Petition by Alexander Moir [Mure], 24th June 1635, for losses sustained in Lewis, 1598–1609, including his brother, John's death.

89 Letter, Lord Balmerino to the English Lords of Council, mentioning Captain May, TNA, SP 14/16, fol. 193.

90 *CSP, Scot xiii*, 915–916. NLS, Wod. Qu. Vol. xx., fol. 352–357. The Monypennys of Kinkell were related to the Monypenny family of Pitmillie although the actual relationship is obscure. Thomas succeeded his father Alexander Monypenny of Kinkell sometime after 1592–3. However, Alexander was still living and styled of Kinkell in September 1599. Despite this, Thomas, who was still under twenty-one years of age, 22 August 1598, had curators, which suggests that the elder Monypenny was not competent. James Spens of Wormiston was selected as another of Thomas's curators in 1598. This suggests that it was around this time Thomas Monypenny married Spens's daughter. Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell went on to plant lands of Agallogha in the barony of Knocknyn, County Fermanagh, in Ireland, 13 August 1610, following the failure of the Fife Adventurers' scheme in Lewis. He was escheat for debts at least three times, 1605–21. Monypenny had died by 1628 when he was succeeded by his son and heir also named Thomas. NRS, CC 20/1/6, fol. 150v. D.H. Fleming, *Register of the ministers, elders and Deacons of the Christian congregation of St Andrews*, 744, 901. D. Dobson, *Scots-Irish Links, 1575–1725*, iii, 140; iv, 73; vii, 82. NRS, PS 1/79, fol. 93v. NRS, PS 1/98, fol. 354v. NRS, PS 1/100, fol. 301 & 345.

91 TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 92. A Captain Alexander Muir is on record as a soldier in Poland in 1622, which would fit in with his plea (in 1636) to have had many years in foreign service. Murdoch & Grosjean, *ssNE*, 5061. His elder brother, John, had died at Lewis, probably around 1601 and certainly before 31 July 1605, as Alexander is designated 'of Cotland' at that time, when he lent fellow planter, Sir James Sandilands of Slamanno, 500 merks (in Edinburgh). Alexander was at the mansion house of Cotland in February 1608 where one of his deeds was witnessed by another brother, William Mure. Alexander, however, was not formally served heir to some of his father Archibald's lands until 1611. NRS, RD 1/124, fol. 127. NRS, GD 138/1/271. *Retours ii, Inquisitiones Speciales, Wigton*, 212. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland*, 470.

(Table Continued)

Name	Date Year/month/day	Activity/comment
Mure [Muir], John of Cotland ⁹²	1598–9/03/02	Witness in Stornoway and co-portioner with Sir James Sandilands. Slain in Lewis, c.1601.
Murray, Gibbe ⁹³	1601/02/10	Mentioned in a letter written at Stornoway.
Nicolson, Thomas ⁹⁴	1605/10/03	Witness to a document in Stornoway.
Preston, Patrick ⁹⁵	1598/12/28	Witnessed a bond, Balcomie to Macleod, for 800 merks.
Pullet [recte Pullour], John, merchant burgess of Perth ⁹⁶	1606/10/n.d.	Attacked while fishing on Macleod waters (Loch Broom). Died shortly afterwards.

⁹² NRS, RH 15/45/32. NRS, CC 8/8/34, ff. 486–489. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides*, 184–5. Cotland is a mile to the south west of the town of Wigton. John was a son of Archibald Muir of Cotland and succeeded by his younger brother Alexander. NRS, GD 138/1/224. See also the note, above, on his brother, Alexander.

⁹³ NRS, RH 15/45/45/2. Possibly a relative of Captain William Murray, one of the principal planters.

⁹⁴ NRS, RD 1/159 fol. 49v. Two people of this name appear in the record for Fife. One was Thomas Nicolson, burgess of Pittenweem who died in 16th June 1605 and whose testament mentions ‘Thomas Nicolsone his sone and apperand air.’ NRS, CC 20/4/4/147. However, James Learmonth of Dairsie and William his heir had borrowed 2120 merks from a Thomas Nicolson of Cupar in Fife in 1595 and John Learmonth of Balcomie borrowed £120 from the same man, 1600–1602. NRS, RD 1/85 fol. 303. NRS, RD 1/89 fol. 271v. James Learmonth of Balcomie’s testament, 1600, shows that he too owed a sum of £56 to a Thomas Nicolson in Cupar. NRS, CC 8/8/34, ff. 486–489. It is unclear whether the Pittenweem burgess and the man from Cupar were one and the same.

⁹⁵ *RPCS*, xiv, cxxiii.

⁹⁶ NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 81v. Pitcairn’s *Criminal Trials*, iii, 245. Possibly this surname should be read as ‘Pullor’ rather than ‘Pullet’ as there was a family of skinner burgesses of the former name in Perth in the 1580s. A Jhone Pullor had banns for his marriage read in 1588 (with a Violet Stanis) and may be the same man.

Ramsay, John, servitor to John Forret of Fingask ⁹⁷	1599/03/06	Witness to a document in Stormoway.
Reid, John, writer ⁹⁸	1599/02/22	Witness to a document in Stormoway.
Ro[ber]tson, Thomas, servitor to the laird of Mackenzie ⁹⁹	1605/10/03	Witness to a document in Stormoway.
Ross, Mr John, 'minister' ¹⁰⁰	1598/12/07	Minister in Stormoway and witness to a document in 1598. He was threatened with political exile to Stormoway again in 1606.

John Pullour died in December 1607 shortly after the events in Lewis which caused the death of Robert Blair (above). His testament makes it clear that he was engaged in the fish business together with Blair and that an Alexander Mitchell, burghess of Perth, owed both Pullour and Blair monies for £500 worth of 'fish and oyle.' A William Robertson, burghess of Inverness, was among those who owed Pullour money. Some of Pullour's other associates in Perth were James Crombie, Thomas Young and Patrick Anderson. M. Todd (ed.), *The Perth Kirk Session Books, 1577-1590* (Scottish History Society Woodbridge, 2012), 387, 481. NRS, CC8/844/118.

97 NRS, RD 1/76, fol. 63r.
98 NRS, RD 1/92/2, fol. 230. A John Reid in Levensmouth, parish of Scone, Fife, died in February 1601. It is unclear if this is the same man and nothing in his testament indicates a Lewis connection. NRS, CC 8/8/36/136.

99 NRS, RD 1/159, fol. 49v. Thomas Robertson in the Chanonry of Ross is on record in 1592, having borrowed 200 merks from a Perth burghess. Another deed (reg. 1602) has Thomas Robertson described as a burghess of Chanonry of Ross and Coinneach Mackenzie of Kintail was surety for his debt. NRS, RD 1/43, fol. 185. NRS, RD 1/80, fol. 296v. A John Robertson, possibly a relative, was named as a servitor to Ruairidh Mackenzie of Coigeach, the Tutor of Kintail, in 1619. *RPCS*, xi, 521.

100 NRS, RH 15/45/30. A man of this name, Mr John Ross, graduated from St Andrews in 1599 and was presented to Blairgowrie in 1603. *FES*, v, 255. However, it is more likely that this individual was the same Mr John Ross who was banished by royal order from his charge in Perth in 1594 who ended up in Lewis in 1598. A hard-line Presbyterian he, along with other ministers, was exiled to various islands and parts of the Highlands for holding an illegal General Assembly at Aberdeen in July 1605. Ross may have been the writer of the eyewitness account of the plantation of Lewis, c.1607, transcribed in Appendix C2. *RPCS*, vii, 261. Mackenzie, 1903: 225. Alan R. Macdonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567-1626. Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy* (Ashgate, 1998), 55-56, 126.

(Table Continued)

Name	Date Year/month/day	Activity/comment
Rutherford, Captain Patrick ¹⁰¹	1599/02/22	Witness to a document in Stornoway.
Schort, David, servitor to James Learmonth of Balcomie ¹⁰²	1600/01/n.d.	Slain at the taking of the laird of Balcomie's bark.
Sinckler, Robert, skipper in Leith ¹⁰³	1599/04/n.d.	Fishing in the Lewis with the <i>Jonas</i> of Leith.
Spens, George, merchant burgess of Edinburgh ¹⁰⁴	1599/02/22	Witness to documents in Stornoway.
	1599/03/06	
	1605/10/22	
101	Captain Patrick Rutherford (c. 1578–1618), a native of Dunfermline, Fife, arrived in Sweden from Scotland in 1608, fought in Estonia and Denmark and elsewhere in Swedish service and reached the rank of Colonel in the army of Gustav II Adolph. NRS, RD 1/92/2, fol. 230. SSNE, 6633.	
102	David Schort was charged with fornication with Christiane Michell and having a child out of wedlock, 18th October 1592. <i>RPCS</i> , xiv, cxxvii. NRS, Cal. of Charters, Vol. xv, No. 367. D.H. Hay, <i>Register of Ministers, Elders and Deacons of the Christian Congregation of St Andrews</i> , 734.	
103	<i>RPCS</i> , vi, 169–170. <i>Collectanea</i> , 104–105.	
104	NRS, RD 1/76, fol. 63r. NRS, RD 1/92/2, fol. 230. NRS, GD 106/140. A George Spens is noted as a burgess of Edinburgh in a record dated 31 December 1606. He also was a party to a deed by James Spens and George Barnfathie, merchand burgess of Edinburgh in 1608. This individual was probably also the person named in a deed as a cousin to James Spens of Wormiston in January 1603: a George Spens, 'writter', was served heir as 'narrest laull and armoriall to umq[uih] James Spens portoner of Balmacdone, his [James Spens of Wormiston's] grandsyris bruder sone, of all and hail the sex merk land of Balmacdone...' This may refer either to 'Balmacolm' near Ladybank in Fife, or another township of the same name 20 km west of Dundee. George Spens, writer burgess of Edinburgh, borrowed jointly, with James Spens of Wormiston, the sum of £350 from Alexander Ouistane, tailor burgess of Edinburgh, 28 May 1605. C.B. Boog-Wilson, <i>Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses</i> , 464. NRS, RD 1/153, fol. 131. NRS, RD 1/93, fol. 139v. NRS, RD 1/141, fol. 1v.	

Spens, Thomas, servitor for the laird of Balcomie ¹⁰⁵	1600/11 __	Commissioner for John Learmonth of Balcomie at the partition of lands in Lewis.
Spens, Thomas, doer for James Spens of Wormiston ¹⁰⁶	1605?	Witness to a document at Stornoway.
Stewart, George ¹⁰⁷	1605/10/08	Witness to a document at Stornoway.
Thomson, Mr James, minister ¹⁰⁸	1605/10/22	Minister in Lewis, 1605–1606, and witness to a document in Stornoway.
Thormouton, John, skipper burgess of Dundee ¹⁰⁹	1608/05/00	Bound for Lewis fishings.
Traquhair, Robert ¹¹⁰	1601/n.d.	Burgess of Edinburgh, slain at Stornoway.

¹⁰⁵ NRS, RH 15/45/35. Possibly the same Thomas Spens who appears, below, five years later in November 1605, designated as a servitor to James Spens of Wormiston. NRS, RD 1/153, fol. 131.

¹⁰⁶ NLS, Wod. Qu. Vol. XX., fol. 352–357v. A Thomas Spens, presumably the man noted above as a servitor of Learmonth, and who was also probably a kinsman of James Spens of Wormiston, appeared in diplomatic service in 1620, travelling from Sweden to England via the Netherlands. SSNE, 6682.

¹⁰⁷ NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 13v-14. George Stewart's identity and kinship association is unknown. Possibly related to other prominent principal planters such as either Ludovick Stewart, Duke of Lennox, or Colonel William Stewart, the Commandator of Pittenweem. An Alexander Stewart, merchand burgess of Edinburgh, was a party to a deed made by James Spens of Wormiston in 1608. NRS, RD 1/153, fol. 131.

¹⁰⁸ NRS, GD 106/140. James Thomson (1568–1646) had his MA from St Andrews, 1586. Afterwards minister of Kilmany in Fife. *FES*, v, 161.

¹⁰⁹ Millar, *Compt Buik of David Wedderburne*, 145.

¹¹⁰ NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 8v. Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii, 245. Robert Traquhair is mentioned by name in the indictment of Niall Odhar, 1613. His last will and testament was registered by his daughter Elspeth, 12 January 1602. This testament makes no mention of the manner of Robert's death, or even the date other than stating it happened in 1601. The inventory, however, which is attached to the testament makes it clear that he was present in Stornoway and freighting goods back to Leith. NRS, CC 8/8/36/245. Robert was probably the son of a James Traquhair, and had only been as admitted as a burgess of Edinburgh, 8 July 1595. Boog-Watson, *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses*, 497.

(Table Continued)

Name	Date Year/month/day	Activity/comment
Wedderburne (?), ¹¹¹ _____	1601/n.d.	Slain at Stornoway.
Young, James, ¹¹²	1601/n.d.	Slain at Stornoway.

111 NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 8v. Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii, 245. A family of this name were burgesses at Cupar, Fife, during this period. *Index to the Secretary's Register of Sasines for Fife and Kinross, 1603–1609* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1963).

112 NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 8v. Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii, 245. The name 'Young' was fairly common in Fife and Crail (and elsewhere) at this time. A James Young from Crail, skipper of a herring fishing boat paid custom on fish in 1577. NRS, E 71/6/9, fol. 6. Another John and a James Young from Crail, possibly from the same family were still involved in the herring drave in 1627. NRS, AC 7/2, fol. 5. *Index to the Secretary's Register of Sasines for Fife and Kinross, 1603–1609* (HMSO, Edinburgh, 1963.) Beveridge, *Churchyard Memorials in Crail*, 160.

C5 The known un-knowns in Lewis, 1598–1609

References to un-named persons from documentary sources, the known-unknowns, active in the Plantation of Lewis, 1598–1609.

References to un-known persons as follows:	Date Year/Month/day
[<i>The gentlemen adventurers</i>] ‘...conduc[t]ed <u>a number of soldiers...</u> ’ ¹¹³ ‘...they [i.e. <i>the principal adventurers</i>] hire a <u>great number of suddarts</u> [<i>soldiers</i>] and they prepare armour and weapons.’ ¹¹⁴	1598/10/end
‘... <u>500 or 600 waiged men</u> , beside gentlemen volunteers..... <u>great number died</u> of a fluxe, through the coldness of the ile, want of loodging, and other interteinment...’ ¹¹⁵	1598/10/30 to January 1600
‘... <u>to 5 puir men</u> that com[e] fra the Lewis, for thair support, at the command of the provest, 16 s 8d’ [<i>Assistance to planters from the burgh of Aberdeen</i>]. ¹¹⁶	1598–9/01/31
‘ <u>Twa gentilmen</u> that com[e] fra the Lewis, to help with thair expenssis hom[e]’ in need of assistance in Aberdeen [<i>Assistance to planters from the burgh of Aberdeen</i>]. ¹¹⁷	1598–9/01/05
[<i>Un-named men given assistance in Aberdeen</i> :] ‘... <u>four men</u> of Anstruther that were takyn be the Heland men qhuen Bulcomy was takyn, to mak thair expenssis home, 4 lib., Item: the samyn day, at the command of the provest, to twa Lewis men, 6 s. 8d.’ ¹¹⁸	1598–9/01/17
‘ <u>Twa uther Lewis men</u> ’ [<i>arrived in Aberdeen in need of assistance</i>]. ¹¹⁹	1598–9/01/27
‘ <u>22 other persons</u> slain and captured at the taking of the barque of the laird of Balcomie.’ ¹²⁰	1601/___/___

¹¹³ Spottiswoode, *History*, iii, 103.

¹¹⁴ NLS, Wod. Qu. xx, fol. 352v (appendix C2).

¹¹⁵ T. Thomson (ed.), *The History of the Kirk by Mr David Calderwood* (8 vols, Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1844), v, 736.

¹¹⁶ J.S. Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, Vol. 2, 1570–1625 (Aberdeen, Spalding Club, 1848), 71.

¹¹⁷ Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, ii, 71.

¹¹⁸ Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, ii, 71.

¹¹⁹ Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen*, ii, 71.

¹²⁰ NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 81v. Pitcairn’s *Criminal Trials*, iii, 245.

(Table Continued)

References to un-known persons as follows:	Date Year/Month/day
'accompanyitt with sindrie others their campe is brund sindre off the principalls tane and <u>monyne slane</u> .' ¹²¹	1601/11/20
'In the moneth of December were slaine to the number of <u>fiftie</u> <u>Scotish men at one tyme</u> , in the Lewes, by the yland men...' ¹²²	1601/12/___
'...Sir James Anstruther departed with the whole company that was left (for <u>many</u> were killed before yielding)...' ¹²³	1601/07/09 (?)
' <u>some forty of the common men</u> of them slain, but the gentlemen preserved and freed, all save three [<i>Wormiston, Kinkell and Balcomie's brother</i>] who are kept pledges by the country [<i>Lewismen</i>]...' [<i>Letter from George Nicolson, English agent in Edinburgh to Sir Robert Cecil, Elizabeth's secretary in London.</i>] ¹²⁴	1601/12/26 (?)
'the Laird of Wormistoun, seeing a werie dark night sent furth a company of souldiors to apprehend Neill McLeod & Donald Dow McRorie [i.e. <i>Macleod of Raasay/ Gairloch</i>]...bot Neill being on his guard and perceawing them coming, invaded them q[u]e[n] they had issued out 2 or 3 miles from ther campe and <u>killed thrie score of them</u> [i.e. <i>60 of the planters' soldiers</i>] chasing the rest until they were rescued from the campe.' ¹²⁵	1601/12/___
' <u>a great pow[e]r of hieland men</u> w ^t them' [i.e. <i>with Mackenzie, Macdonald, Mackay</i>]. ¹²⁶	1605/08/___
Reference to ' <u>forces</u> ' accompanying Uilleam mac mhic Sheumais [<i>Gunn clan chief</i>] from Sutherland. Gunn in charge of levies sent to Lewis by the Earl of Sutherland to assist the planters. ¹²⁷	1605/10/___
'...ane <u>sufficient number</u> of sudderts w[i]t[h] ther com[m] anders...' ¹²⁸	1605/10/___ -Spring 1606

¹²¹ Adam (ed.), *Calendar of Fearn*, 166.

¹²² Thomson (ed.), *The History of the Kirk by Mr David Calderwood*, vi, 139.

¹²³ Spottiswoode, *History*, iii, 103.

¹²⁴ CSP, Scot, xiii, 915–916, 917. NLS, Wod. Qu., Vol. xx., fol. 352–357v (appendix C2).

¹²⁵ *Highland Papers*, ii, 272.

¹²⁶ NLS, Wod., Qu., Vol. xx., fol. 352–357v (appendix C2).

¹²⁷ Gordon, *Sutherland*, 273.

¹²⁸ NLS, Wod., Qu. Vol. xx., fol. 352–357v (appendix C2).

References to un-known persons as follows:	Date Year/Month/day
<u>Crew of the pinnace</u> , his majesty's [English] ship the Moon, commanded by Captain May, in service in the north Isles and supporting the planters in Lewis. ¹²⁹	1605 Autumn
'...not abowe <u>fowr scor</u> men so that we wer not able to defend the camp...' [<i>Settlers, down to around 80 men, under siege in Stornoway.</i>] ¹³⁰	1606–1607?
' <u>Two or thrie</u> <u>fishermen</u> went to the quay in Stornoway and were 'slaine be the hieland men.' ¹³¹	1606
' <u>sevin of aucht men</u> slain' [<i>at the taking of the ship of Pullor & Blair at Loch Broom by Niall Macleod and his men.</i>] ¹³²	1606/10/___ (?)
'maist crewallie mordreist and slew..... <u>dvv[er]ss utheris</u> servandis & effairs men.' ¹³³	1607 April

C6 Some Financial Transactions of the Forrets of Fingask, 1598–1609

The column on the left has the place and date of the transaction, where known. The deeds were then often registered at Edinburgh in the Register of Deeds (RD).

Date & place Year/month/day	Other principal party	Reference
1598/10/11	Obligation by Forret discharging Kinneir for 100 merks payment for the lands of Under Caithlock and Deubray, Sheriffdom of Fife (reg. 11 Oct 1598).	NRS, RD 1/72, fol. 194.
1598/09/19 St Andrews	Obligation, to repay money borrowed from Captain William Murray brother to the laird of Tullibardine, 2000 merks (reg. 10 Sept 1599).	NRS, RD 1/71, fol. 158r.

129

Letter, 23 Nov 1605, Lord Balmerino to the English Lords of Council, TNA, SP 14/16, fol. 193.

130

NLS, Wod., Qu. Vol. XX., fol. 352–357v (appendix C2).

131

NLS, Wod., Qu. Vol. XX., fol. 356v (appendix C2).

132

NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 81v. Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii, 245.

133

NRS, JC 2/5, fol. 82v. Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, iii, 245.

(Table Continued)

Date & place Year/month/day	Other principal party	Reference
1599/02/22 Stornoway	Forret (with James Spens of Wormiston), owners of ship called <i>The Blissing</i> , lease this ship to their fellow portioners of Lewis, not to be used for freight but to supply the castle of Stornoway and remain at the service of the planters. The portioners to pay Spens & Forret £300 per month for the hire of the ship (reg. 15 Jan 1603).	NRS, RD 1/92/2, fol. 230.
1598 (?) At Edinburgh	Discharge by David Williamson, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, to Forret (and John Thomson) of debt owed by them to Williamson (registered 26 Feb 1599).	NRS, RD 1/66, fol. 379r.
1599/01/31 Thurso	Obligation of Forret (with William Leirmonth, brother to the laird of Balcomie), to George Sinclair, Earl of Caithness for 24 chalders victual, 3304 merks (reg. 15 May 1599).	NRS, RD 1/67, fol. 323v.
1600/01/10 & 15	Action by Patrick Moscrop against David Forret of that ilk who had been surety for a 4900 merk debt owed by John Forret of Fingask to Moscrop (reg. 14 May 1600).	NRS, RD 1/75, fol. 160r.
1600/03/06 Stornoway	John Forret of Fingask (and James his son) borrowed 300 merks from William Kirkcaldie, burgess of Kingorne.	NRS, RD 1/76, fol. 63r.
1600/08/10 & 14 at Crail & Balcomie	Forret (together with James Spens of Wormiston) borrowed £350 usual money of Scotland from John Boig, agent, indwellar in Scotland, 10 & 14 August (reg. 16 Dec 1600).	NRS, RD 1/77, fol. 61r.
1600/10/21 Crail	Discharge, from Captain William Murray & spouse to John Forret of Fingask for a loan of 2000 merks repaid in full.	NRS, RD 1/75, fol. 460v–461r.
1602/03/25 St Andrews	Debt owed by the Forret of Fingask family to William Yule & thirteen other mariners of St Andrews. Dispute settled by inquisition arbitral before the Lord Admiral. Forret's widow and heir to pay £450. 3 s. 4d. to be divided equally among the fourteen mariners (reg. 2 Sep 1603).	NRS, RD 1/94, fol. 435v.

Date & place Year/month/day	Other principal party	Reference
1602/10/09 St Andrews	Sale by Forret of Fingask's widow and children of the ship called <i>the David</i> of St Andrews to William Stevenson, James Cumming, William Wauche, William Anderson all burgesses of the burgh of Pittenweem for 1650 merks (reg. 31 May 1603).	NRS, RD 1/93, fol. 284v.
1605/10/03 Stornoway	Obligation by Dòmhnall Gorm Macdonald of Sleat to John Forret (younger), son to umqle John Forret of Fingask, of '30 ky with calff' (reg. 27 Feb 1609).	NRS, RD 1/159, fol. 49v.
1608/01/23 Anstruther	Discharge, for 'certane sowmes of mo[ne]y payit & delyverit... ..to his mother, Grissel Anstruther. John Forret of Fingask bound himself to infest Grissel in certain lands (reg. 23 Jan 1609).	NRS, RD 1/156, fol. 220v.
1608/06/27 Anstruther	Obligation, to William Anstruther, fear of that ilk, for £3000.	NRS, GD 147/35/5.
1608/08/20 Anstruther	Discharge, by Sir Wm Anstruther of that ilk of all debts owing by John Forret of Fingask to the late Sir James Anstruther of that ilk, his father (reg. 9 Nov 1608).	NRS, RD 1/153, fol. 9r.
1605/03/15 Kirkwall	Discharge by Jerome Chalinte, skipper burgess of Orkney, receipt of 500 merks from James Forret.	NRS, RD 1/123, fol. 205.

C7 Associates of and Witnesses for the Forrets of Fingask, 1598–1609

Some associates of John Forret of Fingask (d. 1601) and his sons in the Register of Deeds, 1598–1609: as cautioners, sureties and witnesses in deeds (C6, above)

Anderson, Allan, burgess of Crail	Mackeson, John, clerk of Crail
Anderson, William, burgess of Pittenweem	Maklellane, John (from Cotland, Wigtonshire ?), at Stornoway
Anstruther, Grissel, widow of John Forret of Fingask	Manson, John, writer at Thurso
Anstruther, Sir James, fiar of that ilk	Monypenny, Thomas, of Kinkell

Anstruther, William, fiar of that ilk
 Balfour, Stephane, skipper and mariner
 in St Andrews
 Boig, John, agent, indwellar in Edinburgh

 Bosman [Boswell ?], John (from Fife, at
 Stornoway)
 Boswell, William, merchant burgess in
 Kirkwall
 Burne, James, sone to the gudeman of
 Bollprie
 Corstorphine, Andrew, mariner in
 St Andrews
 Cumming, James, burgess of Pittenweem
 Dalgleisch, John, mariner in St Andrews
 Forbes, Alexander, servitor to the laird of
 Wolmerston
 Forret, Andrew, brother german to John
 Forret of Fingask
 Forret, Andrew, younger son to John
 Forret of Fingask
 Forret, Christiane, younger, daughter to
 John Forret of Fingask
 Forret, David of that ilk
 Forret, David, younger, son to John Forret
 of Fingask
 Forret, John, younger, son to John Forret
 of Fingask
 Forret, Patrick, mariner in St Andrews
 Forret, Thomas, mariner in St Andrews
 Gourlay, Jon, mariner in St Andrews

 Gowane, Thomas, mariner in St Andrews
 Greiff, Andro, mariner in St Andrews

 Hannay, William, in Orkney

Moresone, William, baillie in Kirkwall
 Moscrop, Patrick, of Castleton

 Murray, Mr William, brother german
 to the laird of Tullibardine
 Murray, Sir John, of Tullibardine

 Mylne, Arthor, mariner in St Andrews

 Nicolsone, Thomas (from Fife), at
 Stornoway
 Orme, Mr Patrick (in Crail)

 Ottar, Andrew, mariner in St Andrews
 Philp, Stephan, in St Andrews
 Preston, Catherine, spouse to Mr
 William Murray
 Ramsay, James, servitor to Forret of
 Fingask (at Stornoway)
 Ramsay, William, citiner in St
 Andrews
 Reid, David, mariner in St Andrews

 Reid, John, wryter heirow
 Ro[ber]tsone, Thomas, servitor to the
 laird of Mackenzie
 Rutherford, Capitane Patrick, at
 Stornoway
 Sandilands, Sir James, of Slamanno
 Spens, George (at Stornoway)
 Spens, George, burgess of
 Edinburgh
 Spens, James, of Wormiston
 Stevenson, William, burgess of
 Pittenweem
 Stewart, Sir William, of Houston
 (Commendator of Pittenweem)
 Thomson, John, merchant burgess of
 Edinburgh

Hay, Peter, in Crail	Watson, David, citiner in St Andrews
Hume, Mr John, brother to the laird of Wedderburn	Wauche, William, burgess of Pittenweem
Kinneir, John of that ilk	Wauchope, Nicolle, in Orkney
Kirkcaldy William, burgess of Kinghorne (at Stornoway)	Williamsone, David, merchant burgess of Edinburgh
Lauder, William, servitor to John Mackeson, clerk of Crail	Yule, Andrew, mariner in St Andrews
Learmonth, James, of Balcomie	Yule, William, skipper and mariner in St Andrews
Learmonth, John, of Balcomie	
Learmonth, John, of Kilrenny	
Learmonth, Mr John, of Balcomie	
Learmonth, William	
Learmonth, William, brother to the laird of Balcomie	
Learmonth, William, of Dairsie	
Lentroun, Capitane Allane, in Orkney	
Lentroun, Thomas, elder, skipper and mariner in St Andrews	

C8

Some Financial Transactions of James Spens of Wormiston, 1598–1609

The column on the left has the place and date of the transaction, where known. The deeds were then often registered at Edinburgh in the Register of Deeds (RD).

Date and place (Year/Month/day)	Other principal party	Reference
1598/09/09 Fife	Obligation, executors of Mr George Orme, regarding 300 merks owed to Spens.	NRS, RD 1/68, fol. 310v.
1598/10/25 Crail	Sale of offices of the 'kingis miller' of Crail wadset to Robert Lumsden of Airdrie for 6000 merks (reg. 7 Aug 1599).	NRS, RD 1/69, fol. 313v.
1599/06/30 Edinburgh	Borrowed from James Broun, chirurgeon in Edinburgh, 1500 merks.	NRS, RD 1/76, fol. 44v.

(Table Continued)

Date and place (Year/Month/day)	Other principal party	Reference
1600/08/30 Edinburgh	Borrowed from James Wricht, servitor to Colonel Bartilimo Balfour, 50 merks money.	NRS, RD 1/77, fol. 128v.
1601/04/07 St Andrews	Wadset of the lands of Wormiston to Col. Bartilimo Balfour for 6000 merks (reg. 13 Jul 1607).	NRS, RD 1/131, fol. 51.
1601/04/17 St Andrews	Wadset received from 'my good friend,' Col. Bartilimo Balfour of Reid Heuwis, 15000 merks for the mains of Wormiston (reg. 06 Oct 1606).	NRS, RD 1/122, fol. 381.
1601/05/27 Edinburgh	Discharge, from Walter Henderson of Drumgreine, to Spens (re. contract of 1596) – 6000 merks.	NRS, RD 1/80, fol. 41r.
1603/02/03 St Andrews	Borrowed from John Sterling, portioner of Kilrinnie, 600 merks (reg. 4 Dec 1606).	NRS, RD 1/124, fol. 423.
1605/05/28 Edinburgh	Borrowed (with Mr George Spens, writer burgess in Edinburgh) from Andro Ouistane, £350 (reg. 4 Dec 1607).	NRS, RD 1/141, fol. 1v.
1606/01/31 Wormiston	Obligation to Beatrix Forret, relict of umq[uhi] le David Watsone, for certane bollis of Spanish salt, at 400 merks (reg. 5 Mar 1607).	NRS, RD 1/131, fol. 6.
1606/02/12 Edinburgh	Borrowed (with Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell) from George Wilkie in Sauchtonhall, 1000 merks (reg. 12 Nov 1606).	NRS, RD 1/124, fol. 221.
1606/03/21, Wormiston	Borrowed (with Monypenny of Kinkell and Thomas Halden) from Mungo Murray of Drumork, 650 merks (reg. 18 Dec 1609).	NRS, RD 1/166/2, fol. 370v.
1606/07/23 Dairsie	Obligation (with James Learmonth of Dairsie, and Monypenny of Kinkell) to Johne Ramsay of Pruor & Walter Barclay of Drumcaro, 2000 merks (reg. 30 May 1607).	NRS, RD 1/131, fol. 393.
1606/07/30 Crail	Borrowed from Walter Airth, burgess in Pittenweem, 620 merks (reg. 15 Jun 1609).	NRS, RD 1/160, fol. 202.
1606/09/30 St Andrews	Obligation to Colonell Bartilimo Balfour and spouse, for 3000 merks further to the the band of wadset and reversion made in 1601 (reg. 6 Oct 1606).	NRS, RD 1/122, fol. 383.

Date and place (Year/Month/day)	Other principal party	Reference
1607/06/19 Edinburgh	Borrowed from Mr William Hairt of Preston, 1000 merks (reg. 28 Dec 1608).	NRS, RD 1/156, fol. 65v.
1607/05/04, Crail, St Andrews & Anstruther	Borrowed (with Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell and John Mackeson, clerk of Crail) from John Strang, portioner of Kilrynnnes, 3000 merks (reg. 21 Nov 1608).	NRS, RD 1/153, fol. 119r.
1607/05/09. Dalhousie, Leith & St Andrews	Obligation (9th May & 10th July) to James Forret, fiar of that ilk, for 4000 merks (reg. 10 Jul 1607).	NRS, RD 1/147, fol. 98.
1607/06/03	Borrowed from Mr William Hairt, 1000 merks (reg. 28 Dec 1608).	NRS, RD 1/156, fol. 68v.
1608/05/31, London	Borrowed from Andro Quhytlaw, £1049 (reg. 9 Aug 1609).	NRS, RD 1/165, fol. 121v.
1607/08/18 Edinburgh	Borrowed from Mr William Forbes, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, 2000 merks.	NRS, RD 1/167, fol. 206.
1610/03/20 Edinburgh	Discharge by John Foulles, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, to Spens for £1049 (reg. 5 Jun 1610).	NRS, RD 1/171, fol. 282v.

C9 Witnesses and Sureties for James Spens of Wormiston, 1598–1609

The following persons appear as witnesses or sureties for some of the financial transactions of Sir James Spens of Wormiston (from deeds listed in C8).

Anstruther, James, fiar of that ilk	Learmonth, William, younger, citiner of St Andrews
Anstruther, John, of that ilk	Learmonth, William, brother to the laird of Balcomie
Archibald, Jon, servitor to His Majesty	Learmonth, William, younger of Balcomie
Arnott, Doctor David, doctor of phisick	Lumsden, Robert, burgess of Edinburgh
Arnott, John, of Woodmylne	Mackeson, John, clerk of Crail
Balfour, Coronel Bartillimo, of Reidhewis	
Balfour, Duncan, citiner in St Andrews	Melvill, Daniel, servitor to Adam Lawtie
Balfour, Gilbert, of Balbuchie	Monypenny, James
Balfour, Henri, advocat	Monypenny, James, of Pitmillie

Balfour, Michal, of Findone	Monypenny, Thomas, of Kinkell, son in law to Sir James Spens of Wormiston
Balfour, Mr Henrie, procurator for James Spens of Wormiston	Mosman, John, burgess of Edinburgh
Balfour, Walter, citiner in St Andrews	Moubray, Robert, Edinburgh
Barclay, Walter, of Drumcarno	Murray, William, servitor to the laird of Tullibardine.
Barnefathie, George, merchant burgess of Edinburgh	Oistane, Andro, son to Andro Oistane, tailor-burgess in Edinburgh
Berclay, William, in St Andrews	Orme, George
Broun, James, chirurgeon, indweller in Edinburgh	Quhyte, Arthour, wryter in Edinburgh
Cant, Beatrix, spouse to Colonel Bartilimo Balfour	Ramsay, George, of Dalhousie
Clepane, Mr Nicoll	Ramsay, John, of Priorletham
Cumming, Mr Alexander, advocat	Schevies, Patrick, of Kembock
Cunningham, Allan, burgess of Crail	Skynner, David, advocat in St Andrews
Cunningham, Thomas, burgess of Crail	Skynner, James
Dingwall, John, son in law to John Mackeson, clerk of Crail	Spens, George, writer, 'nearest lawful and armorial heir to umq[ui]le James Spens, grandsyre bruder sone to Wormiston'
Dougall, John, son in law to John Mackeson, clerk of Crail	Spens, George, indwellar in Edinburgh
Douglas, James, of Spoitt	Spens, James, notary public (Edinburgh)
Durie, Agnes, spouse to James Spens of Wormiston	Spens, John, son to Margaret, sister to James Spens of Wormiston
Durie, Roberte, of that ilk	Spens, Mr David, brother to Sir James Spens of Wormiston
Forbes, William, merchant burgess of Edinburgh	Stewart, Alexander, merchant burgess of Edinburgh
Forret, Beatrix, relict to umqle David Watson, St Andrews	Stewart, Sir Thomas, of Grandtullie
Forret, James, fiar of that ilk	Stewart, William, of Banthrie
Halden, Thomas	Stirling, John, portioner of Kilrenny
Halkheid, George, brother to the laird of Pitfirrane	Symson, William, burgess of Anstruther
Hay, Peter, in Wormiston	Symsone, John, burgess of Anstruther
Hay, Sir George, of Nether Liff	Thomsone, George, in Edinburgh
Henrysone, James, in St Andrews	Traill, James, indwellar of St Andrews
Henderson, Walter, of Drumgreene, writer to H.M. signet	Traill, John, of Blebo

Hepburne, Elizabeth, spouse to Walter Henderson	Udwart, Nicoll, burgess of Edinburgh
Herring, Sir David, of Glasclune	Watson, Thomas, merchant of Anstruther
Hope, John	Wemyss, David, servitor to John Mackeson, clerk of Crail
Irving, Mr William, in Edinburgh	Wemyss, James, of Bogie
Kirkwood, Nathaniel, servitor to Arthour Quhyte, Edinburgh	Wilkie, George, son of Thomas Wilkie in Sauchtonhall
Lauder, William, notary public, Crail	Winyettis, Thomas, armourer-burgess of Edinburgh
Learmonth, Margaret, mother to James Spens of Wormiston	Winzettis, Thomas, advocat
Learmonth, Thomas, servitor to Thomas Monypenny of Kinkell	Wod, Andrew, of Largo
Leirmonth, James, of Dairsie	Woode, James, burgess of Pittenweem
Learmonth, William, younger of Dairsie	Wricht, James, servitor to Colonel Bartilimo Balfour

C10 Some Debts Owed by the Learmonths of Balcomie, 1599–1606

Debts owed by James Learmonth of Balcomie (d. 1599) and John, his brother and heir, as principal parties discovered in the Register of Deeds, 1598–1609. The mark ‘(r)’ indicates that this date was when the deed was registered in Edinburgh rather than when the transaction between the parties took place.

Date (Year/month/day)	Lender	Amount	Source
1599/06 (r)	Nicol Young, merchant burgess of Edinburgh.	1000 merks	NRS, RD 1/69, fol. 172v.
1599/06/27 (r)	Thomas Gonelaw of Kincaig.	2000 merks	NRS, RD 1/69, fol. 152v.
1599/07/06	John Arnott, Commissar Clerk of St Andrews.	1300 merks	NRS, RD 1/73/2, fol. 322v.
1599/01/31	George Sinclair, Earl of Caithness (debt shared with John Forret).	3304 merks	NRS, RD 1/67, fol. 323v.

(Table Continued)

Date (Year/month/day)	Lender	Amount	Source
1600/08/10 & 14	John Boig agent, indwellar in Edinburgh (debt shared by Learmonth with Spens, Murray and Anstruther).	£350	NRS, RD 1/77, fol. 61r.
1601/11/02	Thomas Lentroun.	3000 merks.	NRS, RD 1/141, fol. 413v.
1604/10/21	William Learmonth, elder, citiner in St Andrews.	£1300	NRS, RD 1/125, fol. 217.
1606/10/25	Sir John Skene of Curriehill.	5000 merks	NRS, RD 1/123, fol. 326.

C11 Some Debts of Robert Lumsden of Airdrie, 1599–1606

Some of the debts of Robert Lumsden of Airdrie, planter in Lewis, from the Register of Deeds, 1598–1609. The mark ‘(r)’ indicates that this date was when the deed was registered in Edinburgh rather than when the transaction between the parties took place.

Date	Lender / creditor	Amount	Source
1599/01/01 (r)	The Laird of Dundass, discharge to Lumsden.	4500 merks	NRS, RD 1/66, fol. 296v.
1599/01/01 (r)	Thomas Hume.	100 merks	NRS, RD 1/66, fol. 297v.
1599/06/05	Marion Aikenheid, dau. to umq[uhil]le Thomas Aikenheid, merchant burgess of Edinburgh.	4000 merks	NRS, RD 1/109, fol. 367.
1599/07/01	Mr John Skene, Clerk of Register, his spouse and his son, Alexander.	3000 merks (discharged)	NRS, RD 1/69, fol. 243.
1599/07/18	Jonet Finlayson & William Halyburton of Pitcur, her spouse.	4000 merks	NRS, RD 1/92/2, fol. 401r.

Date	Lender / creditor	Amount	Source
1599/11/01 (r)	Archibald Douglas of Whittinghame senator of the College of Justice.	10000 merks	NRS, RD 1/69, fol. 447r.
1599/11/08	William Turnbull of Pittencreiff. Wadset, lands in Crail.	10000 merks	NRS, RD 1/69, fol. 451v – 454v.
1600/05/20	Thomas Hamilton, son to the late Walter Hamilton, merchant burgess of Edinburgh.	4500 merks	NRS, RD 1/91, fol. 248v.
1601/03/14	Archibald Douglas of Whittinghame, Senator of the College of Justice.	1000 merks	NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 14v.
1601/06/11	Richard Dobie, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, and Richard's brother, Thomas.	5000 merks & 500 costs	NRS, RD 1/96, fol. 220v.
1602/03/09	Clement Cor, merchant burgess of Edinburgh, Robert Lumsden's father in law.	10000 debt met by Cor	NRS, RD 1/85, fol. 110v, 118, 124v.
1602/05/29	Margaret Boyll, relict to Alexander Clark of Balbirny.	4000 merks	NRS, RD 1/92/1, fol. 81.
1603/03/14	Laurence McGill.	300 merks	NRS, RD 1/79, fol. 154v.
1603/06/24	Mr Patrick Bannatyne, writer in Edinburgh.	800 merks. Discharge dated 6 days later.	NRS, RD 1/102, fol. 196v, 319.
1603/06/24	David Eyat, servitor to Edward Bruce, Commendator of Kinloss.	1000 merks	NRS, RD 1/142, fol. 319v
1604/12/16	David Balfour, miller.	2000 merks	NRS, RD 1/124, fol. 147.
1605/01/26	Thomas Wod in Crail.	2000 merks	NRS, RD 1/124, fol. 74.
1605/07/13	William Turnbull of Pittencreiff (Turnbull to pay Lumsden's debts of 18,500 money to diverse persons).	30000 merks (wodset)	NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 163–169.

(Table Continued)

Date	Lender / creditor	Amount	Source
1606/03/31 (r)	Josef Marjoribanks, merchant burgess of Edinburgh (his 3 daughters) and Michael Finlay m. B of E. (This included the relief of 12000 worth of Lumsden's debts).	32000 merks	NRS, RD 1/118, fol. 195v–200r.

C12 Some Debts Owed by the Anstruther Family, 1598–1609

Date (year/month/day)	Lender	Amount	Source
1598/10/14	William Rig, merchant burgess of Edinburgh.	£160	NRS, RD 1/138 (reg. 1 Dec 1607).
1599/07/06	James Anstruther of that ilk and Captain William Murray borrowed £700 from John Boig, indweller, Edinburgh.	£700	NRS, RD 11/Box 30, (reg. 4 February 1600). ¹³⁴
1600/09/28	John Boig.	£50	NRS, RD 1/77, fol. 62r.
1600/12/26	Andro Wemyss of Lymecairny, Senator of the College of Justice.	3000 merks (£2000)	NRS, RD 1/93, fol. 82v.
1605/02/12	Henry Nesbitt, merchant burgess of Edinburgh.	£1440	NRS, RD 1/124, fol. 118.

¹³⁴ I owe this reference to Mr John Ballantyne.

C13 Fish and the Economy of 'Cost syde' Towns of Fife, 1569–1599

*The custamars' accounts from the joint return of the towns of Crail, Anstruther and Pittenweem, 1569–1599 abstracted from the Exchequer Rolls.*¹³⁵

Year	Commodity	Tax raised on the commodity	Value of fish products as percentage of total return by the coast side towns
1569	112 lasts, 4 barrels herring 62,200 cod (peild fish)	£79. 8 s custom £124. 8 s	64% (of £260. 16 s.)
1570	109 lasts, 3 barrels herring 40,200 cod (peild fish)	£77. 11 s. custom £80. 8 s	92% (of £170. 7 s. 8d)
1572 (2yrs)	289 lasts, 11 barrels herring 80,100 cod (peild fish)	£197. 19 s custom £160. 4 s	88% (of £403. 9 s. 4d)
1574	220 lasts, 10 barrels herring 85,500 cod (peild fish)	£156. 10s custom £171. 10s	73% (of £444. 2 s.)
1575	307 lasts, 5 barrels herring 42,400 cod (peild fish)	£208. 9 s custom £84. 16 s	78% (of £401. 8 s. 4d)
	40 lasts 8 barrels packit fish	£24. 8 s	
1576	346 and a half lasts, herring 47,900 cod (peild fish)	£243. 18 custom £95. 16 s	90% (of £383. 19 s.)
	13 and a half lasts packit fish (cod)	£8. 2 s.	
1577	389 lasts, 9 barrels herring 42,300 cod (peild fish)	£269. 17 s custom £84. 12 s	84% (of £421. 16 s. 8d)
1578	200 lasts, 6 barrels herring 55,300 cod (peild fish)	£144. 6 s custom £110. 12 s	80% (of £314. 14 s. 6d)
1579	354 lasts 11 barrels herring 43,200 cod (pelitt fische)	£248. 19 s. custom £86.8 custom	85% (of £395. 18 s)
1580	233 lasts, 7 barrels herring 42,000 cod (peild fish) ¹³⁶	£164. 3 s custom £84	80% (of £307)

¹³⁵ *ER*, xx, 21, 66, 97, 147, 208, 248, 274, 294, 311. *ER*, xxi, 3, 157, 206–207. *ER*, xxii, 89, 168–169, 245, 335, 420. *ER*, xxiii, 88, 130, 188–189, 246, 334.

¹³⁶ Dundee, by way of comparison for the same year, 1580, had an entry for 900 cod, and Aberdeen had cod of the value of only £4. 12 s worth of taxation (6 lasts, 9 barrels), Edinburgh, 5660 cod & skate (taxation worth £11 6 s.), with comparable numbers for the

(Table Continued)

Year	Commodity	Tax raised on the commodity	Value of fish products as percentage of total return by the coast side towns
1581	102 lasts 6 barrels herring 30,500 cod (pelitt fische)	£61. 10s. custom £61	55% (of £222)
1582	219 lasts, 10 barrels herring 54,500 cod 11 lasts, 7 barrels packed keling	£143. 18 s £109 £6	72% of £340. 13 s
1590	407 lasts herring 26,500 cod	£292. 12 s £53	75% (of £458)
1591	92 lasts, 10 barrels herring 8,300 cod callit peillit fische	£55. 14 s. £16. 12d.	38% (of £189)
1592	40 lasts, 11 barrels herring 15,300 cod	£24. 11 s £30. 12	39% (of £140. 18 s)
1593	118 lasts, 2 barrels herring 9,500 'fish'	£70. 18 s £19	41% (of £216. 12 s)
1594	236 lasts, 4 barrels herring 11,500 salt fish	£165. 16 s £23	58% (of £321. 15 s. 4d)
1595	72 last, 4 barrels herring 15,500 salt fish	£43. 8 s £31	46% (of £160. 6 s. 4d.)
1596	100 lasts herring 30,300 salt fish	£72 £60. 13 s	49% (of £271. 8 s. 3d)
1597	78 lasts, 4 barrels herring 28,500 cod	£47 £57	52% (of £200. 5 s. 8d) ¹³⁷
1598	141 lasts herring 3500 salt fish	£96. 15 s £7	55% (of £188. 16 s. 10d)
1599	124 lasts 10 barrels herring 2000 salt fish	£75. 9 s £4	40% (of £195. 14 s. 6d)

herring catch. Despite the comparatively lower figures of the 1590s the group of three Fife coast side burghs, Crail, Anstruther and Pittenweem, were still clearly leaders in the Scottish fishing effort but were being caught up by Edinburgh, Kirkcaldy, Ayr, Aberdeen, Dysart, St Andrews.

- 137 The Fife group, the coast side burghs of Crail, Anstruther and Pittenweem were overtaken by Ayr (87 lasts), Dumbarton (501 lasts), Edinburgh (91 lasts 10 barrels) in terms of herring. The 1597 return, perhaps, reflects the migratory nature of herring, but the coast side burghs still led the others in terms of white fish.

D1 Gaelic Poem by Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh, c. 1636 × 1643

This poem, c. 1636–43, was composed by Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh or Alexander Mackenzie of Achilty, who was the first Mackenzie chamberlain of Lewis, c. 1611–c.1633. The poem was preserved in the late seventeenth century Lámh Sgrìobhainn Mhic Rath (the Fernaig Manuscript). The notes have been kept to a minimum here as this poem has been discussed at length (in Gaelic) elsewhere with full referencing.¹³⁸ An English translation has been supplied here.¹³⁹

Ann an Gàidhlig àbhaisteach

English translation.

*Roinn de rinneadh le Alasdair
M[a]c [Mh]urchaidh na sheann aois de
na ghnè cheunda*

*Verses made by Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh in his
old age in the latter manner.¹⁴⁰*

[Is] tùrsach dhuinne ri poirt
Chan iongadh mo dhos bhith liath
Thug mo chridhe troigh air ais
Mar Oisean dèidh nam Fiann
'S mi [an] dèidh Choinnich an àigh
Nach ceileadh air chàich an t-òr
Lámh a mhalairt na seud
Iomadh ceud dhan tugadh-se fòigh

1 With heavy heart we take to verse¹⁴¹
No wonder my locks have turned grey
My heart has taken a step back
Like Oisean after the Féinne¹⁴²
2 I follow after Coinneach of the joys
That wouldn't spare his gold with liberality
The hand that traded in treasures
Many hundreds benefitted from his generosity¹⁴³

138 This poem was discussed by W.J. Watson in an *Deò Grèine* (1918), by Somhairle Maclean (below) and more recently in A. MacCoinnich, 'Long, fion agus fine: Dàn le Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh, fear Aicheallaidh, c.1639×1643' in C. Ó Baoill & N.R. McGuire (eds.), *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* 6 (Obar Dheathain, 2013), 121–160.

139 A partial translation of this poem into English was made by the late Somhairle Maclean (1951–52) who concentrated on some of the biographical verses. This can be found in W. Gillies (ed.), *Ris a' Bhruthaich. The Criticism and prose writings of Sorley MacLean* (Acair, Stornoway, 1985), 191–204. Some slightly different choices have been made here but a debt is acknowledged to Maclean's translation.

140 Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh 'ic Alasdair 'ic Ruairidh or Alexander Mackenzie of Achilty (d. c. 1642).

141 The use of 'poirt' here is deliberately ambiguous and can be taken to mean either 'verse/song' or else 'harbour'.

142 Fenian tales were a staple of storytelling all over Gaelic Scotland (and Gaelic Ireland) until the twentieth century.

143 Coinneach Òg Mackenzie, first Lord Kintail (c. 1572–1611).

Ni air mhairinn Cailein Ùr	3	Not in life is young Cailean
B' ailleil a chliù is e òig		his reputation while still young was great
Ged a ghabh-se rinn fearg		Although he was stern with us
Ghiorraich e gu dearbh mo lò		He has really shortened my days ¹⁴⁴
Ni air mhairinn Ruairidh Mòr	4	Not in life is Ruairidh Mòr,
Bhrosnuiche bha trom dhuinn air thùs		An inciter who was hard in our first days
Ochoin! Nach maireann na suinn		Woe! That the heroes have passed
Choisinn le'n lainn dhuinn gach cùis		That won each dispute with their blades ¹⁴⁵
Ni air mhaireann Ruairidh Gheàrr	5	Not in life is Ruairidh Gheàrr
Do chumadh spàirn ris gach neach		Who would keep striving against all comers
Laoich nach gèilleadh ach san chòir		The hero that would only yield in law
B' èibhinn leis slòigh is creach		He enjoyed hosting and plunders ¹⁴⁶
Smuaineamaid air ceannard an tùir	6	Let us think of the head of the tower
Bhon d' fhuaras mùirn is mi òig		From whom I received kindness in my youth
B' èibhinn leis sheabhag is cù		He enjoyed falconry and hounds
B' anns' leis cliù na tòir		He loved the thrill of the pursuit ¹⁴⁷
Ni air mhaireann mac Ruairidh fhèil	7	Not in life is the son of generous Ruairidh
Neach nach d'fhuiling beum fo theud		One who suffered not from harpstring play ¹⁴⁸
No fear taigh Chillechrìosd		Or the goodman of Killichrist
Ailleil an dithis a chaidh eug		Precious those two that passed away ¹⁴⁹

144 Cailean Ruadh Mackenzie, Lord Kintail and first Earl of Seaforth (1597–1633), son and heir of Coinneach Òg Lord Kintail, created Earl of Seaforth, 1623 and died in May 1633. Perhaps in the sense here that by dying Cailean has shortened the life of the poet? Cailean's mother, Sine Ross, daughter of Balnagown, was also an aunt of the poet's wife. Such a kin linkage may have been helpful to Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty's own career and prospects.

145 This was probably Ruairidh Mòr Mackenzie of Ardaillie and Redcastle (c.1548–1614), uncle to Coinneach first Lord Kintail and who seems to have been the war leader of the clan in the conflicts against the Munros and the Macdonnells of Glengarry in the 1570s and 1580s and probably took a leading role in actions against Siol Torcaill. He was referred to as 'Rory More' in a Mackenzie family history. The sense here is that he was a hard taskmaster.

146 This individual was probably Ruairidh Mackenzie (c. 1576–1626), variously styled of Cultaleoid and Coigeach, brother to Coinneach, first Lord Kintail. He was the tutor or administrator of the Mackenzie of Kintail estate during the minority of his nephew, Cailean, Lord Kintail, between 1611 and 1617. Often referred to as the Tutor of Kintail.

147 The head of the tower was probably Alasdair Mackenzie of Fairburn (c.1550–1620). Alasdair succeeded his father Ruairidh about 1583 in his lands and tower of Fairburn and was succeeded in turn by his son, Iain around 1620.

148 There is uncertainty here in the source text. An alternative reading could be 'Neach nach do dh' fhuiling beum fo eud,' meaning, as Somhairle Maclean translated it, 'one who never suffered blow from envy.'

149 The two individuals identified here are probably Coinneach mac Ruairidh or Coinneach Mackenzie of Davochmaluak (c. 1568–1619) and Coinneach Mackenzie of Kilchrist (c.1560–c.1615).

Smuainim iar ogha Eachann fhèil	8	Think on the great-grandson of fine Eachann
Neach nach d' eur caraid mu nì		One who was never with a friend underhand
Luath leam de ghon a' bhàis		Keenly his death hurt me
An uair a dh'eug-se na thìr		When he died in his lands ¹⁵⁰
Mo chompan is mo charaid ghaoil	9	My companion and my beloved friend,
Neach nach cuireadh fa sgaoil rùin		One who wouldn't betray a trust
B' fheàrr leam do ghlè a mhac		I wish that the son will keep
Glaic fhuairreas e anns an dùin		The place he has got in the castle ¹⁵¹
Iomadh dhuine uasail an Ros	10	Many are the noblemen in Ross
Nach faod mi nis a chur sìos		That I can't now put down
Is caoidh leam do dhol eug		It hurts me that they have passed
Is mise nan deidhidh gun phrìs		And I follow them without value ¹⁵²
Ni air mhaireann fir Innse Gall	11	Not in life the men of the Hebrides
Mòr an call dhomh ri m' aois		Great the loss for me in my old age:
Ceannard an t-sluaigh Dòmhnall Gorm		Captain of the hosts, Dòmhnall Gorm
Is Ruairidh nan còrn is nam pìos.		And Ruairidh of drinking horns and goblets ¹⁵³

150 Another reading of the final word in this verse would be 'thùr' substituting 'tower' for 'land.' Either meaning might work. The individual referred to here is probably Alasdair Mackenzie of Gairloch (d. 1638). Alasdair was the great grandson of Eachann Ruadh (d. 1529), the first of Gairloch. The family built a tower house at Kinkell sometime between 1594 and 1614.

151 Maclean thought this verse alluded to the Gairloch family. However, an alternative suggestion can be made. The 'companach,' meaning companion or, perhaps, consort was, arguably the poet's own wife, probably named Christiane. She was a daughter of David Chalmers of Ormond and his spouse Christina Ross, a daughter of Alasdair Ross of Balnagowan. This marriage gave Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty a kin linkage to the Mackenzie clan hierarchy. Alasdair of Achilty's mother-in-law was an aunt of Cailean, Earl of Seaforth. The couples' son, Murchadh Mòr Mackenzie of Achilty, may be the person referred to in the latter half of the verse, with the poet fearing that he (i.e. their son Murchadh) would lose his position in the Seaforth regime.

152 Another poem, 'Rainn do rinneadh leis na shean aois,' from the Mackenzie lands dating from c. 1630 expresses this idea in an elegy as a means of praising the deceased: that the poet is distraught due to the passing of these great figures, Mackenzie chiefs in the case of this poem, and that the poet is joyless as a result of these deaths and that he will meet the deceased soon. See Donnchadh MacRaoiridh, 'Rainn do rinneadh leis na Sheann Aois,' in, Ó Baoill & Bateman, *Gàir nan Clàrsach*, 78–82.

153 Dòmhnall Gorm Mòr Macdonald, head of the Sleat kindred from c.1574–1616. Ruairidh Mòr Macleod of Dunvegan and Harris who died and is buried at the seat of the Mackenzies, the Chanonry of Ross in 1626.

Nì air mhaireann mac Mhic Leòid	12	Not in life is the son of MacLeod
An Talaisgeir bha ròid na clèir		To Talisker the poets beat a road
San t-Srath a bha fear pailt		And in the Strath there was a bounteous one
Ratharsar a bha [an] t-slait fhèil		In Raasay the standard of generosity ¹⁵⁴
Nì air mhaireann Eachann Òg	13	Not in life is Eachann Òg
Mac Ailein nan seòl is nam pìos		Clanranald of the silver cups and sails
No Raghnnall, fear Dhùin Bhuirbh		Or Raghnnall, the goodman of Dùn Borve
No Dòmhnall Gorm, tòir de phill		Or Dòmhnall Gorm who would repulse raids ¹⁵⁵
Iomadh caraid chaidh bhuaim	14	Many friends have passed from me
Bho faighinn-sa comfhurt' is lòn		With whom I used to feast in comfort
Ged thàrlaidh mi nochd gun chuirn		Although I would get invited to a party
Mo dheoch is e bhùrn ri òl		Tonight my drink will be water
Tha mi gun aighear, gun shunnd	15	I have no joy and no spring in my step
Mo làmh lom ri dol a chùirt		My hand going to court, empty
A mheud 's a chosg mise air chàich		Despite the amount I have spent on others
Gheibhinn na àite nochd bhùirt		My reward, tonight, will be mockery
Do bhi ag osnaich do mo dheòin	16	To be sighing at my fate
Gun chosnadh air muir no tìr		Without income at land or sea
Dhan a' chrann cha tugas fuinn		To the harp no tune was given ¹⁵⁶
B' annsa long agus fion		No ship and wine for me

- 154 Alasdair Macleod of Talisker (c.1570–1626) was a brother of Ruairidh Mòr and married, firstly, to Marsaili Mackenzie, the laird of Redcastle's sister. Alasdair of Talisker carried out his brother's work and played a key role in hunting down his former allies, fugitive members of Siol Torcaill hiding out in Harris and elsewhere after the Mackenzie conquest of Lewis, and co-operated closely with the Mackenzies. The lands of Talisker were given to his nephew, Ruairidh, a son of Ruairidh Mòr, after Alasdair's death. The others in this verse are probably Lachlann Mackinnon of Strath, head of his kindred, c.1581–c.1616, and, Gillecaluim Garbh mac Alasdair mhic Ghillechaluim or Malcolm MacLeod of Raasay, head of that kindred, 1596–c.1616. Gillecaluim of Raasay also has a poem attributed to him in the Fernaig Manuscript.
- 155 The four individuals named here are Eachann Òg (or Hector) Maclean of Duart (c.1583–1623), a nephew to Coinneach Mackenzie, Lord Kintail; Dòmhnall mac Ailein mhic Iain 'Mùidearteach' Macdonald, chief of Clanranald between c. 1593 and c. 1618; Raghnnall mac Ailein mhic Iain Mùideartaich or Ranald Macdonald (fl. c. 1570–1636) of Castle Borve in Benbecula a brother to the chief of Clanranald; and, possibly Sir Dòmhnall Gorm Òg, chief of the Macdonalds of Sleat, 1617–43.
- 156 'Crann' in the third line may be a play on mast/harp. 'Crann' has some ten definitions in Dwelly's Gaelic Dictionary and 'fonn' similarly, has some eight different meanings. An alternative reading and translation of this line could be 'to the plough, no soil was given' which would accord with the sense of the previous line. Given the phallic reference in verse 19 'crann' (mast) here may also have served as a double entendre. For another slightly later poem with 'crann' see W. Matheson (ed.), *An Clàrsair Dall. The Blind Harper*, 12–19.

Is minig do dh'òl mi sabhs	17	Often I drank the fish-broth
Dhan fhion as milse thig bhon Fhraing		Of the sweetest wine that comes from France
Bho sguir mi sgrìobhadh nan trosg		Since I stopped accounting the cod
Nochd chan fhiach mo dheoch plang		Tonight my drink is not worth a plack
Bithidh mi nis rè mo bheò	18	I will now, for the rest of my days
Aig Seòras Òig an ceann a' bhùird		Attend Seòras Òg's table ¹⁵⁷
Le clàrsach gun gabhainn dàin		With a clàrsach I will break into song
Òlaim gach tràth làn a' chùirn		Each time draining a full drinking-horn
Nuair a bha mo ghruaidh sa chùirt	19	When I showed my face at court
Nach faighinn mùirn bho na mnai		I would get no attention from the women
Do dhìth's nach eil mo ____ cruaidh		Because my ____ is not hard
Is e a gheibhinn fuath airson ghràidh		I now get coldness instead of love. ¹⁵⁸
Fòghlamair an leabhar bàin	20	We get our education from the pale book ¹⁵⁹
Anns an glèidheamar gach latha tuigs		From which we get fresh insights each day
Gach uair gum bitheamar ag osnaich		Each time that one sighs
Ochadoin is mi fo thùrs		woe is me! My burden is heavy
Tùrsach dhuinn, etc.		Sad we are etc.

157 Seòras Òg Mackenzie, Lord Kintail and second Earl of Seaforth. He inherited these titles following the death of his elder brother Cailean in May 1633 and died in exile in the Netherlands, 1651.

158 The manuscript source for this text, written by Donnchadh MacRath (c. 1688–93), also left a blank in the manuscript where one would expect 'bod' (meaning 'penis') to be written. Sexual impotence may, perhaps, have been a metaphor for political impotence in Britain at this time. It may be that this is what this line alludes to: that Alasdair had lost power and favour since the death of Cailean Earl of Seaforth and the accession of Seòras Mackenzie to the Earldom. Alternatively this may simply be a way of expressing regret at the onset of age. An Irish poet, Mícheál Coimín (1676–1760) also used such imagery. According to Brian Ó Dálaigh, 'one of Mícheál's later poems was composed with a male audience in mind. As he entered old age he lamented his sexual impotence and pined for his younger days...' B. Ó Dálaigh, 'Mícheál Coimín: Jacobite, Protestant and Gaelic poet, 1676–1760,' in, *Studia Hibernica*, 34 (2006–2007), 123–150, at, 132. J.C. Mueller, 'Fallen men: representations of male impotence in Britain,' in, *Studies in Eighteenth Century Culture*, 28 (1999), 85–102, at, 85–6; R. Weil, 'Sometimes a sceptre is only a sceptre. Pornography and politics in Restoration England,' in, L. Hunt (ed.), *The Invention of Pornography: obscenity and the origin of modernity, 1599–1800* (New York, 1996), 125–155, at, 143, 148.

159 The pale book is almost certainly the English Bible as there was no Scottish Gaelic Bible at this time. The Synod of Argyll tasked ministers with translating various parts of the Bible in the 1640s, 50s and 1660s, but it was not until 1767 that a Gaelic translation of the New Testament was published, with the Old Testament not making it into print until 1801. D.C. MacTavish (ed.), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll, 1639–1660* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1943–44), i, 127, 185, 193, 222–223; ii, 3, 15, 163, 211, 224. D.E. Meek, 'Bible, Gaelic Translations of,' in D.S. Thomson (ed.), *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland* (Gairm, Glasgow, 1994), 23–24.

D2 The Merchants and Fishers of Lewis 1632–34

The merchants and fishermen of Lewis and the duty they paid to the tacksman of the Bishop of the Isles, 1632–1634 (abstracted below in D3).¹⁶⁰

‘The fishers in the Isles. Names of intromettors vt fisheis in the Lewis.’

Alex[ande]r mc Androw sold sex last herring and five thowsand fischeiss for the said Alexr hes bot on[e] boit and ewerie yeir he will be iiii barrarl salmon.

The person ever authentick will be four barrall salmon.

Alex[ande]r Manson – 4 thousand fisheiss and 6 last of herring

Jhone Ghune payit for 8 last herring for 31 and 32 qr of 3 last for 31 years and 13 hundreth quhyt fisch q[uhai]rof 5 hundreth for 31 years

Wm Gardener payit 9 la[st] for 32 and the years pundage only for quhyte fiche.

Thomas Hamilton hes payit only for 5 last and half of herring, for 32 yeir qrof ther was cost fra Hucheon Patersone tua last and an last ____ chamberlane and ane last from Alex[ande]r McAndro Talye; 6 m[er]ks (?), and also payit for 3 herring and half qrof from person forsaid ane hundreth and 20 wth 8 scor is compted for the hundreth & therfor designed the 2 hundreth bought from Hucheon Patersone.

Payit be Murdo Mckenye for his father defaults, the 30 of March 1634, and hundreth punds for xi last and half herring and ix thousand 3 hundreth keiling and leng for 32 & 33 discharged but p[ro]du[c]it.¹⁶¹

Payit be John McKy on Ferso in Kaitnes for 12 last herring and 22 hundreth fische, Keling and Leing, being for 32 and 33 payed 14 dollors dishcharge but pudint.¹⁶² the said day.

The names of the fishers

Item, impremis, in the Bybell,¹⁶³ William Morray, skipper to ane boit: Alex[ande]r Mansons bot, and Robert Campbell pertinieris togidder & Johnne Baine, skipper to thair boit in the Baybell. Mair, the tenants have tua thair to wit Mc E[a]n[e] Nei[ls]on, skiper, and Ane Mak Carquhaker and the uther skeiper: this is the compt of the four boitts in the Baybell.

¹⁶⁰ This transcript is taken from NRS, GD 188/31/12/1. Thanks to Rosanagh Guthrie and Alexander Guthrie for permission to publish this document.

¹⁶¹ Producent? The *DSL* definition of this is ‘in ecclesiastical law, producent, that brings forward evidence.’ This ‘Murdo’ was Murchadh mac Alasdair ‘ic Mhurchaidh, younger of Achilty and son of Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty, the chamberlain of Lewis.

¹⁶² Producent.

¹⁶³ This is Pabail in the Point (An Rubha) district of east Lewis.

In the names of the fishereris in the Tempen Heid,¹⁶⁴ are Robert Innes[’s]: thair mesteris [are], Thomas Sinckler, skiper to ane boit, Hendrei Findlasone, W[illia]m Herwie & Johne Oire.

In the Loches¹⁶⁵ Thomas Candoch, skiper to ane boit & Hucheon McPatrick for his own pairt.

Item, in the Lubbores¹⁶⁶ be Johne Leslie wyffis tennentis ane boit.

The names of the fisheris in Syschalder,¹⁶⁷ [in] mak Carquher[’s boats], their mesteris to witt, Neill Mc Tormat, to ane boat and mc Wandan to uther, wtt ane bot at the Loches.

The names of the marchants and compt of the fisheris

Item imprimis, gotten fra the foir boitts in the Baybell,¹⁶⁸ xvi thowsand ling and Keilling, and skeit resawit be the young chamberlane and Johne Gowne.

John Gowne was 12 last of herring and the young chamberlane was sex last.

Robert Innes was xvii thowsand fisheiss with ane thowsand skeitt

Mak Curquher is xii thowsand fisheis and Robert Cambell foure thowsand fisheiss.

Thomas Hambeltonne hes cost – and – be his boit going to the sei fawe¹⁶⁹ thowsand fishess and ten last herring.

Ollifer Mowat hes tane out the Lewis this yeir and the last yeir sex last herring betuix the fisheiss that he hes in this toun – iiii thousand fisheiss.

The widow, Urquhell, Leslie[’s] Wyff sold vii last herring and threi thousand fisheis.

D3 Table – Fishermen & Merchants in Lewis, 1634

Information abstracted from D2, above. Dated shortly on or shortly after March 1634.

Name	Herring	Fish (ling & cod)	Skate
Urquhell Leslie	8 lasts	3000	
Oliver Mowatt	6 lasts	4000	
Mak Curquher (mac Fhearchair)		12000	

164 Rubha an Tiumpain, Point district.

165 Na Lochan. The Lochs area of south east Lewis.

166 Possibly ‘Liùrbost,’ a village and sea loch in south east Lewis.

167 Seisiadar, Point district.

168 Pabail, Point district.

169 Five.

(Table Continued)

Name	Herring	Fish (ling & cod)	Skate
Raibeart Campbell		4000	
Thomas Hamilton	10 lasts	5000	
Robert Innes		18000	1000
John Gowne [Iain Gunn]	12 last	800 ¹⁷⁰	
'Young chamberlane' (Murchadh Mackenzie of Achilty)	6 lasts		
William Gardener	9 last ¹⁷¹		
Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty	11 and a half lasts	9300	
Alexander Manson	6 lasts	4000	
Iain [John] Mackay of Thurso	12 lasts	2200	
Alexander mc Androw	6 lasts	5000	
The four boats of Bayble (Pabail)		16000 (incl. skate)	
Totals	86 and a half lasts (=1032 barrels)	84300	

SOURCE. NRS, GD 188/31/12/1

D4 **Some References to Lewis Trade in the Aberdeen Shore work
Accounts, 1623–37**

The references in the following table are from the published Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts (ASWA)¹⁷² unless stated otherwise. These entries either name individuals known to be active in Lewis or make reference in passing to Lewis or Isles fisheries.

Name	Date	Reference	Commodity
Robert Alchenor	1622 July	ASWA, 115.	Bark full of dry fische, estimat at 20 tuns.
Robert Innes	1623	ASWA, 122.	A barque load of fish: cod (keling) and ling; with four tun of beer from Lynn.

¹⁷⁰ Gunn had an additional 500 white fish the previous year, 1631 so this is not included in this list.
¹⁷¹ This for 1632 only.
¹⁷² L.B. Taylor (ed.), *Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts, 1596–1670* (Aberdeen, 1972).

Name	Date	Reference	Commodity
Robert Innes	1623	ASWA, 123.	Some salmon, Skate, and cod (keling) estimat to 10 twm.
Robert Innes	1623	ASWA, 124.	3 lasts salt transported in salmon barrels up to Caithness.
Robert Innes	1623–24, Jul	ASWA, 127.	3 tuns of wine up to Caithness, returning with cargo of keling and 5 chalders malt.
Raibeart Campbell	1623–24,	ASWA, 126.	500 deals from Letterewe.
Robert Innes	1624, Jul	ASWA, 127.	3 tuns of wine to Caithness, returning with a cargo of cod & 5 chalders of malt.
Robert Innes	1624, Nov	ASWA, 130.	3 lasts (of herring) from Caithness.
Robert Innes	1625	ASWA, 119	Some goods of James Smythe & Michale Anderson from Leith set at 6 tun.
David Crige	1625, Jan	ASWA, 130.	9 lasts from the Isles.
Robert Innes	1625, Oct	ASWA, 137.	16 tun dry fish.
Robert Innes	1625, Oct	ASWA, 137.	To the north 2 tuns of barrels.
Raibeart Campbell	1626	NRS, RD 1/398, fol. 393.	Campbell in Stornoway, witnessing a document.
Alexander Manson	1626	NRS, RD 1/398, fol. 393.	Manson in Stornoway, witnessing a document.
Anchorage fees	1630–31	ASWA, 178.	'5 barks from the Isles'
Iain Mackay	1633–34	ASWA, 189.	Paid anchorage.
Iain Mackay	1634–35	ASWA, 199.	Paid anchorage.
Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty	1634–5	ASWA, 193.	Impost of 20 last of herring brought by Alexander Mackenzie from Lewis.
Iain Mackay	1634–5	ASWA, 193.	Impost of 6 last of herring brought from Lewis by Iain [John] Mackay.
Iain Mackay	1634–35	ASWA, 226.	Paid fine, 1634–5.
Iain Mackay	1635–6	ASWA, 205.	Brought 7 lasts of goods from Leith.
Iain Mackay	1636–7	ASWA, 217.	Paid anchorage, 1634–5.
David Young	1636–7	ASWA, 213.	For salt outportit, Aberdeen to Lewis, in Peter Moir, his bark.
David Young	1636–7	ASWA, 214.	David Young for 10 last of herring.

(Table Continued)

Name	Date	Reference	Commodity
Iain Mackay	1638–9	ASWA, 232.	Goods from Leith.
	1638–9	ASWA, 235.	For the fish out of the Lewis.
	1638–9	ASWA, 235.	‘Ane bark’ out of Lewis with fish.

D5 Land and People in Lewis, 1610–1718

The earliest list of names which has been published are in rental lists from 1718 & 1726.¹⁷³ A separate but related manuscript copy of this 1718 rental has been used for the list that follows.¹⁷⁴ No earlier, full, lists of tenants have been found, as yet, for the first 110 years of the Mackenzie plantation, although these undoubtedly existed.¹⁷⁵ In many cases this rental of 1718 is the earliest surviving record of people in these places. The following list uses the 1718 rental as a framework and augments it by incorporating as many early sources as possible to try and build a fuller picture of those who occupied the land in the century following the advent of the Mackenzies. The table shows references to individuals from the first century of plantation where they are associated with various units of land in Lewis either as tacksmen, tenants, indwellers or witnesses in some cases. All the settlements in Lewis (from this period) were coastal. The arrangement of the place-names starts with Àranais just south of Stornoway and follows the coastal settlements round the island in a clockwise fashion, finishing back at Stornoway. Some of these names were in phonetically written Gaelic patronymics that have been re-Gaelicised here. Surnames appearing in the original documents have been left in their English dress, but forenames have been rendered in Gaelic (including patronymic names).

173 *Report. Secretary for Scotland, by the Crofters Commission on the social condition of the people of Lewis in 1901, as compared with twenty years ago* (HMSO, Glasgow, 1902), 46–53. The later rental from 1726, not used here, is printed in *Highland Papers*, ii, 312–323.

174 The copy of the judicial rental used here is one which was made c. 1718, and held by Glasgow University Archive (GUA 300). This is almost identical to what seems to be another copy of this same rental published as an appendix to in the official report of 1902 (see preceding note) taken from a related manuscript in the Register House, Edinburgh. Extracts from this manuscript (GUAS, GUA 300) relating to Northern Lewis have been published in M. Robson (ed.), *People of Ness: Galson to Eoropie, some earlier records* (Callicvol, 2008).

175 Such lists, at least of the principal tenants, almost certainly existed during the seven-teenth century and some may yet come to light.

i. South east Lewis, Àrnais to Loch Stophoirt

Placename	Date	Individual	Reference
Àrnais	1655/05/02	Murchadh mac Dhòmhnail, Murdow McConnell in Arranes; probably a patronymic form for Murchadh Matheson.	NRS, SC 34/19/1/1, fol. 94r.
Àrnais	1662/10/02	Matheson, Murchadh, tacksman.	AUL, MS 2022/6. Matheson, 'Genealogies of the Mathesons,' <i>TCSt</i> , 47 (1971-72), 185-6, 201-2. Matheson, 'Genealogies of the Mathesons,' <i>TCSt</i> , 47 (1971-72), 189.
Àrnais	1686-c.1705	Matheson, Iain, tacksman, son of Murchadh.	GUAS, GUA 300. (15). Matheson, 'Genealogies of the Mathesons,' <i>TCSt</i> , 47 (1971-72), 190.
Àrnais	1718	Morrison, Seònaid. Widow of Iain.	NRS, GD 124/8234/4.
Liùrbost	1687	Mackenzie, Alasdair.	GUAS, GUA 300 (2).
Liùrbost	1718	Mackenzie, Iain.	<i>RPCS</i> , 634-5. <i>Highland Papers</i> , ii, 56.
Rànais	1616	Mackenzie, Iain, tacksman, and his wife Iseabail Mackenzie.	NRS, RS 37/6, fol. 476.
Rànais & islands, Loch Eireasort	1640/04/15	Bayne, Dòmhnall, Chamberlain of Lewis.	
Rànais & islands, Loch Eireasort	1640/04/15	Rànais men named as witnesses to Bayne's sasine: Iain mac Iain mhic Uilleam, Murchadh mac Gillechaluim Bhàin. Iain mac Mhurchaidh mhic Uilleim. Dòmhnall mac Dhòmhnail mhic Mhurchaidh.	NRS, RS 37/6, fol. 476.

(Table Continued)

Placename	Date	Individual	Reference
Rànais & islands	1696/o8/o6	Bayne, Iain, tacksman of Gress.	NRS, RS 38/6, fol. 73.
Rànais	1718	Matheson, Alasdair.	GUAS, GUA 300 (16).
Rànais	1718	Matheson, Dòmhnall.	GUAS, GUA 300 (1). Matheson, 'Genealogies of the Mathesons,' 188.
Ceòs	1718	Maciver, Coinneach.	GUAS, GUA 300 (17).
Eilean Chaluim Chille, Loch Eireasort	1631/o1/	Mackenzie, Iain; John Mackenzie of Icolmekill, tacksman.	NLS, Adv. MS, 31.3.10, fol. 9r.
Eilean Chaluim Chille, Loch Eireasort	1670/o8/28	Mackenzie, Murchadh Mòr, of Achilty, and two of his sons, Alasdair and Iain.	NRS, SC 34/19/1/1, fol. 195.
Eilean Chaluim Chille	1718	Mackenzie, Alasdair.	GUAS, GUA 300 (21).
Pàirc	1655/o5/o2	Mackenzie, Iain (brother of Achilty).	NRS, SC 34/19/1/1, fol. 94r-94v.
Baile Ailein	1718	Mackenzie, Iain & Alasdair Mackenzie.	GUAS, GUA 300 (4).
Baile Ailein	1718	Mackenzie, Iain (for his mother).	GUAS, GUA 300 (19).
Lacasaidh	1718	Mackenzie, Murchadh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (3).
Bhàltos (na Loch)	1718	Mackenzie, Eachann.	GUAS, GUA 300 (18).
Siophort	1718	Mackenzie, Dòmhnall.	GUAS, GUA 300 (20).

Eileanan Sianta (Shiant Isles)	1704-05	Mackenzie, Coinneach, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16. NLS, Acc 9711/Box 7/ 2/12-15.
Eileanan Sianta (Shiants)	1718	MacAulay, Mgr Sgàire, for Coinneach Mackenzie.	GUAS, GUA 300 (6).
ii. South west Lewis: Ùig to Càrlabhagh & Dail Beag			
Brèinis	c.1610-c1625	Macaulay, Dòmhnall Cam (?).	<i>FES</i> , vii, 166, 189. Thomas, 'Traditions of the Macaulays of Lewis,' <i>FSAS</i> , 14 (1879-80), 363-431, at 413-414.
Brèinis	c.1630-1645	Macaulay, Aonghas (?).	<i>FES</i> , vii, 166. Thomas, 'Traditions of the MacAulays,' 415-417.
Brèinis	fl. 1673	Macaulay, Dùbghall (?).	<i>FES</i> , vii, 189. Thomas, 'Traditions of the MacAulays.'
Brèinis	1718	Macaulay, Dòmhnall.	GUAS, GUA 300 (7).
Brèinis	1718	Macaulay, Iain.	GUAS, GUA 300 (22).
Islibhig	c.1630-1646	Macaulay, Uilleam (?).	Thomas, 'Traditions of the Macaulays,' 416.
Cairinis	1718	Macaulay, Calum.	GUAS, GUA 300 (8).
Ùig	1605/10/08	Macaulays of Ùig: Alasdair, Dòmhnall, Dòmhnall Òg, Aonghas Mòr, Aonghas Òg, Iain Òg, Somhairle, Dòmhnall Mòr.	NRS, RD 1/119, fol. 13v-14r.
Baile na Cille	1654/12/07	Mackenzie, Murchadh.	NRS, SC 34/19/1/1, fol. 154.
Baile na Cille	1718	Mackenzie, Alasdair.	GUAS, GUA 300 (24).
Baile na Cille	1718	Mackenzie, Seòras.	GUAS, GUA 300 (25).
Crabhlasta	1718	Smith, Calum.	GUAS, GUA 300 (9).

(Table Continued)

Placename	Date	Individual	Reference
Cliof ('Cluiff')	1637	Mackenzie, Alasdair (son in law of Murchadh Mackenzie of Mealbost).	NRS, DI 64/2, fol. 193v-195v.
Knip	c.1646	Macaulay, Iain (?).	Thomas, 'Traditions of the Macaulays,' 416-7.
Knip	1718	MacLennan, Ruairidh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (11).
Bhaltos / Valtos	c. 1645-89 ?	Macaulay, Murchadh mac Aonghais mhic Dhòmhnaill Càim, tacksman.	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 204. Thomas, 'Traditions of the Macaulays,' 421.
Bhaltos	1704-05	Mackenzie, Ruairidh, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Bhaltos (Ùig)	1718	Macaulay, Dòmhnall.	GUAS, GUA 300 (10).
A' Bheirigh ('Beiribh')	1718	Macaulay, Murchadh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (27).
Ùig /	1609-12	Macaulay (?) 'Gillecallum mc Allester Coule' & 'Gillecalluim McConneill.'	Pitcaim, <i>Trials</i> , i, 246.
Beàrnaraigh/ Càrlabhagh?			
Ùig (?)	1658	Macaulay (?), Murchadh mac Aonghas mhic Dhòmhnaill & Dòmhall mac Aonghas mhic Dhòmhnaill.	<i>Dunvegan Book</i> , i, 113.
Ùig (?)	1718	Macaulay, Amhlaidh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (23).
Ùig (?)	1718	Macaulay, Mr Sgàire.	GUAS, GUA 300 (28).
Lèinsiadar	1718	Macaulay, Dòmhnall & 'Widow Macaulay.'	GUAS, GUA 300 (30).
Tàcleit	1718	MacLennan, Murchadh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (12).
Tàcleit	1718	MacLeod, Iain.	GUAS, GUA 300 (12).

Bosta	1704-05	MacIennan, Alasdair (mac Iain mhic Ruairidh Chleirich), tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16. Robson, <i>Cornelius Con</i> , 13.
Bosta	1718	Mackenzie, Ruairidh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (14).
Bosta	1718	Macaulay, Dòmhnall.	GUAS, GUA 300 (29).
Pabaigh	1718	Macaulay, Aonghas.	GUAS, GUA 300 (26).
Beàrnaraigh	c.1690-99 - 1718	MacIennan, Alasdair, a son of Iain mac Ruairidh Chleirich.	Robson, <i>Cornelius Con</i> , 13. Matheson, 'Genealogies of the Mathesons,' 186. GUAS, GUA 300 (31).
Bheag			Thomas, 'Traditions of the Macaulays,' 416.
Circeabost	fl. 1646 (?)	Macleod, Aonghas	GUAS, GUA 300 (13).
Circeabost	1718	Macaulay, Iain.	GUAS, GUA 300 (32).
Calanais & 'The river of Ranolds fishing'	1718	Maciver, (?)	
Breascleit	1718	Macaulay, Dòmhnall.	GUAS, GUA 300 (47).
Breascleit	1718	Mackenzie, Coinneach.	GUAS, GUA 300 (48).
Càrlabhagh	1673/06/08 - 1694	Maciver, Donnchadh (Donnchadh mac Iain 'ic Dhòmhnall 'ic Ìomhair).	NRS, RS 38/4, fol. 228. NLS, MS 1314, fo.11.
Borghasdan	1704-05	Maciver, Iain, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Càrlabhagh (Uarach)	1704-05	Maciver, Coinneach (mac Dhonnchaidh) - also the lands of 'Brow,' tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Càrlabhagh	1718	Maciver, Mr Coinneach.	GUAS, GUA 300 (34).
Uarach			
Giribhig	1718	Maciver, Dòmhnall.	GUAS, GUA 300 (49).
Dail Mòr	1718	Mackenzie, Coinneach.	GUAS, GUA 300 (35).
Dail Beag	1718	Mackenzie, Uilleam.	GUAS, GUA 300 (50).

(Table Continued)

Placename	Date	Individual	Reference
iii. North west Lewis: Siabost to Eòropaidh & North Rona			
Siabost	1623–1626	Mackenzie, Murchadh, tacksman.	NRS, DI 62/7, fol. 114v. <i>RPCS</i> (2nd ser.) i, 403–405, 450.
Siabost	1718	Niall mac Iain. Iain mac Mhurchaidh. Iain mac Uilleim. Macaulay, Calum. Donnchadh mac Gillephàdruig. Tormod mac Iain. Iain mac Mhurchaidh.	GUAAS, GUA 300 (67).
Siabost	1718	Iain mac Dhòmhnaill. Aonghas mac Gillechaluim. Murchadh mac GillePhàdruig.	GUAAS, GUA 300 (68).
Siabost	1718	Iain mac Gillechaluim. Dòmhnall mac Gillechaluim. Murchadh mac Mhurchaidh. Dòmhnall mac Gillechaluim.	GUAAS, GUA 300 (69).
Siabost	1718	Gillechaluim. Gillemìcheal mac Dhòmhnaill. (Murchadh mac Gillephàdruig for him). Gillephàdruig mac Fhionnlaigh. Dòmhnall mac Uistein.	GUAAS, GUA 300 (70).
Siabost	1718	Iain mac Gillephàdruig.	GUAAS, GUA 300 (76).
Siabost	1718	Tormod Bàn. Iain mac Fhionnlaigh. Murchadh mac Fhionnlaigh. Dòmhnall mac Gillechaluim. Fionnlagh Bàn.	GUAAS, GUA 300 (77).

Siabost	1718	Ruairidh mac Gillechaluim. Iain mac Choinnich. Murchadh mac Gillechaluim. Iain mac Dhòmhnaill. Dòmhnall mac Gillechaluim. Gillephàdrig mac Dhòmhnaill. Murchadh mac Gillechrìost. Murchadh mac Gormuil (for his mother). Iain mac Choinnich. Ùisdean mac Iain. Gillechaluim mac Fhionnlaigh. Murchadh mac Dhòmhnaill. Dòmhnall Òig. Anna nighean Mhurchaidh. Morrison, Iain (mac Mhurchaidh 'ic Ailein), tacksman. Morrison, Iain, tacksman. Macaulay, Iain. Macaulay, Calum. Dòmhnall mac Iain 'Oylich.' Iain mac Iain. Aonghas mac Iain. Tormod mac Nèill. Tormod mac Iain. Dòmhnall mac Dhòmhnaill. Iain mac Dhòmhnaill. Iain mac Uilleim. Morrison, Murchadh, tacksman.	GUAS, GUA 300 (78). GUAS, GUA 300 (79). GUAS, GUA 300 (80). Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 207–09, 239, 240, 243. NRS, CC 12/3/2/15–16. GUAS, GUA 300 (36). GUAS, GUA 300 (51). GUAS, GUA 300 (71). GUAS, GUA 300 (72). GUAS, GUA 300 (81). NRS, CC 12/3/2/15–16.
Siabost	1718		
Siabost	1718		
Siabost	1718		
Siabost	1718		
Bragair	c.1660–1708		
Bragar	1704–05		
Bràgair	1718		
Bràgar	1718		
Àrnoil	1718		
Àrnoil	1718		
Àrnoil	1718		
Abhainn Àrnoil (water of Arnol)	1704–05		
Ceann fo Thuath (Àrnoil)	1704–05		

(Table Continued)

Placename	Date	Individual	Reference
Barabhas (?)	c. 1611–42	Morrison, 'Mr Murdoch mc Hucheon, minister at Lews.'	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 187.
Barabhas (?)	1642	Morrison, Mr Dòmhnall, minister (also Tabost & Steòrnabhagh at times, 1642–95).	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 187, 245.
Barabhas-Uarach	1673/06/08 – 1704–05	Maciver, Alasdair, tacksman.	NRS, RS 38/4, fol. 228. NRS, CC 12/3/2/15–16. ICA, Bundle 60.
Barabhas	1718	Maciver, Dòmhnall.	GUAS, GUA 300 (52).
Barabhas Iarach	1718	Bain, Iain. Aonghas mac Aonghais. Iain Murray. Iain 'MacLeigich.' Iain mac Mhurchaidh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (73).
Barabhas Iarach	1718	Dòmhnall mac Fhearchair. Uilleam Morrison. Pàdruig Murray. Ruairidh Morrison. Dòmhnall mac 'Leigich.'	GUAS, GUA 300 (82).
Barabhas Iarach	1718	Bain, Iain.	GUAS, GUA 300 (91).
Barabhas Iarach	1718	Alasdair mac Iain mhic Aonghais. Dùghall mac Iain Bhàin.	GUAS, GUA 300 (92).
Barabhas Iarach	1718	Iain mac Dhòmhnall. Aonghas mac Dhòmhnall. Iain mac Aonghais. Ruairidh mac Mhurchaidh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (106).
Barabhas Iarach	1718	Murchadh mac Iain. Iain mac 'Coilishen.' Calum Òig.	GUAS, GUA 300 (107).
Siadar	1631	Mackenzie, Murchadh.	<i>SHS, Misc XIII</i> , 242.
Siadar	1655/05/02	Mackenzie, Iain.	NRS, SC 34/19/1/1, fol. 94r–94v.
Siadar	1704–05	Mackenzie, Alasdair, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15–16.
Siadar	1718	Mackenzie, Seòras.	GUAS, GUA 300 (61).

Siadair Iarach	1718	Iain Òig. Tormod mac Dhòmhnaill. Tormod mac Mhurchaidh. Alasdair mac Iain. Calum mac Iain.	GUAS, GUA 300 (84).
Siadar Iarach	1718	Murchadh mac Gillichaluim. Iain Mòr. Dhòmhnaill Òig. Pàdruig Gobha. Iain mac Aonghais.	GUAS, GUA 300 (74).
Siadar Iarach	1718	Calum mac Alasdair. Iain mac a' Bhreabadair. Dhòmhnaill mac Aonghais. Aonghas mac Dhòmhnaill Òig.	GUAS, GUA 300 (83).
Siadar Iarach	1718	Iain Òig & Tormod mac Dhòmhnaill for Dhòmhnaill mac Iain, for Dhòmhnaill mac Iain mhic Dhòmhnaill & for Murchadh mac Aonghais.	GUAS, GUA 300 (85).
Siadar Uarach	1718	Domhnall 'Smith alias gow'.	GUAS, GUA 300 (86).
Siadar Uarach	1718	Aonghas mac Uilleim. Pàdruig mac Eachainn. Iain mac Aonghais. Calum mac Thormoid.	GUAS, GUA 300 (100).
Siadar Uarach	1718	Dhòmhnaill MacLeòid. Calum MacLeòid. Iain Bain. Cairistiona nighean Aonghais. Seònaid nic Dhòmhnaill. Dhòmhnaill mac Iain. Uilleam mac Neill. Aonghas Òig.	GUAS, GUA 300 (101).
Borgh	1718	Dhòmhnaill mac Gillemhicheil. Uilleam mac Thòmais. Calum mac Dhòmhnaill Òig. Iain mac Dhòmhnaill.	GUAS, GUA 300 (87).
Borgh	1718	Dhòmhnaill mac Dhòmhnaill Òig. 'Kenneth Lovely' (sic). Dhòmhnaill mac Gillechriost.	GUAS, GUA 300 (88).
Borgh	1718	Donnchadh mac Gillechriost mhic Dhòmhnaill mhic Thormoid.	GUAS, GUA 300 (89).
Borgh	1718	Dhòmhnaill a' Cheàird ('caird').	GUAS, GUA 300 (90).

(Table Continued)

Placename	Date	Individual	Reference
Borgh	1718	Aonghas mac Gillemhicheil. Aonghas mac Nèill. Iain mac Ailein.	GUAS, GUA 300 (102).
Borgh	1718	Iain mac Thornoid mhic Choinnich.	GUAS, GUA 300 (103).
Borgh	1718	Iain mac Dhòmhnaill. Calum mac Iain Òig. 'Evan' (Eòghann?) mac Aonghais mhic Fhionnlaigh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (104).
Borgh	1718	Maciver, Dòmhnall.	GUAS, GUA 300 (37).
Borgh	1718	Morrison, Murchadh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (38).
Borgh	1712/01/—	Morrison, Murchadh.	AUL, MS 2787/3/3/7/5.
Mealbost-Bhuirgh	c. 1620 (?) – 1663	Morrison, Aonghas Bàn mac Mhurchaidh 'ic Iain 'ic Ùisdein (tacksman?).	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 239.
Mealbost-Bhuirgh	1663/01/19	Morrison, Catrein Moresoune relict of Aonghas Ban & sister to Iain Morrison, tacksman of Bragar.	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 239.
Mealbost-Bhuirgh	1663 – c. 1700 (?)	Morrison, Ruairidh (mac Aonghas Bàn 'ic Mh'rchaidh 'ic Iain 'ic Ùisdein),	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 239.
'Ulpost' / Mealbost-Bhuirgh (?)	1704-05	Morrison, Murchadh, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Gabh sunn	1691/07/01	Morrison, Murchadh.	NRS, SC 34/19/1/2, fol. 169v.
Gabh sunn	1718	Morrison, Ìomhair.	GUAS, GUA 300 (105).
Gabh sann a Deas	1704-05	Matheson, Ruairidh, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.

Gabhunn a	1704–1729	Matheson, Ruairidh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (39). Matheson, 'Genealogies of the Mathesons' 187–8.
Deas			
Gabhunn a	1718	Morrison, Alasdair.	GUAS, GUA 300 (54).
Deas			
Gabhunn a	1718	Gillecaluim mac Iain Bhàin.	GUAS, GUA 300 (175).
Tuath			
Gabhunn a	1718	Alasdair mac Anndrais. Murchadh mac Iain mhic Nèill. Iain 'Kaird' (a' cheàird). Alasdair mac Mhurchaidh. Iain mac Thorcaill. Iain mac Iain. Dòmhnall Bain.	GUAS, GUA 300 (176).
Gabhunn a	1718	Gillecaluim mac Dhòmhnaill. Aonghas mac Iain. Ruairidh Bàn. Dòmhnall mac Nèill.	GUAS, GUA 300 (193).
Tuath			
Gabhunn a	1718	Aonghas mac Aonghais mhic Iain. Aonghas Bain. Alasdair mac Iain. Iain mac Thormoid.	GUAS, GUA 300 (194).
Tuath			
Gabhunn a	1718	Murchadh mac Dhòmhnaill mhic Dhòmhnaill Bhàin. Murchadh mac Phìobaire. Aonghas mac Dhòmhnaill Bhàin. Tormod mac Mhurchaidh. Aonghas mac Thormoid.	GUAS, GUA 300 (195).
Gabhunn a	1718	Murchadh mac Dhòmhnaill Bhàin for Iain Riabhach.	GUAS, GUA 300 (177).
Tuath			
Dail bho Dheas	1704–1718	Morrison, Iain, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15–16. GUAS, GUA 300. (40).
Dail bho Dheas	1718	Morrison, Ailean.	AUL, MS 2787/3/3/7/5.
Dail bho Thuath	1704–05	Macaulay, Iain, tacksman.	GUAS, GUA 300. (55)
Dail bho Thuath	1704–05	Mackenzie, Donnchadh, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15–16.
			NRS, CC 12/3/2/15–16.

(Table Continued)

Placename	Date	Individual	Reference
Dail bho Thuath	1704-05	Uilleam mac Dhòmhnaill Òig, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Dail bho Thuath	1712/01/_	Morrison, Murchadh, tacksman.	AUL, MS 2787/3/3/7/5.
Dail bho Thuath	1718	Morrison, Iain.	GUAS, GUA 300 (41).
Dail bho Thuath	1718	Màiri nighean Iain Riabhaich.	GUAS, GUA 300 (207).
Cros	1704-05	Morrison, Uilleam, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Cros	1704-05	Morrison, Murchadh, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Cros	1718	Morrison, Dòmhnall.	GUAS, GUA 300 (174).
Cros	1718	Morrison, Coinneach, for Ruairidh, his father.	GUAS, GUA 300 (191).
Suaineabost	1718	Murray, Niall. Murchadh mac Iain 'Ighir' (Uidhir?).	GUAS, GUA 300 (196).
Suaineabost	1718	Dòmhnall mac Aonghais mhic Iain. Dòmhnall mac Dhòmhnaill Ruaidh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (197).
Tàbost	1643 (?) - c.1698	Morrison, Mr Dòmhnall (also minister for a time at Stornoway).	AUL, MS 2787/3/3/7/4. Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 245-6. <i>FES</i> , x, 376.
Tàbost	1698-1723	Morrison, Mr Ailean, minister & tacksman. Survived by his wife, Margaret 'McLeod.'	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16. AUL, MS 2787/3/3/7/4. Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 246. ICA, Bundle 592.
Tàbost	1718	Mackenzie, Alasdair.	GUAS, GUA 300 (5).
Tàbost	1718	Mr Ìomhair Morrison, for his father (Mr Ailean Morrison).	GUAS, GUA 300 (192).
Lionail	1704-05	Ross, Mr Uilleam, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Lionail	1712/01/_	Ross, Dòmhnall.	AUL, MS 2787/3/3/7/5.
Lionail	1718	Uilleam Ros. Iain Matheson.	GUAS, GUA 300 (190).

Eòropaidh	1695–1705	Morrison, Mr Ailean, minister at Ness & tacksman.	AUL, MS 2787/3/3/7/1. NRS, CC 12/3/2/15–16.
Eòrapaidh	1718	Iain mac Dhòmhnaill mhic Choinnich. Fionnlagh mac Aonghais Bhàin.	GUAS, GUA 300. (198).
Eòropaidh	1718	Iain mac Dhòmhnaill mhic Fhionnlaigh. Murchadh 'Mac Kiggan.' Tormod mac Iain mhic Mhurchaidh. Iain mac Aonghais mhic Nèill. Dòmhnall mac Iain mhic Fhionnlaigh. Iain mac Mhurchaidh mhic Iain 'Ighir.' Aonghas mac Dhòmhnaill Mhòir. Ùisdean mac Uilleam mhic Nèill.	GUAS, GUA 300 (199).
Eòropaidh	1718	Iain mac Gillechriost. Dòmhnall mac Iain.	GUAS, GUA 300 (200).
Eòropaidh	1718	Morrison, Uilleam.	GUAS, GUA 300 (201).
Eòropaidh	1718	Dòmhnall mac Phàil. Iain mac Dhòmhnaill. Alasdair Tàilleir. Uilleam mac Aonghais. Iain mac Aonghais. Màiri nighean Dhòmhnaill mhic Fhionnlaigh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (209).
'Garnes' ('Gearranan'?)	1704–05	Morrison, Coinneach, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15–16.
Na Còig	1718	Aonghas mac Iain 'eir.' Dòmhnall mac Iain mhic Aonghais mhic Dhòmhnaill. Niall mac Mhurchaidh Bhàin. Fionnlagh Mòr. Aonghas mac Dhòmhnaill.	GUAS, GUA 300 (202).
Peighinnean		Alasdair mac Dhòmhnaill mhic Thormoid. Dòmhnall mac Aonghais Bhàin. Iain mac Iain.	
Na Còig	1718	Iain mac Aonghais Mhòir. Gilleanuim mac Iain Bhàin. Flòraidh nighean Iain mhic 'Illechriost.	GUAS, GUA 300 (203).
Peighinnean		Aonghas mac Gilleriabhaich. Dòmhnall mac Dhòmhnaill Bhig ('Vigh'). Cairistiona nighean Thormoid.	

(Table Continued)

Placename	Date	Individual	Reference
Na Còig Peighinnean	1718	Murchadh Ruadh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (210).
Na Còig Peighinnean	1718	Iain mac Mhurchaidh Ruaidh. Ùisdean Ross. Coineach mac Iain Bhàin. Murchadh mac Dhòmhnaill mhic Thormoid. Iain mac Iain Òig. Dòmhnaill mac Mhurchaidh Bhàin.	GUAS, GUA 300 (211).
Eilean Rònaidh (North Rona)	1704-05	Morrison, Mr Ailean, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
iv. East Lewis: from Tolastadh to Pabail			
Tolastadh	1655/05/02	Maciver, Iain.	NRS, SC 34/19/1/1, fol. 94r-94v.
Tolastadh	1673/07/22	Maciver, Donnchadh, servitor to Iain Maciver, tacksman of Tolastadh.	NRS, RS 38/4, fol. 223-4.
Tolastadh	1685/09/03	Maciver, Iomhar, son of Iain Maciver & Anna Mackenzie.	NRS, RS 38/5, fol. 327.
Tolastadh (?)	1718	Maciver, Iain for Mr Iomhar Maciver his father.	GUAS, GUA 300 (33).
Tolastadh	1712/01/—	Maciver, Alasdair, tacksman.	AUL, MS 2787/3/3/7/5.
Tolastadh	1676	Morrison, Ailean.	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 240.
Tolastadh	1704-05	Morrison, Dòmhnaill, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Tolastadh	1704-05	Maciver, Alasdair, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Tolastadh a Tuath	1718	Maciver, Alasdair & Ruairidh Maciver.	GUAS, GUA 300 (56).

Griais	1631/01/20	Mackenzie, Ruairidh, 'of Grace.'	NLS, Adv. MS 31.3.10, fol. 9r.
Griais	1673/07/22	Bayne, Iain (also 1696), Iseabail Mackenzie & Seòras Bayne, their son.	NRS, RS 38/4, fol. 223. NRS, RS 38/6, fol. 73. MacGill, <i>Old Ross-shire</i> , i, no. 866, p. 340.
Griais	1673/07/22	Macleod, Iain (witness for Bayne).	NRS, RS 38/4, fol. 223-4.
Griais	1704-05	Maciver, Donnchadh, tacksman (with Alasdair for their father's tack).	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Griais	1718	Maciver, Alasdair.	GUAS, GUA 300 (42).
Griais	1718	Mackenzie, Ruairidh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (57).
Am Bac	1704-05	Mackenzie, Mr Cailean, Notary Public, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Am Bac	1718	Maclean, Niall. Alasdair MacSween. Iain MacSween. Dòmhnall Baine.	GUAS, GUA 300 (93).
Am Bac	1718	Aonghas mac Gillechaluim. Iain mac Ruairidh mhic Iain. Maoldomhnaich a' Cheàird ('caird'). Iain mac Iain. Seumas mac Iain Bhàin. Dòmhnall mac Alasdair.	GUAS, GUA 300 (94).
Am Bac	1718	Niall Maclean for Dòmhnall Graham & Anna nighean Alasdair mhic Nèill.	GUAS, GUA 300 (95).
Am Bac	1718	Mackenzie, Ruairidh. Dòmhnall mac Dhòmhnaill mhic Nèill mhic 'En Gagard.' Dòmhnall Macleod.	GUAS, GUA 300 (108).
Am Bac	1718	Graham, Pàdruig. Fionnlagh Graham (his brother).	GUAS, GUA 300 (109).
Bhataisgeir	1704-05	Fraser, Dòmhnall, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Bhataisgeir	1718	Fraser, Coinnneach.	GUAS, GUA 300 (43).
Cola	1626/05/20	Mackenzie, Murchadh.	NRS, RD 1/391, fol. 168.
Cola	1673/07/22	Mackenzie, Alasdair.	NRS, RS 38/4, fol. 223-4.
Cola	1691/07/02	Morrison, Ruairidh, indweller	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 190.

(Table Continued)

Placename	Date	Individual	Reference
Col Iarach	1718	Mackenzie, Iain.	GUAS, GUA 300 (58).
Col Iarach	1718	Mackenzie, Iain.	GUAS, GUA 300 (59).
Col Uarach	1676/06/02	Mackenzie, Alasdair.	NLS, Dep 313/2985.
Col Uarach	1704-05	Morrison, Uilleam, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Col Uarach	1704-05	Maciver, Alasdair, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Col Uarach	1704-05	Morrison, Iomhair, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Àrd Thunga	1676	Morrison, Coinneach, indweller.	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 240.
Àrd Thunga	1718	MacIennan, Dòmhnall.	GUAS, GUA 300 (45).
Àrd Thunga	1718	Morrison, Widow.	GUAS, GUA 300 (45).
Àrd Thunga	1718	Mackenzie, Coinneach.	GUAS, GUA 300 (60).
Tolm	1704-05	Morrison, Ruairidh, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Mealbost	c.1611-c.1637	Mackenzie, Murchadh, uncle to the Earl of Seaforth.	NRS, NP 1/67A, fol. 94r. NRS, RD 1/372,
		'Murdo McKenzie of Milbois, baillie of the Lews' (1631).	fol. 133. RD 1/445, fol. 5. Warrand, <i>Mackenzie Pedigrees</i> , 12-13. NLS, Adv. MS, 31.3.10, fol. 9r.
Mealbost	1637/11/22	Mackenzie, Iain, son to Murchadh.	Warrand, <i>Some Mackenzie Pedigrees</i> , 12-13.
			NRS, RD 1/508 fol. 424.
Mealbost	1655/05/02	Mackenzie, Aonghas.	NRS, SC 34/19/1/1, fol. 94r-94v.
Mealbost	1718	Morrison, Aonghas.	GUAS, GUA 300 (53).
Mealbost	1718	Caimbeul, Alasdair.	GUAS, GUA 300 (62).
Aiginis	? 1670 × 1687 ? - c.	Mackenzie, Seòras, of Kildun, tacksman.	M. Robson, <i>Cornelius Con</i> , 18-19. Matheson,
	1705		<i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 220. NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.

Garabost	1655/05/02	Mackenzie, Tòmas (brother of Achilty).	NRS, SC 34/19/1/1, fol. 94r-94v.
Garabost	1690	Macleod, Tormod, tacksman.	M. Robson, <i>Cornelius Con</i> , 18-19.
Garabost	1700	Urquhart, Harry, indweller.	NRS, RS 38/6, fol. 295.
Garabost	1704-05	Urquhart, Henry, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Garabost	1718	Macleod, Tormod.	GUAS, GUA 300 (46).
Garabost	1718	Mackenzie, Cailean.	GUAS, GUA 300 (46).
Sullisiadar	1704-05	Maciver, Alasdair, tacksman.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Sullisiadar	1705/09/05	Mackenzie, Cailean.	AUL, MS MS 2787/3/3/7/2.
Seisiadar	1718	Mackenzie, Ruairidh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (63).
Seisiadar (?)	1718	Mackenzie, Cailean, of Kildun.	GUAS, GUA 300 (64).
Aird, Point	1678	Mackenzie, Seòras, of Kildun, tacksman.	M. Robson, <i>Cornelius Con</i> , 6-7.
Pabail Uarach	1718	Mackenzie, Cailean.	GUAS, GUA 300 (46).
Pabail Iarach	1718	Aonghas mac Iain. Dòmhnall mac Dhòmhnail. Iain mac Mhurchaidh. Calum mac Mhurchaidh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (65).
		Murchadh mac Iain.	
Pabail Iarach	1718	Murray, Iain. Mairead nighean Thormoid. Tormod mac Mhurchaidh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (66).
Pabail Iarach	1718	Iain mac Dhòmhnail mhic Aonghais. Aonghas mac Dhòmhnail. Iain mac Roib. Oighrig nighean Dòmhnail. Dòmhnall mac Nèill. Dòmhnall mac Aonghais. Iain Ruaidh.	GUAS, GUA 300 (75).
Waste lands	1718	Morrison, Uilleam, officer, for some waste lands.	GUAS, GUA 300 (204).
Waste lands	1718	Morrison, Murchadh, another officer, for waste lands in his division.	GUAS, GUA 300 (205).

(Table Continued)

Placename	Date	Individual	Reference
v. Stornoway: the town of Stornoway and generic 'Lewis' and 'Isles' designations.			
Stornoway /	1615/10/23	Niall mac Néill Mhòir.	NRS, NP 1/67A, fol. 94-5.
Stornoway			
Stornoway	1615	Mackenzie, Iain, (son of Coinneach mac Mhurchaidh, constable of Stornoway Castle), witness.	NRS, NP 1/67A, fol. 94-5.
Stornoway	1615/10/23	'Alex[and]r mc Connell Bayne.'	NRS, NP 1/67A, fol. 94-5.
Stornoway	1625	Leslie, William, son to John Leslie, merchant	NRS, DI 62/7, fol. 255.
Stornoway	1628-30	Gunn, Iain, servitor to Achilty, 1620, burgess of Stornoway by 1628.	NRS, JC 2/6/249. NRS, RD 1/305, fol. 55r. NRS, RD 1/434, fol. 56v.
Stornoway	1631/08/??	Mackenzie, Murchadh, son of Achilty.	NRS, RD 1/445, fol. 71.
Stornoway	1631-1638	MacIennan, Mr Fearchar, minister (alias Clèireach, or Mr Farquhar Clerk)	NRS, RD 1/445, fol. 71; RD 1/511, fol. 377v.
Stornoway	1632/08/09	Raibeart 'Leinech,' witness.	TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 20. FES, x, 376.
Stornoway	1632/08/09	'Donald mc Eane vc Wìrrach,' witness.	NRS, RS 37/5, fol. 32v.
Stornoway	1632/08/09	Iain mac Mhurchaidh mhic Iain Dhuibh, witness.	NRS, RS 37/5, fol. 32v.
Stornoway	1632/08/09	Miller, Alexander, witness.	NRS, RS 37/5, fol. 32v.
Stornoway	1642 (?) n.d.	Morrison, Mr Dòmhnall, minister (also for a time at Tàbost/Barabhas).	NRS, GD 1/665/1.
Stornoway	1632/08/09	Innes, Robert, 'merchand in Stornoway.'	NRS, DI 64/1, fol. 143r-144r, 144r-145.
Stornoway	1665/02/23	Morrison, Mr Dòmhnall, minister in Stornoway & Jean Lauder, spouse.	NRS, RS 38/2, fol 244r. Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 240, 245-6.

Stornoway	1642 (?) n.d.	Baine, Dòmhnall, witness.	NRS, GD 1/665/1.
Stornoway	1642/01/15	Sutherland, Uilleam, servitor to chamberlain.	NRS, RD1/544, fol. 324v.
Stornoway	1655	Lees, Andrew, witness. ¹⁷⁶	NRS, SC 34/19/1/1, fol. 94r-94v.
Stornoway	1663	Ross, Iain, witness.	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 239.
Stornoway	1663	Sutherland, Seumas, witness.	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 239.
Stornoway	1663	McGilchrist, Dòmhnall, writer.	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 239.
Stornoway	1669	Lees, John, servitor for Dòmhnall Mackenzie of Loggie. Lees, or a descendant, still resident in 1718 (below). ¹⁷⁷	NRS, RD 3/20/341.
Stornoway, Constable	1615	Mackenzie, Coinneach mac Mhurchaidh, constable of Stornoway.	NRS, NP 1/67A, fol. 94-5.
Stornoway, Constabul. of castle	1623/09/17	Mackenzie, Murchadh, uncle to Cailean, Earl of Seaforth.	NRS, RD 1/372, fol. 133.
Stornoway ?	1686	Matthews, Margaret.	NRS, GD 124/8234/4.
Stornoway ?	1686	Niall Macleod's daughter.	NRS, GD 124/8234/4.
Stornoway ?	1686	Irving, Isobell, pensioner.	NRS, GD 124/8234/4.
Stornoway ?	1686	MacLeod, Dòmhnall.	NRS, GD 124/8234/4.
Stornoway ?	1686	Mackenzie, Catriona.	NRS, GD 124/8234/4.
Stornoway, schoolmaster	1676	Mackenzie, Mr Ruairidh.	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 240.

¹⁷⁶ Andrew Lees, was associated with Fife men in disorder at Stornoway, 1635, but by 1655 (if not earlier) he may have settled there. *RPCS* (2nd ser.), vi, 5-6.

¹⁷⁷ A descendant of the Lees family became minister at Stornoway. *FES*, vii, 206.

(Table Continued)

Placename	Date	Individual	Reference
Stornoway ?	1686	The Schoolmaster (un-named).	NRS, GD 124/8234/4.
Stornoway, schoolm'r & preach'r	1689–1718	Macaulay, Mr Sgàire (Zachary).	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 204.
tidesm'n / ch'mberl'n	1718–1734	Macaulay, Mr Sgàire (Zachary).	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 204.
Stornoway, writer	1695	Beagrie, John, procurator for the chamberlain.	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 204.
Stornoway, residents on rental roll (1718)		John Paterson, Fionnghal ('Florence') Dingwall, Niall 'Kain,' Calum mac Iain mhic Mhurchaidh, Iain Finlayson, Dòmhnall Munro, Alasdair Ross,	GUA5, GUA 300 (96–189).
Dòmhnall mac Nèill, Dòmhnall Macaulay, Iain mac Uilleim, Seumas Maclean, Alasdair 'Mac Ritchie?', Iain MacLain, Ruairidh Mackenzie, Dòmhnall Mackenzie, Alasdair Mackenzie (for Annabell Mackenzie, his mother), Iain mac Iain Dhuibh, Eachann Munro, Uilleam Glas, Calum Mackenzie, Ùisdean Munro, Seònaid Dingwall (for her husband Dòmhnall Mackenzie), Mr Sgàire Macaulay for Seumas Morrison, Iain Kennedy, Dòmhnall Macaulay, Ruairidh Morrison, Alasdair Campbell, Iain MacCulloch, Iain MacIannan 'for a house & cows grass,' Mr Sgàire Macaulay for Murchadh Morrison, Murchadh mac Thormoid, Uilleam MacCulloch, Anne Clark, Murchadh Maciver, Iain Morrison, Coinneach Mackenzie, Ruairidh Mackenzie, Uilleam mac Roib, Tòmas Glas, Iain ('Keard') a' Cheàird, Calum mac Iain Mhòir, Ruairidh mac Iain Bhuidhe, Coinneach mac Roib, Cailean Mackenzie, Alasdair Macleod, John Lees, Catriona MacRae (?) for Seumas Munro her husband, Iain Morrison, Dòmhnall MacIannan, Murchadh Mackenzie, Murchadh Iaird (a' cheàird), Màiri nighean Choinnich, Tormod Dubh, Aonghas Murray, John			

Baby (sic), Aonghas Matheson, Donnchadh Glas, Murchadh mac Roib, 'John Doune,' Kenneth Stark,' Aonghas mac Iain mhic Mhurchaidh, Cairistiona Macaulay, Alasdair Paterson, Aonghas mac Dhòmhnaill mhic Iain Bhàin, Donnchadh Matheson, Fionnlagh Forbes, Donnchadh Mackenzie, Iain Morrison for Murchadh Morrison, Fionnlagh 'Brynich,' Dòmhnall 'Mackan,' Anndra Munro, Iain mac Aonghais mhic Nèill, Coinneach Mackenzie, Alasdair Mackenzie, Iain mac Iain mhic Fhionnlagh (officer'), James Junor, Margaret Ross (for Henry Gray her husband), Ruairidh mac Dhòmhnaill mhic Thormoid, Donald Gray, Matthew Stark.

Stornoway	1718	Macaulay, Mr Sgàire, chamberlain in Gearradh Cruaidh, for a possession in Stornoway, for the mill there, and for the fishing of a small river there.	GUA5, GUA 300 (212).
Stornoway (?)	1718	Macleod, Gilleanuim, of Raasay.	GUA5, GUA 300 (213).
Stornoway, (Minister)	1718	Morrison, Mr Coinneach.	GUA5, GUA 300 (44).
Lewis, Baillie	1623–c.1637	Mackenzie, Murchadh, uncle to Seaforth.	NRS, NP 1/67A, fol. 94r. <i>SHS, Misc., XIII</i> , 242. NRS, RD 1/372, fol. 133. Warrand, <i>Some Mackenzie Pedigrees</i> , 12–13.
Lewis, chamberlain	c.1611–c. 1634	Mackenzie, Alasdair, of Achilty.	NRS, NP 1/67A, fol. 94r. NRS, AC 7/2, fol. 94.
Lewis, chamberlain	1632–1640	Mackenzie, Murchadh, of Achilty.	NLS, Adv.MS 31.2.16, fol. 39r.
Lewis, chamberlain	1640/04/15	Bayne, Dòmhnall, Chamberlain of Lewis.	NRS, GD 188/31/bundle 12. NRS, RD 1/513, fol. 30. <i>Scottish History Society, Miscellany xiii</i> , 242.
Lewis, chamberlain	1650–c.1661	Mackenzie, Dòmhnall, of Loggie.	NRS, RS 37/6, fol. 476.
Lewis, chamberlain			NRS, SC 34/1/1, fol. 49r. NRS, RD 2/15/425. NRS, RD 3/1/739.

(Table Continued)

Placename	Date	Individual	Reference
Lewis, chamberlain	1695/05/29	Couper, William.	AUL, MS 2787/3/3/7/1.
Lewis, 'Commis'	1630/12/23	Van de Boogaert, Mr Jasper.	NRS, GD 190/3/176/15.
Lewis, 'Factor'	1651	Mackenzie, Dòmhnall.	SAUL, ms dep 75, Box 3 / Bundle 1.
Lewis, forester	1631	Mackenzie, Alasdair, of Achilty.	MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 446.
[Lewis, forester of?]	1704-05	Mackenzie, Alasdair (son of Murchadh). Probably a grandson of Alasdair of Achilty.	NRS, CC 12/3/2/15-16.
Lewis (Presbytery of Skye)	1718	Macleod, Tormod, Clerk of Presbytery of Skye.	ICA, Bundle 547.
Lewis (Presbytery of Skye)	1718	Macpherson, Aonghas, Moderator of Prebytery of Skye.	ICA, Bundle 547.
Lewis, tacksman	1666/04/07	Mackenzie, Alasdair of Coul. Joint tack of island.	AUL, Ledingham Chalmers Papers (Mackenzie of Kinraig papers).
Lewis, tacksman	1666/04/07	Mackenzie, Cailean of Redcastle. Joint tack of island.	AUL, Ledingham Chalmers Papers (Mackenzie of Kinraig papers).
Lewis, tacksman	1695/05/29	Mackenzie, Iain of Assynt. Joint tack of the Island with Applecross & Duffus.	AUL, MS 2787/3/3/7/1.
Lewis, tacksman	1695/05/29	Sutherland, Seumas, Lord Duffus. Joint tack of Island with Assynt & Applecross.	AUL, MS 2787/3/3/7/1.

Lewis, tacksman	1695/05/29	Mackenzie, Alasdair of Applecross. Joint tack of island with Duffus & Assynt.	AUL, MS 2787/3/3/7/1.
Isles, Commissar of.	1641 – c.1646	Mackenzie, Mr Dòmhnall	NRS, PS 1/109, fol. 192. NRS, DI 64/1, fol. 149–150. ICA, Argyll MSS, vol. 37.
Isles, Commissar of.	1663	Ramsay, Major David, commissar of the Isles.	Matheson, <i>An Clàrsair Dall</i> , 239.
Piper, Lewis	1686	Un-named piper, on salary.	NRS, GD 124/8234/4.
Officer of Lochs	1686	Un-named, on salary.	NRS, GD 124/8234/4.
Officer of Ness	1686	Un-named, on salary.	NRS, GD 124/8234/4.
Forester, Lewis	1686	Un-named, on salary.	NRS, GD 124/8234/4.

D6 Fishermen, Merchants and Visitors to Lewis, 1609–1669

This is a list of fishermen, merchants and visitors to Lewis, who seem to have been non-resident on the island, 1609–1669. The English visitors, 1630–42, are listed elsewhere (Fr).

Date (year/ month/day)	Name	Origin	Source
1610/08	Captain Peter Love, his crew, pirates.	England, Ireland, Wales.	<i>Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis</i> , 48–9.
1610/10/	Captain Patrick Grieve.	Fife, Burntisland.	<i>Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis</i> , 48–9.

(Table Continued)

Date (year/ month/day)	Name	Origin	Source
1615/10/23	Dòmhnall mac Choinnich mhic Mhurchaidh mhic Ìomhair.	Ross, Kinlochewe.	NRS, NP 1/67A, fol. 94r.
1615/10/23	Niall mac Nèill Mhòir	Ross-shire (?).	NRS, NP 1/67A, fol. 94r.
1615/10/23	Wm Fraser, Andrew Fraser, Dòmhnall mac Alasdair	Inverness.	NRS, NP 1/67A, fol. 94r.
1616/05	Robert Alexander	Burntisland, Fife.	RPCS, x, 534–5.
1616/05	Andro Sym	Kinghorn, Fife.	RPCS, x, 534–5.
1616/05 – 1635	James Kay	Skipper in Kinghorn, Fife or Dundee.	RPCS, x, 534–5. <i>RPCS</i> (2nd ser.), vi, 5–7.
1620/01/18	Alexander Peddie	Edinburgh (?).	NLS, Adv MS, 6.2.1, fol. 25v.
1620/05/11	James Jameson, Patrick Yow (Yuil), John Thomson William Todd	Leith.	NRS, RD 1/364, fol. 44r.
1620/05/11	Andro Low	Fife, Anstruther.	NRS, RD 1/364, fol. 44r.
1620/05/11	Edward Robisone	Orkney, Stenhouse.	NRS, RD 1/364, fol. 44r.
1622	David Boswell	Kinghorne, Fife, resident in Orkney.	NRS, DI 62/7, fol. 113v.
1623/02/17	John Guthrie	Cathness, Thurso.	NRS, RD 1/347, fol. 44or.

1623/09/18	Thos Horsburcht, skipper, Thos Leith, pilot, Robt Patersone, cooper, Wm Kellie, Thos Nisbet, Wm Richisone, J. Macrie Wm Smyth, Geo. Wood, Jas Martine, M. Jamisone, R. Hog, D. Fuir, J. Durie	Dunbar & Leith.	Contract led by Archibald Falconer, burgess of Dunbar, owner of the good ship the <i>Anna</i> of Dunbar. Ship bound for fishery at Lewis and North Isles. NRS, RD 1/364, ff.165-7. ¹⁷⁸
1624/04/_	Raibeart Campbell	Dumbarton /Argyll (?).	<i>Dunvegan Book</i> , i, 110,119. NRS, RD
1626/01/06		Campbell may also have had a residence at Stornoway.	1/398, fol. 393. Taylor (ed.), <i>Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts</i> , 1596-1670, 126.
1625, Aug-Yule	Thomas Mowbray	Orkney	NRS, AC 7/2, fol. 94.
1626/01/06	Dùbhghall Mackenzie	Native of Ross, burgess of Edinburgh. At Stornoway and Thurso.	NRS, RD 1/398, fol. 393.NRS, RD 1/347, fol. 440r.
1623/10/20			
1626/01/06	Alexander Mansone	Caithness (?).	NRS, RD 1/398, fol. 393.
1630/05/19	Sanderson, William	Orkney, Walls.	NRS, RD 1/434, fol. 56v.
1631/11/16	Robert Strachane	Edinburgh.	NRS, RD 1/445, fol. 71.
1632/03/24	Andro Boyd	Leith, skipper.	NRS, GD 188/31/bundle 12.
1634/01/19	John Smith	Fife, Crail (?).	TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 20.
1634/01/19	John Low	England (?).	TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 20. NRS, RD 1/513, fol. 30.
1637/07/10			
1634/01/19.	Robert Innes	Chanonry of Ross. Innes was also resident for periods at Stornoway.	TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 20. NRS, RD 1/508, fol. 212. RD1/545, fol. 430r.
1637/10/20.			
1642/07/_			

¹⁷⁸ Thanks to Mr John Ballantyne for this reference.

(Table Continued)

Date (year/ month/day)	Name	Origin	Source
1634/02/25.	John Leslie, indweller in Lewis / Merchand	Orkney, Whalsay, Leslie also	<i>Retours ii, Inquisitiones de Tutela</i> , 506.
1623/02/17.	in Lewis	resident in Lewis.	NRS, RD 1/347, fol. 44or. RD 1/364, fol.
1620/05/_	Thomas Lindsey		44r 44v.
1634/05/_	James Kay	Fife, Crail (?).	TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 20.
1634/12/_	John Bruce, James Grahame, Andrew Lies, ¹⁷⁹	Dundee, Portincraig ferry.	<i>RPCS</i> (2nd ser.), vi, 7.
1635	Robert Currie, Alexander Ros, Richard	Fife, Crail (?).	<i>RPCS</i> (2nd ser.), vi, 5–6.
	Lumsden, Hew Thomesone		
1637/01/27	Bruce, John	Scotland (?).	NRS, RD 1/513, fol. 32.
1637/01/27	Innes, Alexander	Chanonrie of Ross.	NRS, RD 1/513, fol. 32.
1637/07/10	Iain Mackay	Caithness, Thurso.	NRS, RD 1/513, fol. 30.
1637–1642	Oliver Mowat	Caithness, Thurso. Mowat also	NRS, RD 1/513, fol. 30. NRS,
		resident in Lewis.	GD 1/665/1.
1637/07/10	Thomas Hamilton	Scotland, unknown.	NRS, RD 1/513, fol. 30.
1637/07/10	George Sibbald	Procurator for John Lowe.	NRS, RD 1/513, fol. 30.
1637/07/10	Thomas Sandilands	Procurator for Olipher Mowat.	NRS, RD 1/513, fol. 30.

179 'Lies' or Lees, seems to have settled in Stornoway and is on record there, 1655. See table D5.

1637/11/22	Ruairidh Mackenzie, apperand of Davochmaluak, Alasdair Mackenzie of Kilcoy, Cailean Mackenzie apperand of Broadcraig (?), Ruairidh Mackenzie, Dòmhnall Fraser, notary Robert Anderson	Ross-shire.	NRS, RD 1/508, fol. 424.
1642	William Low (mistranscribed elsewhere as Cobb)	Leith.	NRS, RD1/545, fol. 430r.
1642	John Redough, master, David Young, mariner, John Nesbitt, mariner, George Atchison	England (?).	NRS, GD 1/665/1, cf. <i>RPCS</i> (2nd ser.), vii, 611–613.
1647/02/28	William Michalsone with Robert Whoppe (?)	Leith.	H.E. Knott (ed.), <i>The Deposition Books of Bristol, vol. 1, 1643–1647</i> (Bristol Record Society, 1935), 216.
1660/07/02	William Reid	Fife, Kirkcaldy.	NRS, E 75/48/8.
1660/07/18	John Michelson & John Dailling	Leith.	NRS, E 75/48/18.
1660/07/20	John Lory in Edinburgh	Fife, Kirkcaldy & Dysart.	NRS, E 75/48/20.
1660/07/25	David Boiswell	Fife, Kirkcaldy.	NRS, E 75/48/24.
1660/07/25	Robert Jacob, John Henryson & John Weir.	Fife, Kinghorne.	NRS, E 75/48/25.
1660/08/17	James Moncreiffe	Fife, Elie.	NRS, E75/48/38.
1667	James Moncreiffe	Fife, Crail.	Beveridge, <i>Churchyard Memorials of Crail</i> , 274.
1668	James Moncrieffe	Fife, Crail.	Beveridge, <i>Churchyard Memorials of Crail</i> , 274.
1669	Allan Millar	Fife, Crail.	Beveridge, <i>Churchyard Memorials of Crail</i> , 274.
1669	John Daw	Fife, Crail.	Beveridge, <i>Churchyard Memorials of Crail</i> , 274.

D7 Merchants, Burgesses & Lewis contacts, 1620–1642

Merchants, burgesses, skippers or, shipowners, with whom the merchants or the chamberlains of Lewis did business (M.B. of E. = merchant burgess of Edinburgh).

Date	Place of deal	Name of merchant	In business with	reference
1620/03/31	Edinburgh	Robert Huid, indweller of Potteraw [Edinburgh].	Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty.	NRS, RD 1/305, fol. 55r.
1622/05/09	Kinghorne & Orkney	David Boswell merchant burgess of Kinghorne, Fife, resident in Orkney.	John Lesley & Murchadh Mackenzie.	NRS, DI 62/7, fol. 113v.
1625/08/_	Leith	Matthew Mowbray, Orkney.	Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty.	NRS, AC 7/2, fol. 94.
1625/08/06	Keith	Alexander Browne M.B. of E.	Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty & Dougal Mackenzie.	NRS, RD 1/384, fol. 253.
1626/01/6	Stornoway	Dùbhghall Mackenzie, M.B. of E.	Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty.	NRS, RD 1/398, fol. 393.
1627	Edinburgh	Dùbhghall Mackenzie, M.B. of E.	Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty.	NRS, RD 1/398, fol. 393v.
1628 (?)	Edinburgh	Alexander Broune M.B. of E.	Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty.	NRS, RD 1/392, fol. 416.
1628/04/02	Dundee	Andro Boyd, merchant Burgess of Dundee.	John Leslie.	NRS, PS 1/100, fol. 369.

1630	Edinburgh	Mr James Nesbit, procurator, in Edinburgh.	Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty.	NRS, RD 1/434, fol. 56v.
1630/09/04	Edinburgh	Patrick, son to Wm Reid M.B. of E.	Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty.	NRS, RD1/451, fol. 96v.
1631/08/_	Stornoway	Robert Strachane, servitor for Mr James Strachane M.B. of E.	Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty.	NRS, RD1/445, fol. 71.
1632/03/24	Edinburgh	Bryce Sempill of Cathcart and John Schaw M.B. of E.	Murchadh Mackenzie, chamberlane of Lewis.	NRS, GD 188/31/bundle 1.
1632/12/27	Leith	Robert Henderson, skipper, indweller in Leith.	Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty and his son Murchadh.	NRS, RD1/468, fol. 96.
1634/07/02	Leith	David Murray, M.B. of E.	Murchadh, son to Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty.	NRS, RD 1/496, fol. 304v.
1637	Stornoway	Patrick Wode, Edinburgh. John Lowe, factor, British fishery company.	Iain Mackay (Thurso) & Thomas Hamilton, Oliver Mowat, both Stornoway.	NRS, RD 1/513, fol. 30.
1637/07/07	Leith	George Broun, M.B. of E.	Murchadh Mackenzie, son of Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty.	NRS, RD 1/528, fol. 37v.
1637/07/07	Leith	Walter Cant, M.B. of E.	Murchadh Mackenzie, son of Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty.	NRS, RD1/530, fol. 164v.
1637/10/20	Thurso	Robert Murray M.B. of E., indweller in Thurso.	Robert Innes, merchant, resident in Starnewall.	NRS, RD1/508, fol. 212.

(Table Continued)

Date	Place of deal	Name of merchant	In business with	reference
1640/07/_	Leith	Walter Cant, M.B. of E.	Murchadh Mackenzie, son of Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty.	NRS, RD1/530, fol. 164v.
1641/10/25	Leith	George Scott.	Robert Innes, merchant of Stornoway, debt of £300 to Scott.	NRS, RD 1/545, fol. 429v.
1642/01/15	Edinburgh	John Fullarton.	Robert Innes, merchant of Stornoway.	NRS, RD 1/545, fol. 429r.
1642/05/12	Burntisland	David Gourlay, merchant burgess of Burntisland.	Robert Innes, merchant, Stornoway.	NRS, RD 1/536, fol. 328r.
1642/07/06	Leith	Robert Anderson, skipper.	Robert Innes, merchant in Stornoway.	NRS, RD 1/545, fol. 429r.
1642/07/22	Edinburgh	James Murray.	Robert Innes, merchant, Stornoway.	NRS, RD1/544, fol. 220.
1642/08/10	Edinburgh	Magnus Paiplay, M.B. of E., Alexander Brodie of Lethem.	Robert Innes merchant in Stornoway.	NRS, RD 1/545, fol. 429v.

D8 The Penny Lands of Lewis, c. 1754

A table follows taken from an undated mid eighteenth century document from the Lewis estate papers, 'The Penie lands in the Lewis'.¹⁸⁰ This seems to be the earliest comprehensive document discussing land units in Lewis. Occasional references to other measurements of land, such as dabhaichean (davochs), merklands and ouncelands, appear sporadically in older documents but not with enough consistency to form a coherent picture.¹⁸¹ Of these units, the dabhach, seems to have been used in the latter stages of the Macleod period and possibly adapted by the Fife Adventurers for their own division of the lands in 1601 (discussed in Chapter 3), but there is no sign of it in the Mackenzie period. The Mackenzies do seem, on the other hand, to have continued with the dabhach on the mainland. It may be that Seaforth's regime did not use the dabhach on Lewis simply for the practical reason that they were dealing with a large number of small tenants (as discussed in Chapter 4) with numerous small parcels of land rather than with large tenants as was often the case on their mainland estates. The Lordship of Lewis under the Macleods, c.1350–1598, was of the extent of 40 dabhaichean in total. This included the four dabhaichean of Assynt, four in Eddrachilles, four in Coigeach, four in Gairloch, four in Raasay, four in Vaternish and sixteen in Lewis.¹⁸² In Coigeach, these dabhach units are known (1573 & 1638), but in other areas of the former Macleod Lordship, such as Lewis, it is not as clear cut. However, the neat correlation between the dabhachs of Lewis and the pennylands gives some clues. If the one dabhach lands of Stornoway are excluded, the remaining fifteen davachs may correspond to a parallel 300 pennyland division (discussed in Chapter 3). The table below show that the land divisions came to an extent of just over 300 pennies. The general rule of thumb, from a sixteenth century document relating to Lewis seems to have been 20 pennies to the dabhach.¹⁸³

The Mackenzies seem to have continued with the older pennyland arrangement (if not the dabhach) in Lewis during the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. It is striking that there is a strong correlation between these units and the place names. Some of those named 'Còig Peighinnean' (meaning five pennies) are of 5 penny value and, perhaps, co-incidentally, 'Siabost' – 'sia' being the Gaelic for 'six' and 'bost' being the Old Norse for farmstead, was a six-penny land (although a place name specialists

180 NRS, GD 427/5/2.

181 W.F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1886–90), iii, 432. *Dunvegan Book*, i, 4–14, 38–39, 183. R. Dodgshon, *The Age of the Clans. The Highlands from Somerled to the clearances* (Edinburgh, 2002), 54. NLS, Adv MS 31.3.4, fol. 28r. MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd,' 421. NRS, GD 305/1/15.

182 'The genealogy of the family of Assynt' (1739). NLS, MS 19308, fol. 4.

183 NRS, GD 305/1/1/5. NRS, E 746/51/15.

took the ‘sia’ to come from ‘sjá’ or sea).¹⁸⁴ There does seem to be fluctuation in the values attributed to pennylands from different eras. Bragair, called a 20 penny, one-dabhach, land in 1573/1590, was a 16 penny land by 1754, and Gabhsunn, a 20 penny, one-dabhach, land in 1573/1590, was a 14 penny land by 1754. Such inconsistency cannot be attributed simply to regime change, 1598–1610, as there was also variation in the numbers attributed to land units during the Mackenzie period. Griaies (Gress), valued as a 10 penny land in 1673 was called a 7 penny land by 1754. The three penny land of Upper Coll of 1676 was called a 6 penny land by 1754.¹⁸⁵ This may be due, again, to the relatively small units of land involved or that they were adding to or taking away small portions from these lands at different times.

Those familiar with modern Lewis will notice the absence from this list of numerous townships now occupied (such as Crosbost, Sgiogarstaidh, Adabroc, Eòradail, Baile an Truiseil, Acha Mòr, Loch Gainmhich and others) and that the penny values that are given to some areas appear low. What was unproductive or waste land in 1754 had often become good agricultural land by the end of the subsistence crofting period in the mid twentieth century. This list must reflect the lands as they were at the beginning of potato cultivation which has transformed agricultural practices and the landscape over the last 250 years. Already, by 1754, tenants were being instructed to plant not under a peck of potatoes and preferably on lands never before cultivated, and to grow their potatoes in ‘straight beds never before laboured.’¹⁸⁶

‘The penie lands of Lewis,’ c. 1754

Name of land unit	Penny	Farthing ¹ / ₄ penny	Clitig ¹ / ₈ penny
[<i>Sgìre na Loch/Lochs district</i>]			
Àrnais	1	2	0
Ràinis	4	2	0
Liùrbost	3	0	0
Ceòs	4	2	0
Bhaltos		3	0

184 Watson explained Siabost as ‘Sjá-bólstaðr,’ a Norse name meaning ‘sea farmstead’. Watson may have been correct. However, that Siabost appears to have a Gaelic initial placename element meaning ‘six’ (in Gaelic) and the fact that it was six penny land is a striking coincidence. The anglicised version of this name is ‘Shawbost’. W.J. Watson, *The Place names of Ross & Cromarty* (1904: 1996 reprint, Evanton), 264.

185 NRS, GD 305/1/15. NRS, RS 38/4/224. NLS, Dep 313/2985.

186 ‘Notarial copy of the minutes of Sett of the Island of Lewis, 1766.’ NRS, GD 427/35/1.

Name of land unit	Penny	Farthing ¹ / ₄ penny	Clitig ¹ / ₈ penny
Lacasaidh	1	2	0
Baile Ailein	2	2	0
<i>Sgìre na Loch [total]</i> ¹⁸⁷	<u>18</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
[<i>Sgìre Ùig / Uig district</i>]			
Mealasta	2	1	0
Mangurstadh	1	2	0
Brèinis & Baile na Cille ¹⁸⁸	5	1	0
Cairinis & Scaliscro (Ùig)	2	3	0
'Mr Norman's tack' [Mr Norman Morrison?]	7	2	2
Bhaltos (Ùig) ¹⁸⁹	4	0	0
A' Bheirigh & Cnìp	4	3	0
Pabaidh & Cliobh	2	2	2
Drabhernis & Earsiadar	0	3	0
Circeabost (Beàrnaraigh)	2	2	0
Barrigloume	1	1	0
Tacleit	1	2	0
Tobson	1	0	0
Bosta	1	0	0
Beàrnaraigh Bheag & Tolastadh a'	5	0	0
Chaolais			
Dùn Chàrlabhaigh & Sand[a]ig	2	0	0
Linsiadar	1	2	0
Calanais	1	0	0
Breascleit	1	2	0

187 The lands of Lochs were given as 30 penny lands in 1590 – one and a half dabhaichean.

188 'Ùig,' presumably, a cluster of townships around Baile na Cille formed a dabhach in 1573 – 1590. NRS, GD 305/1/1/5.

189 The lands of Bhaltos (presumably taking in some of the surrounding settlements) extended to one davoch in 1573, 1590. NRS, GD 305/1/1/5. According to John Munro Mackenzie, 1851, if he could clear the village of Cnìp and part of Bhaltos, the remaining tenants in Bhaltos would be the 'only township of small tenants left on the peninsula of fourteen pence.' *Diary, 1851, John Munro Mackenzie, chamberlain of Lewis* (Acair, Stornoway, 1994), 31.

(Table Continued)

Name of land unit	Penny	Farthing ¹ / ₄ penny	Clitig ¹ / ₈ penny
<i>[total of this list from Ùig]</i>	<i>48</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>[Sgìre Chàrlabhaigh / Carloway district]</i>			
Mullach Chàrlabhaigh (Sgìre Chàrlabhaigh)	4	0	0
Ciribhig	1	0	0
Cnoc Chàrlabhaigh	1	1	0
Na Gearranan	1	1	0
Borghastan	1	0	0
Dail Mòr, Dail Beag & ‘Senishader’	2	0	0
<i>[total for Càrlabhaigh, this list]</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>0</i>
<i>Sgìre Chladaich (Sgìre Bharabhais & Sgìre Nis) / Cladach or Barvas & Ness</i>			
Siabost (An Taobh Siar)	6	0	0
Bragar	16	0	0
Arnol	2	0	0
Barabhas Iarach	10	0	0
Barabhas Uarach	8	0	0
Siadar Uarach	4	0	0
Siadar Iarach & ‘Beggagary’	4	0	0
Còig Peighinnean Bhuirgh	5	0	0
Borgh	4	0	0
Mealbost Bhuirgh	4	0	0
Gabhsann bho Dheas (Nis)	8	0	0
Gabhsann bho Thuath	6	0	0
Dail bho Dheas	10	0	0
Dail bho Thuath	10	0	0
Cros	4	0	0
Suaineabost	6	0	0
Tàbost	7	0	0
Lìonal	3	0	0
Eòropaidh	10	0	0
Còig Peighinnean / Fivepenny	5	0	0
‘Garennin’ /Cnoc Àrd	5	0	
<i>[total from this list in Sgìre Chladaich & Nis]</i>	<i>137</i>	<i>00</i>	<i>00</i>

Name of land unit	Penny	Farthing ¹ /4 penny	Clitig ¹ /8 penny
<i>Sgìre na h-Aoidhe / Eye parish</i>			
Tolastadh bho Thuath & tolastadh bho Dheas ¹⁹⁰ (Sgìre a' Bhac)	12	0	0
Griais ¹⁹¹	7	0	0
Am Bac	6		
Bhataisgeir	2	2	
Col Iarach	5		
Col Uarach	9	0	0
Àrd Thunga	5	0	0
Mealbost (Sgìre Steòrnabhaigh)	4	0	0
Bràigh na h-Aoidhe	3	0	0
Cnoc (An Rubha)	4	0	0
Aiginis	4	0	0
Suardail	1	0	0
Pabail Iarach	3	0	0
Pabail Uarach	4	2	0
Siadar	2	0	0
Seisiadar	0	2	0
Aird	1	0	0
Garabost	11	0	0
Tuilm Uarach (Sgìre Steòrnabhaigh)	1	0	0
Tuilm Iarach	1	0	0
Ìnacleit	0	2	0
Giubharsiadar ['Guereray']	1	2	0
[<i>Total from this list for Sgìre na h-Aoidhe</i>]	86	2	0

¹⁹⁰ Tolastadh was given as a 10 penny, half-dabhach, land in 1590. NRS, GD 305/1/1/5.

¹⁹¹ Griais, or Gress, Easter and Wester, with salmon fishings was valued as 10 penny land in 1673. NRS, RS 38/4, fol.224.

Total pennies by administrative district, c. 1754

District / area	Penny	Farthing ¹ / ₄ penny	Clitig ¹ / ₈ penny
Sgìre na Loch	18	1	0
Sgìre Ùige / <i>Uig</i>	48	1	0
Sgìre Chàrlabhaigh / <i>Carloway</i>	10	2	0
Sgìre Chladaich & Nis (Sgìre Bharabhais) / <i>Cladach, Ness (Barvas)</i>	137	0	0
Sgìre na h-Aoidhe / <i>Broad Bay</i>	86	2	6
Total	299	6	6

E1 Commission of Factory, Seaforth to Hamilton, 1628

*Commission of factory from Seaforth to Captain Mongo Hamilton, 11 June 1628.*¹⁹²

Be it kend till all men be thir p[rese]nt l[ette]res, Me Colin E[a]rle of Seaforth, Lord Mackenzie of Kintail, that forsamekill as his majestie hes erectit the burgh of Stornoway with the whole tenementis, landis houssis, biggingis ruidis, and outsettis, biggit and to be biggit and all uther landis within and myle to the samyn burgh as a commontie and burrowruidis for the same, togidder with the heavin and seaport of the samyn in ane frie burgh royall, frie point, herberrie and herbor with the whole liberteis, previliges, immunities pertaining to ane frie burgh royall sea point and heaven, and hes gewin power and libertie to the inhabitants q[huai]r the said burgh of Stronway and to the counsall and the courtis thairof for the tyme to elect ane provest, four baillies and deane of Gild, ane thesaurar and tuelf personnes of counsall with power also to choose commissioneris for the parliament with all uther officiaris for the guid government of the said burgh and gave thame full power to mak and ordane lawis, actis and statutis for the government of the said burgh agreeabill to the lawes and custumes of the kingdome of Scotland. And to make and create burgess[es] and guild brothers with suche liberties and privileges as apperteinis thairto and or in use to be observed in uther royall burghes within the said kingdome.

And, lykewayes his majestie gave full power and libertie to the said Coline Erle of Seafort and to my successors to deale with quhat sumever his ma[jes]ties subjects and also with forreners and strangeris being his majesties confedaratis and willing to be naturalized to dwell within the said burgh under his majesties government and peace, induring thair duelling and remainin within the samyn. And willed and grantit that the said personnes to be transportit as said is sould be frie and unchallengit by his majestie or by quhatsumever judges or ministeris qr his majesties lawis for quhatsumever cryme or offence commitit be thame outwith his majesties dominions befor their transporting to the said burgh, they allwayis being willing to be naturalized and living under the obedience of his majesties lawis, actis and statutis of the said burgh in all tyme efter their repairing to the samyn. As the gift and patent grantit be his majestie thairanent at mair lenth beiris. And seing that Captaine [Mongo] Hamiltoun is of purpose resolute and intension directit to me be certane persones merchand traffickers, strangeris, to intreat, deale, and procure of me, power and libertie to him as factor for me to inbring certane personnes, merchand traffickers to the said burgh of Stornway or ony uther place q[huai]r I sould think expedient to the intent that I may deale and aggrie with the fornamet

¹⁹² This transcription is taken from NRS, GD 46/18/138. A copy of this same document can be found at, NRS, GD 46/4/260. The transcription in this document (E1) and in the following documents (E2, E3, E5 E6 & E7) from the Seaforth Muniments (NRS, GD 46) are published by kind permission of Mr Andrew Matheson, Brahan.

personnes, merchand traffickers for thame selffis and utheris thair associatis to duell within the said burgh of Stronway for the better plantation th[er]of.

Thairfor, and for the gryt respect and cair I haif to the plantation of the said burgh and also for the diverss guid causis and considerationes moveing me, witt ye me to haif maid, constitute and ordainie lyk as I be the tennor heirop mak, constitute and ordane the said Captaine Hamilton – my verie lau[chfu]ll factor, pro[curato]r and commisioner to the effect underwritten.

Giveand, grantand and committand to him, my verie full power, speciall mandament, express bidding and charge for me and in my name to deale with quhat sumever forranei-ris and strangeris being his majesties confederatis and willing to be naturalized. And inbring thame to the said burgh of Stronway or ony uther place I sall think expedient to the intent that I may deale and aggrie with thame for thame selffis and utheris thair associatis to dwell within the said burgh of Stronway under his majesties government & peace, induring thair, duelling and remaining withing the samyn frie and unchallengit be his majestie or quhatsumever judges of ministeris or his majesties lawis for quhatsumever cryme or offence commitit be thame outwith his majesties dominions befor thair transporting to the said burgh, they alwayes being willing to be naturalized and living under the obedience of his maties lawis, actis and statutis of the said burgh in all tyme efter thair repairing to the samyn. Sicklyk and als freele as I micht doe my self if I wer personlie present. And for the mair securitie I am content and consent thir p[rese]nts be reg[ist]rat in the buikis of counsall and session within the kingdome of Scotland thairin to remaine ad futuram rei memoriam. And for reg[isteri]ng heirop constitute [blank]

Ony pror promittem de rato, In witnes q[uha]i of I haif subs[crivi]t thir p[rese]ntis w[i]t[h] my hand, written be John Kynneir no[tar]y Pubclit.

At Londone, the allevint day of Junii the yeare of God I^m VI^c tuentie aucht yeiris befor thir witness, John Mackenzie of Tarbet, Mr Nathaniell Udward citiner in Leyth, and James Logye indweller in Ed[inburg]h.

Seafort

Jmkenzie witnes

Na. Eduart witnes

James Logye witnes.

E2 Memorandum, for Dutch Negotiations, c.1628–29

*Seaforth to Captain Mongo Hamilton (no date).*¹⁹³

Endorsed: 'Memor: for Captan Mongo Hamiltonne for Holland ~'

¹⁹³ This transcript is taken from NRS, GD46/18/139.

Memor[andum] for Cap[tain] Mongo Hamiltoun

In the first: to informe theis that intendis to cum to the Lewis that it is lisum to them to cum their q[uhe]n they please.

2. q[uhai]r as they desyr to have forder certantie then I did send w[ith] yow of befor to that it may be verie veill ansred that my conditionne cannot be mead w[ith] ane persone or tua bot since ther must be ane companie mead up to mak ane toune ther that first I must understand q[uha]t they ar th[a]t dooeth undergo to inhabeit [and] duell their. Secundlie their number and th[ei]r strenth of schipping: and efter as I am perfectlie informed of thir few points. Therefter I sall bind to them as thei sall bind into me, and sall end finally w[ith] them according to the heades gifin to Merteine Corinsohn Veyten.

3. It vald be demandit of the company q[uhe]n it is mead up q[uah]t yeirly dewtie they vald giue by year and quhat in hand siluer for the licences they requyr by sea and land. And nothing to be takin from them bot one soume of money for allthings culd be requyred of them.

4. Q[uha]t pryce they of the cumpanie vald giue for the tunne of ordanance. My pryce is at leist tuentie four pound lib. sterling. This I may have in Ingland fra theis q[uh]a vill cum to my varkis to ressave their.¹⁹⁴ Remember, the tunn vecht is tuentie hundreth vecht.

5. To remember to the cumpanie at leist sum of them to giue zow certantie q[uha]t they vald give for aikin timber for serving ther houses or for timber to schips of aik, or if they vill buy ane vood off fir or aik both for the usis to mak th[ei]r houses as also to sell to all places. Also try in th[a]t particular q[uha]t thei vald giue in particular for ilk plank of aik for schippis and q[uhat] for masts, and geastis of fir. And efter ye have tryed them upon the particular of ilk pryce of all kynde of timber, try of them q[uha]t they vald bestou of hard money upon ane vood of acht myle lenth of aik, & of ane myle off breid, q[ui]lk is portatine, and q[uha]t they vald bestow on ane uther vood of the lyke lenth and breid of fir. In Ingland their is offered ane thousand lib. sterling for the myle of it, owerhead.

6. To inquyr q[uha]t tak[is] they wald seik of the voods: To remeimber all the woods lyes on the tua syds of ane loch and ther is ane pretty riuer runs from the loch to ane greter riuer q[ui]lk runs in the sea.¹⁹⁵

7. To remem[ber] that theis q[uh]a will blok for the voods must be of the Lewis cumpanie becaus the maist pairt of the vood vald be vented out of Stornuay to all places. Also remember that onlie tua substantius men must be the forst buyers or

194 'This I may have in Ingland from those who will come to my works to receive there.' By this the Earl meant his iron works at and around Loch Ewe. MacCoinnich, 'Cleiffis of Irne.'

195 Possibly Loch Lurgainn in Coigeach, Wester Ross which might have been wooded with 'aik' (oak) and fir, suitable for these purposes. The river would have been used to float the logged timber down to the coast. See appendix E7, paragraph 12.

thrie at most [and] then, eftyr the bargan is mead, lat thein tak q[uha]t p[art]neris they pleis.

Lat them know th[a]t th[e]r is ordenarly aik tries th[e]r[e] th[a]t villbe thriescoir futts if lenth w[i]t[h]out ane grain and of tuo and thrie fuddomes about. As for fir they may have them of q[uha]t sort they can dewyse. And to informe them treulie of the being of it portatine in all the tua riueris. Ther is not ane stop saif one litle peice of ane rock q[ui]lk small ingeyne may ath[e]r cast doune or pass by it. This far I thot good to signefie to the merchands, least q[uhe]n poseibly they have delt th[e]y fin nothing to differ from my rela[tio]une.

8. To re[member] [Merteine] C[o]rinsoun [Veyten] to buy salt for me as my memor[andum] to him bearis, sum thrie last for my salmond.

9. To re[member] to buy men and [ane?] litle trunck lent for six men q[ui]lk ane man may carie to gidder v[ith] commodius furintur for the fields of sik kynds as he sall think expedient.

10. To remember to send the thayne [chayne ?] of the meikell tent (?) to Lewis to be sent to me.

11. That the cumpanie bring bri[c]k[is] for the houses.

12. To try if the cumpanie will wish me to deall for Letters of Mark to them against theis of Hamborg and Lubik [and] uth[i]rs q[uh]a asists the kings enemy the Spanzard and q[uha]t proportionn ye vald giue me of the pryse goods. And q[uha]t ye vald give the Admirall or give me to agree v[ith] the admirall. In Europe th[e]r is no place, th[e]r[e] is none, may mak so large benefit as theis of the Lewis cumpanie. To try of the cumpanie q[uha]t commodetie one of th[e]r busches is able to mak yeirlie.

E3 Contract, Seaforth and the Zeeland Merchants, 1629

Agreement and contract, Mongo Hamilton, on behalf of Seaforth and the merchants of Zeeland. 31 May 1629.¹⁹⁶

The forsaid Captaine Mongo Hamilton in vertwe of the said power or procuracion of the aforementioned Earle of Seaforth, Lord Mackenye of Kintaill hath contracted wth the noble Lords, the Lord Ingel Ludwick¹⁹⁷ counsell depute of the Lords Estates of Zeeland, Arnold Van Lodensteyn depute of the Admiralty of Zeeland and of the counsell of Flanders, Nicholas Caune deputy of the chamber of accountes of Zeeland, Balthasar Van de Voorde, Master of the Council of Zeeland,¹⁹⁸ Adrian Hoffe burger-

¹⁹⁶ This transcript is taken from NRS, GD 46/20/Box 5. A photocopy is held at Stornoway Public library, photocopy, Ph 652.

¹⁹⁷ Possibly this person was known in Dutch as Ingel Leunissen.

¹⁹⁸ Van de Voorde was probably master of the Mint of Zeeland.

master of Zierikzee,¹⁹⁹ Johan de Moor burgomaster of Flushing, Job Porrender syndiens or pensionarie there and for him Abraham Schorer, Jean de Dorpe vendomaster of the Admiralty of Zealand,²⁰⁰ Johann Appelman²⁰¹ and Marten Corynten Weyten²⁰² on the other part or seide and that in maner as followeth.

1

First, shall (?) if the company be granted and is granted by these presents from heire forward wth all those that shall dwell in their names upon the said eyland, freedome of burgess rights and rights of naturalisation, so wel unto the said contrahents or handlers as unto those that shall in their names dwell and inhabit the said kingly burgh of Stornoway and upon the Isle of Lewis, and shall accordingly enjoy all exemptiones, fraidommes and privileges that the English and Scottish nations doe enjoye, together with the furthir benefits containyd at large in the letter of gift gran[t]ed off his Royall Ma[jesti]e unto the said Lord in May 1628.

2

Shall be consented unto the said contrahents, handlers, and deallers, together also their associates that they shall come with their slopes, hearing buysses, pinckes, shalloupes and such like.²⁰³ Wch they in lode goodes in all the bays, hawens or costes of the Ile of Lewes, and is giwes unto them playn power and authoritye to fish in the sea and all the waters so thereabouts as also reaching from the said sea towards the fors[ai]d lands of Scotland, southwardt, as also to fish in the sea and waters stretching from the said Ile of Lewes towards the Iles Rona and Soulisker and, in the waters and seas bynorth the said Ile [of] Lewes, awaist the f[o]r[e]s[ai]d lands and costes off Scotlandt, hearing, linge, kod, or else cald cabillau²⁰⁴ and all kinds of fisch. And such for the time of one and thirty yeares after the date hereoff.

199 Adriaenus Hoffer or Hofferus was burgemeester (mayor) of Zierikzee. My thanks to Mr Lineke van den Bout, of the Informatiecentrum, Zeeuws Archief, Middelburg, for kindly discussing the identities of these people with me (22 April 2008).

200 Possibly also known as 'Jonker Philips van Dorp' had been a lieutenant admiral of Zeeland, 1627–29, and became a vice admiral briefly in 1629. Bruijn, *The Dutch Navy of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (2011) 40–42.

201 A 'Joachim den Appelman, vendumeester' possibly the same man appears in another document of 1619. GAR, ONA 91/45/36.

202 Resident in Zierikzee, fl. 1620–1646. GAR, ONA 141/231/347. GAR, ONA 141/230/346. GAR, ONA 171/87/140.

203 Different types of ship: sloops, herring-busses, pinks, shallops.

204 'Cabillaud' is the French for cod and 'kabeljauw' is Dutch.

3

That the said undertakers and those of ther company together the marchands, indwellers and burgesses of the said towne of Stornaway shall have libertye to bring to bringe out and cause to be brought in the haille of the said se[ver]all kinde of marchandise to sell the same with the indwellers of the said Ile and unto all other subjects of the Kings Ma[jes]tie of Great Britten, paying the subsidies of His Ma[jes]tie according to the lawes and constitution of the Kingdome of Scotlande.

4

That no man els shall handel upon the sayd Ile Lewes and thereto appartayning places above mentioned concerning the fishing and hearing taking, also killing or slauchter of beastes als onely those off the sayd comp[any] and such as they after occasion may offer ane constituion of busines aford to take into ther company amainst them, safe the English or Scottish inhabitants, w[hi]ch inhabitants shall not stand frie to take any strangers amongst them, or els place in their names, nether directlie nor indirectlie. And, in case at any tyme by chance mightsuch be found, that the ships and goods shall altogether be confiscate and declared of good prize by sentence of the magistrat there or by such as his Lordship shall please to appoint or authorise thereto to be delt or parted, one third for his Lordship the Earle of Seaford, one other third for the officers and like part for the profit or benefit of the towne of Storneway.

5

Unto the said undertakers and contrahentors and those of their company shall be granted at this presents so much land or ground, so wthin Stornowaye, as towards the landsyde without, without paying any thing for it, as they shall neede for to build their houses, loguings, huttes or other buildings upon and shallbe granted unto them to make so much turff as they shall have used of to their house-keeping. And also timber out of the sayd countrie to serve for their building and drying of hearing as itherwayes and shall be frie of all exactions, impositions, abyeldyn (?) layd up, or during the sayd tyme off xx1 yeares, to be layd up, paying onely unto the said Lord or his successors for every house one gilder yearly during the said tyme.

6

The Magistrat of Storneway shall keepe their full powers and authority to speak, decere-nis over all things or actions as wel criminel as ewil that is felony as trespas according the other royall townes of the kingdome of Scottlande.

7

The citisens or burgesses if Storneway is permitted to make all kindes of salt severallie upon the said Ile, but if they would transport it and other where sell it, shall be bound to paye for every last, w[hi]ch they will transport, foure gilder holland money.

8

[To] no man dwelling upon the said Ile of Lewes shall it stand frie to bring out of the Ile any living beasts or cattle, to wit, no horses, geldings, stoned [horses], mares, colts, oxen or q[u]eyes²⁰⁵ without leave of the sayd magistratof the said towne of Stornoway, and thereabout to pay for duty [per] head, xx shillings Scots, onlesse it were these that might transport theyr owne cattle and would transport it from the Ile upon the f[or] es[ay]d land of Scotlandt in the quarters appertayning unto the said Earle.

9

All walfishes, potheads²⁰⁶ or like fishes that come to be cast or to be stranded, th[a]t bee upon the f[or] es[ay]d lands or about the sayd Ile, shall be to the profite of the company onely giving a recognition of X pound Scotts unto the finder or guidar and unto the sayd Earle his last right.

10

These sayd conrahentis as also these of the towne of Stornowaye shall be bound after their fishing to come wth their schippes unto the haven off Stornoway or Carloua, and in the transporting of the sayd hearing fish or marshandise brought on land or bought shall be bound to give up to giue on the iust and trew number off the lastes because the earle may have his right payd unto him. And if so be it that at any time any thing were w[i]thheld or defrauded, so shall all the party hidden or withheld be confiscated, to the benefit of him that shall have right ther unto, following the customes of Scotlandt.

11

Though if it happened that the hea[r]ring or els[e] fish might be set oute in sea or upon streame in the bayes, oute of the hearing shippes in the other shippes and come not on land, the [others?] shall subside and stand with the cognosseneres of the mariners or declaration of the commis who shall, if need be, purge himselffe by oath that there declairing over bringing on be uprightly done, as also the sayd undertakers herewith declare that their wilbe ane reckaning bee that the[y] also shall discharge all those in their service, that nothing shalbe hidden, but all be rightly and trewlyn going on.

12

The Earle is also intreated for the preservation of the company and his indwellers to make a fort or calsten upon the Iles lying in the baye of Stornowaye in regard the said little Iles is at this presen[t], very fitt there to, and to laye upon the same feir, or fasten

²⁰⁵ 'Quey,' a heifer, or a young cow.

²⁰⁶ Pilot whales.

some pieces of ordinance and men, being a very fit and commodious place to frie the whole baye.²⁰⁷

13

And considering that by tempest or contrary winds otherwise by chasing of pirates, sometymes happening unto the shippes, the sayd contrahentis were forced to run into any haivinis or Ileand either in Scotland of England and that the sayd shippes of the subiectes of his Majesty of England might be stayed or any trouble of hindrance of their journey done unto. And also sone shippes or goods through a storme, chasing of sundrye (?) or otherwise might come to break upon the custes, the sayd Earle doth promise such shippes or goods of the Companye to free: and to get them discharged wthout any costes or charges, in such sortis as ther were brought in or were cast, broke or landed.

14

And shall these of the sayd comp[any]e be bound to paye unto the sayd Earle for a recognition for that they enjoye and have use of the harbirs and bayes, wth also their packhouses and lo[d]ges set up in these partes, and for the enjoying of burges rights to paye for every last herring, lenge, [k]od or fish (?), one marck Schottes, also for al kinds of flesh, hides, tallow, etc, that shalbe out of the land transport, for each respectively is the sowme of four gilders Hollants for every last, w[i]t[h]out anything more during these sayd one and twenty yeares.

15

The sayd Captain doth herewth promisse to gett all these articles to be in a forme and manner ratified and agried in the Parliemen of Scotlandt by the sayd Earle of Seafordt as soone as possible. Also contracted at Middelbough in Zeelandt the xxxith of Maye 1629, and is subscribed, Hamilton, Nicolas Caun, Jean de Dorpircorne, Arendt Lodentsteyn, Jan de Moor, B[althas]ar van de Voorde, Johan Appelman and amainst the names a seale in read Ink.

That this translation agreeth wth the orginal contract and the articles of it, in all points, doe I subscribed, Imperial notary attest, as translator of the sayd language, by the Lords Estates Generall of the United Provinces. In the Hague, the 7th of Juin, in the yeare 1629.

[Elaborate Signature of imperial notary follows – B.S. Bruis (?)]

207 'Fire,' i.e. that it was a suitable vantage point for firing at vessels at any place in the bay and 'frie' (free) the bay from enemies. The old Stornoway castle already stood on a small tidal island. Probably this meant the island now known as Goat Island which overlooks the entrance to Stornoway harbour.

E4 Dutch Fishermen in Lewis, 1629

Notarial deed, Rotterdam, Dutch fishermen in Lewis, May to 31 October 1629. I am indebted to Dr Edda Frankot, Erasmus University, Rotterdam, for her transcription and her translation into English of the following document.²⁰⁸

Transcription

Op hurden? den eersten Januarij anno xvjc ende / dertich [1630], compereerden voor mijn Jan van Aller Andriessen / notaris publicus etc. Claes Cornelissen Domp / out xlvij / ende Clement Phillipsen de Wolff out xxxv Jaren / ofte ellix daer omtrent, beyde burgers deser stede / dewelcken ter requisitie ende instantie van Elias / Gerritsen cuijper, mede inwoonder deser stede, attesteerden / bij waerheijt in plaetse van rechten eede, soe waer ende / heur attestanten kennelijcken is, als dat Jan Cornelissen / Noorwits coopman binnen deser stede omtrent den uitganck / van april verleden inden Jare van xvjc xxjx [1629], sonder den precijssen / dach onthouden te hebben, den requestrant heeft aenghenomen ghehadt / voor onder cuijpers, omme onder t Commandement van Maerten Cryussen, wonende tot Zzee [Zierikzee] ten haring te varen / onder het eylant van Leeuwis onder Yerlant, ende dat / des requestrant dienvolghende den derden ofte vierden dach meye / daer aenvolghende mede ghekomen is tot Zzee voornoemt, ende / van daer ghevaren metten stuyrman Claes Yemandtsen / Bijl, onder t Commandement als voors., naer Leeuwis / voors., ende nevens andere gasten in dienste ghebleven / tot Alderheyllighen inden verleden Jare van xvjc xxjx [1629] / als wanneer den voors. stuyrman Claes Yemandtsen / met den requestrant ende sijn vorder volck arriverende was / tot Vlissinghen, soo dat mitsdien heur attestanten oock / volcomentlyck is bekend, dat den requestrant omtrent den ses / maenden als Cuyper heeft ghedient opten buys vanden / voorn. stuyrman Claes Yemandtsen, Ghevende voor / redenen van wel wetenschap, dat sij attestanten beijde / mede bij de voorn. Jan Cornelissen Noorwits ten tijde als voors. // sijn aenghenomen gheweest voor leggers ende toeslagers / van den haring, ende dat sij(n), oock metten requestrant, ende de / voorn. stuyrman Claes Yemandtsen ghelijcken van Zzee / sijn ter seyl ghegaen nae Leeuwis voors., ende oock ghelijc / wederomme van daer sijn gheseylt ende op Alderheylligen / voors. ghearriveert tot Vlissinghen voornoemt, reyders niet? / attesterende etc. Aldus ghedaen ten tijden voors. ten Compt[oir] / mijns Notaris, ter presentie van Daniel van Leeuwen / exploitier van den hove van Hollant, ende Willem / Anthonissen Storn, beijden inwoonders deser stede, als / ghetuyghen nevens mijn notario hier toe gherequest /

208 This transcript is taken from the Gemeentearchief, Rotterdam (GAR), ONA 320/643. Notarial deed, 1 January 1630 and reproduced here by kind permission of the Stadsarchief, Rotterdam.

Claes Kornelyse
 merck gheteyckent bij Clement [mark] Phillipsen
 Daniel van Leeuw
 Jan Aller: Notarius 1630

Translation

Today, the first of January of the year 1630 appeared before me, Jan van Aller Andriessen, notary public etc., Claes Cornelissen Domp., 48, and Clement Phillipsen de Wolff, 35 years old or both thereabouts, both burghers of this town, who by the request and on behalf of Elias Gerritsen, cooper, inhabitant of this town, certify truthfully (and instead of [swearing] an oath) that it is true and known by the certifiers themselves, that Jan Cornelissen Noorwits, merchant in this town, around the end of April last year, in the year 1629, without remembering the exact date, has accepted the petitioner as undercooper, to sail under the command of Maerten Cruyssen, living in Zierikzee, to catch herring under the island of Lewis under Ireland, and that in accordance with this request he arrived in Zierikzee the following third or fourth of May, and sailed from there with helmsman Claes Yemandtsen Bijl, under the command as beforewritten, to Lewis and stayed in service like other men until All Saints in the past year 1629 when the aforesaid Claes Yemandtsen with the petitioner and the other crew arrived at Vlissingen, and the fact that the petitioner was in service as cooper on the herring boat of the aforesaid helmsman Claes Yemandtsen during those six months is well-known by the certifiers themselves, providing as the reason for their knowledge that both certifiers were hired by the aforesaid Jan Cornelissen Noorwits at the aforesaid time as 'leggers' and 'toeslagers' of the herring, and that they set sail from Zierikzee at the same time with the petitioner and the aforesaid helmsman Claes Yemandtsen to Lewis, and also similarly sailed back from there and arrived at Vlissingen at All Saints, the shipowners not certifying...

....thus certified at the aforesaid time at the office of myself the notary, in the presence of Daniel van Leeuwen, 'exploiteur' of the Court of Holland, and Willem Anthonissen Storn, both inhabitants of this town, as witnesses requested besides me as notary.

signatures

E5 Conditions for the Hollanders. No Date, 1629 × 1630

Conditions and prerogatives to be contractit and agreed upon by [blank] as chief partner on the societie traide and populating of the Lewis.²⁰⁹

209 This transcript taken from NRS, GD 46/18/140/1. Endorsed 'Cond[itions for] the Hollanders.' A copy of the first seven of the clauses written here are to be found in NRS, GD 46/20/Box 5.

1

Imprimis, that it schalbe lawful for the said chief participants and thr company to come thether with thr schippis in all heavens, bayis and cruikis of the wholl lland for to catch and fisch herringis, Aburdyne salmon and all uther kyndis of fysch whatsumever paying for dewtie to the lord of the lland fyve gilders per last during the tyme of xxxi yeirs.

2

And if any of the said chief participants of the thir any of thir company doe come to dwell in the said lland and fische they sall pay no more to the lord of the lland for duetie than two gilders for a last.

3

It shall not be lawfull for the inhabitants of the said lland within the terme to fische any kynde of fische to sell unto strangers to be carreit out of the land, nether themselves to carrie it out upoin foirfayture of thr fisches ilk ane hald to the lord of the land and the uther hald to the cap[t]aine.

4

The said chief participantes schall for the said terme of zeiris haif libertie to bring, sell, distribute and barter all maner of wairis and merchandice unto the inhabitants of the said lland w[i]t[h]out paying custome or impositioun q[uha]tsumever.

5

Nather for the guidis or wairis that the said companue sall transport out of the said lland unto uther pairtis during the said terme of threttie ane yeiris pay any moir then two p[er] cente.

6

The said chief participantis sall ether of theme be greatful w[i]t[h] a precence of two hundreth morgans²¹⁰ of land forevir for the [quhilk] they sall pay unto the lord of the land only a recognition of [blank] for everie morgan w[i]t[h]out paying any teulches of the services or any small teulchis for cattell.²¹¹

²¹⁰ A morgen of land was the equivalent of around two acres. V.C. Bachman, *Peltries of Plantation. The Economic policy of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, 1623–1639* (Baltimore, 1969), 89, n. 46.

²¹¹ This word is not clear but it must mean some sort of duty normally extracted by Seaforth as lord of the land.

7

All tradismen, as men of occupa[t]ioun that schall be brought in by the companie, schall have and injoy fitt ground to build housing as great as the companie ordaine without paying any thing to the lord of the land dureing the tyme of the 31 yeiris beginning from the day of the building.

8

That the companie and all these that salbe brought in by theme frome q[uha]t landis or places taught be alssweill spirituall as temporall persones salbe protectit for q[uha]t caus so evir they may be fled or come out of the Netherlandis for; other for debt or for delictes, without the lord of the land sall give leave in any maner of wayes that any sic personnes be arrestit or molestit for debtis and delictes committit or maid in ather plaicis nether in their schippis guidis, wairis, or merchandices nor th[ei]r effectis therof be molestit or incumbent although the lord of the lands ware tharunto requyrit by other princes or potentates; but this sall have no place in any offence delicte or debt committed or contractit to the lord of the land.

9

For which reason it shall not be lawfull to grant or use repressalls againes sic personnes bot their sall injoy ane protection under the protection and safeguard of the lord of the land.

10

That these that sall come ther w[i]t[h] consent of the companie bot utherwayes not, sall have power and libertie to trade and sail wt their schippis in all places and landes alssweill in Christendome as in Barbarrie and also in the East and West Indeis.²¹²

11

That it salbe lau[chfu]ll for the companie to exerceise cristiane religionn in sic sorte as the companie judge and find fitt w[i]t[h]out that the lord of the land sall have ony contradictionne.

12

That they sall maintayne preacheris and churchemen as also th[ei]r schoolmasteris out of the companies meanes as they sall think best.

13

That all strangers being w[i]t[h] consent and leave of the companie come to dwell in the said Iland and afterwardis desyrous agane to depairt from thence may at all tymes

²¹² The Barbary Coast – north Africa.

frielie doe the same, taking or carrying with them all quhat their might have prospered and to sell thr houss, landis, and unmoveable guidis, if any they have, w[i]t[h]out pay-
ing any thing to the lord of the ground or for their passport.

14

That the inheritors sall be frie frome all chargies and impositiones and that the gudes
sall go unto the airis according to the law of the lland or according to sic order as the
companie sall mack.

15

That the judicatorie of judgement aslweill criminall as ciwill caussis sall stand to the
companie who sall lett judgis over seik, as they sall being unto the land. W[hi]ch the
judges sall determine all causs and difference among strangeris at the last chairges and
w[i]t[h] most expeditioun according to the custome of Holland and sic other ordi-
nances and lawis as the companie sall make.

16

That it sallbe lau[chfu]ll for the companie to transport or land out of the iland moneyis
without any molestatione or incumbrance.

17

That it sallbe lau[chfu]ll for the companie to mak or causs to be maid in the iland salt
therto use or consume it q[uhai]r it sall pleas theme paying outward an gilder for ane last.

18

It sall be laull for the said chiefe participantis and no man elss w[i]t[h]out ther consent
to carrie or transport out of the said lland ony horss, mearis, or geldinges paying for
dutie ane gilder per head.

E6 Memorandum anent the Hollanders. No Date, 1629 × 1630

*Endorsed 'Cond[itio]ns Hollanders'*²¹³

In the first it sall be leisum to the interprysersers & all these of ther forfactrie &
companye to cu[m] to the Lewes w[i]t[h] ther scheipis, busschis, peinkis, or boots or
any uther weissell q[uha]tsumever in all the ports, beayis, or lochis within the bounds
of the said Iylsand of the Lewes or also it sall be leisum to them to feische in the seais
betwux the Iylland of the Lewes and the fewid (?) land in the south and to feische in

²¹³ This transcript from NRS, GD 46/18/140/2.

the seas betuix the Iylland of the Lewes & the Iyll of Rona & Sulliskear²¹⁴ on the northe. And y[i]f they ar leichentiat to feische the heiring & all uther schorts of feisschis paying to the lord of the Iylland of the Lewes during the tym of the libertie [blank] money of Holland.

2. Item, it is condissendit th[a]t the foirsaid comanye sall peay for everie last of quhatsumever merchandeis theu sall export from any libertie of the Lewis to any uther Kingdome allsweill as of fesccheis the sowm of [blank] money of Holland and sall be obliseed to ressave the kokat from the land lords deput to tht effect.

3. That the said company inhabitants being burgissis of Stroneway sall have libertie to bring in & to caus breing in, in the port of the Iylland all sorts of merchandeis & to sell them to the inhabitants of the Iyll of the Lewes & to the rest of the subiectis of the Kingdome of Britane, payand th[e]r for the kengis cowstomes according to the lawes of Scotland.

4. That these the forsaid company sall haw ane pleace for beiging of the houssis in the towne of Stornoway togidder w[i]t[h] licence of mosse for thr fyre and dewtie for labouring, the yearis paying yearlie [blank] money of Holland for the mosse leive & th[a]t thei sall be frie for teinds belonging to the land.

5. That any duelling in the said towne of Stornoway not being burgesse sall not have libertie to sell any merchandeis q[uha]tsumeveror to trafeik w[i]t[h] any boots or vessels quhatsumever, bot on the contrar the burgesses of the said towne sall haw the onlye leibertie to trafeic in all the placeis of his ma[jes]ties dominions and also in any places of Eourope, Barbaririe, or east or west einy[w]isse.

6. That the magistrats of the said broche²¹⁵ sall haw pouer to judge sorts of cryme either seiwill or criminall accordinge to the lawes of the borrowes of Scotland.

7. That it sall be frei to the burgissis of Stornoway to mak salt & to use it for all sort of th[e]r com[m]dati[e]s bot y[i]f thay transport it out of the countray they sall pay [blank] money for ilk last th[er]of .

8. That it sall noe be permittit to any of the Iylland to transport nather horse, kye mearis nor oxine out of the said Iylland wt out the permissione of the magistratis of Stornoway, and paying to the lord of the land tuentie /p/ scottis for everie head, exept these th[a]t sall transport thr awin guidis to the overlords land in the continent.

9. It sall be leisum for the burgesses of Steornway to bye all sort of merchandeis belonging to the said Iyll & th[a]t non[e] of the same go out of the Iyll w[i]t[h]out the permission of the said magistratis, thay offering for alsmuche as any uther merchant wald giwe for it.

²¹⁴ Eilean Rònaigh (North Rona) and Sulaisgeir. Two small islands around 70 Km n.n.east of Robha Robhanais / the Butt of Lewis.

²¹⁵ 'That the magistrates of the said burgh shall have power to judge sorts of crime, either civil or criminal....'

10. To the burgissis of the said towne [it] sall be oblissed to cu[m] w[i]t[h] all thir schippis & boots to the port of Steornway & Karlway²¹⁶ & th[e]r in entir of the lastis of th[e]r feisches & guidis to the end th[a]t they may peay the customes for the sam[e] be the last & resawe acquittance, the w[hi]ch from the deputt of the said lord and th[a]t efter trayell is mead that any salt be consellit, it sall be leisum to the lord of the land to confiscat scheipe & guidis for the sam[e].

11. That the burgissis sall be oblissit to c[on]tract ane patent from the lords of the esteatis of Holand tht no man exept they sall not cu[m] to feische in the said seais w[i]t[h]out the permissiōe of the lord of the Iylland.

12. That all thes qua sall cu[m] to be inhabitants wtin the towne sall naturalleisse them selfis to be Scottis men.

E7 Mr Bernard Mackenzie & the Lewis Company, 1631

*Transcription and translation kindly made by Dr Edda Frankot, Erasmus University, Rotterdam.*²¹⁷

Transcription

Ingegeven articulen binnen Middelburch in / Zeelant op den 12 jannewarij anno 1631 aende / Heeren Reeders vanden Leuwiss Compagnie door / Mr Bernard Makenzie elderman van sijn Genade / Heer Graeff van Zeafort etc als gesonden / sijnde vanden selven heer, blijckende sijn medebrengers / missive dato 18e december anno 1630 onder seyl? / geschreven in Edenburch in Schotland.

Eerste

Om te handelen met Zeusche Compagnie hoe / veel ingesetenen, huysgesinnen, schepen, / pincken & bussen sij luden vermeugen door / haere middelen aldair te zeijnden, om daer / te Leuwis, in Storneway, te comen woonen / ende haere resydentie daer thebben, met haer / famillyes, ende eyge goederen, ende alsdan / daer ghenatueryaeliceerde schotsen te / wesen, ende als vrije burgers daer te / woonen.

2

Wat dese voors. ingesetenen huysgesinnen / mijn heer de graeff willen / geven in den somme gelts, voor eens / ende al. Voor dese altijts durende / privilege. Voor haer ende haere naer – / comelinge altijd geduerende, om daer / borgers ende genatuerryae-

²¹⁶ Càrlabagh in west Lewis.

²¹⁷ This transcript taken from NRS, GD 46/18/41.

liceert te wesen / alsoo vrij als des Coninckx eygen ondersaten ende sullen genieten de naervolgende / privilegen.

3

Te weten dat sij luden de privilegen / sullen genieten, van vrij turff ende brant / ende plaetsen, gronden om haer huysen op te / bouwen. Insgelijcks tgeniet van alle / de havens bayen int voors. eylant, geen / wtgesondert. Item om sout/sont? te maken anckers, ende gront lyberteyten, mede vrijdom / om haere beesten te weyden op het gemeijnte / vande stadt, ende generaelyck tgene onsse / eygen ingebore schotsen sullen hebben.

4

Item indien de voors. Compagnie van / Zeelant dit willen aennemen dat ick / met haer sal accorderen, ende recomponseren / in mijns heeren naem van haere moeyten / ende deenst hier in aen mijn heeren / gedaen ende dat sijluden indyense de / voors. compagnie daer toe verwecken konnen / om aldaer te gaen woonen, ende haerluden / daer toe mouverende, ende in sulcken / gevalle de compagnie alsdan beter conditie / van mijn heer de graeff sullen bedingen / ende dat de compagnie sal gelieven te schrijven / aen mijn heer voors. wat voor / konditien sijluden selfs wilden hebben / om andere daer toe te mouveren.

5

Dat de compagnie voors. consydereren / willen wat costen moeyten ende arbeyt / mijn heer in dese den jaers geleden heeft / ende dat dit sijn vierde reyse is naer / Ingelant om dit werck tot een eynde / te brengen. Ende wat groot disput / mijn heer gehadt heeft om haerent / willen soo dat mijn heere qualijck in dye / tijt in sijn eijgen lant is geweest ende / dat het hem boven de hondert dusent / gulden gecost heeft.

6

Dat de voors. compagnie considereren / willen dat die van Schotland mijn / heer de graeff schoone conditien / presenteren indien mijn heer den / voors. compagnie wilde verlaeten / dwelck door hem is gerefusseert.

7

Wat voor nummer van schepen, pincken / bussen de voors. compagnie van Zeelant / willen equiperen ende toerusten, om daer / tot Leuwis te blijven ende daer te vissen / ende andere commodeteyten alsser / sullen wesen gepreveliceert vanden / konink onssen meester, aen sijnnen / onderdaenen om te transporteren / wt het koninck van Schotland.

8

Wat de compagnie van Zeelant voors. / mijn heer willen geven voor eens ende / al, voor dese haer grootse privilege / te krijgen, alsoo vrij wesende als eenige / andere

genaturaelyceerde dye daer / sullen comen woonen altijt geduerende / sonder daer op Leuwis woonachtig / te sijn.

9

Dat de voors. compagnie consydereren willen / dat die van Hollant ofte Neerland / presenteerde aen de heer graeff van / Mersel van Schotlant 10 dusent ponden / sterling de prevelege van een kleyn klip / gelegen bij Pieterhed om haer packhuys / daer op te maecken, maer het werde / gerefussert bij des Konninck Jacobus.

10

Wat voor resolutie ofte antwoord / de voors. compagnie mij willen geven / op t'hoopen vanden 80 tonnen geschutz / leggende op Lochouw, elke tonne / wegende 2 dusent ponden gewichte

11

Wat voor resolutie de voors. compagnie / willen we.en aengaende de rekeninge / dye ick alhier van mijnheer hebbe(n) / mit gebracht daer de voors. compagnie / mijnheer soude reteren 1463£5 s. 8 d. / Schots gelt het welcke ick belastinge / hebbe van mijn heere t'selve t'ontfangen / gelijk bij den brief van mijn heer voors. / is gementionneert

12

Wat resolutie de compagnie voors. / gelieve te nemen nopende de bosgage / het welcke schoone proffijten sullen / wt brengen, des selven bos sijnde / 23 Schotsche mijllen lanck ende 1½ mijllen breed / staende aent water in de loch genaemt / Loch Lerckack. Meest eycken hout / mede vueren houdt, boomen van vueren / hout sijn 3 vadem dicke ende hondert voeten / lanck de eijcke boomen sijn 4 vaders / dycke de meeste part, schoone boomen / tot schepen als anders.

Copie des articles proposees par Mr Makignj...dela Comp. de Le(w)es

Translation

Articles provided in Middelburg in Zeeland on 12 January 1631 to the Lords Shipowners of the Lewis Company by Mr Bernard Mackenzie alderman of his Grace the Lord Earl of Seaforth etc. as sent by the same gentleman, as is evident from the letter brought by the carrier dated 18 December 1630 written under seal in Edinburgh in Scotland.

Firstly

To trade with the Zeeland Company how many inhabitants, families, ships, pinks and herring boats they are able to send there by their means, to come and live there in

Lewis, in Stornoway, and keep their residence there, with their families, and their own goods, and then to become naturalised Scots, and to live there as free burghers.

2

What these aforesaid resident families will give my Lord Earl in money, once and for all for this eternal privilege, for her and her heirs always lasting, to be burghers and naturalised [people] as free as the king's own subjects and shall enjoy the following privileges.

3

To know that they will enjoy the privileges of free turf and fire (ie fuel) and place, ground to build their houses on. Similary the use of all harbours, bays on the aforesaid island, none excepted. Also anchors to make salt, and land liberties, also freedom to pasture their animals on the commons of the town, and generally that which our own born Scots shall have.

4

Also if the aforesaid company of Zeeland will accept that which I shall reach an agreement with them on and recompense her [i.e. *the company*] in the name of my Lord for her efforts and service done in this to my Lord and that they can convince people in the service of the aforesaid company to go and live there and can persuade people to go there, and in the case that the company would negotiate better conditions from my Lord, the Earl, the company will be so good as to write to my Lord aforesaid what conditions they would like to receive to persuade others to go.

5

That the company aforesaid shall consider what costs, efforts and labour my Lord has put in these past years and that this is his fourth journey to England to bring this task to a close. And what great dispute my Lord has had for her sake, resulting in the fact that my Lord has hardly been in his own country during this time and that it has cost him over a hundred thousand guilders.

6

That the aforesaid company shall consider that they of Scotland would present my Lord, the Earl, with favourable conditions if he would leave the aforesaid company, which was refused by him.

7

What number of ships, pinks, herring boats the aforesaid company of Zeeland shall equip and fit out, to stay there in Lewis and to fish there and other commodities as

shall be privileged by the king our master to his subjects to transport from the king[dom] of Scotland.

8

What the company of Zeeland are willing to give my Lord once and for all to receive this her greatest privilege, to be as free as any other naturalised [person] which shall come to live there for eternity without being resident on Lewis.

9

That the aforesaid company shall consider that they of Holland or the Netherlands presented the Lord Earl Marischal of Scotland with 10 thousand pounds sterling for the privilege to build warehouses on a small rock near Peterhead, but it was refused by King James.

10

What resolution or answer the aforesaid company will give me with regards to the desired 80 tuns of artillery to be placed at Lochouw,²¹⁸ every tun weighing 2 thousand pounds in weight.

11

What resolution the aforesaid company shall ._____ with regards to the bill which I have brought with me from My Lord according to which the company owes my Lord 1463 pounds, 5 s. 8 d. in Scottish money, which I have been ordered by my lord to receive as is mentioned in the letter by my Lord.

12

What resolution the company wishes to take regarding the woods which shall bring nice profits, which woods are 23 Scottish miles long, and one and a half mile wide, located by the waterside of the loch named Loch Lerkack.²¹⁹ [This consists] mainly of oak, and also pine, the pine trees being 3 fathom thick and a hundred feet long, the oak trees are 4 fathoms thick, for the most part good trees for [building] ships and other things.

Copy of the proposed articles by Mr Mackenzie of the Lewis Company.

²¹⁸ Loch Iù, Siorrachd Rois / Loch Ewe, Wester Ross.

²¹⁹ Possibly Loch Lurgainn in Coigeach, Wester Ross which might have been wooded with 'aik' (oak) and fir, suitable for these purposes. Another possibility is that this refers to Loch Kirkaig, Inverkirkaig in Assynt (OS NC, 148150), lands over which Seaforth had a superiority at this time. This bay has a river which leads up to two long lochs, Fionn Loch and Loch Veyatie (or Loch Mheathaidh) which might have also have been the site earmarked here for logging.

F1 Englishmen Present in Lewis, 1630–42

Date	Name	Origin/port	Vessel/activity
1630	Dymes, Captain John.	?	Survey of Lewis. ²²⁰
1631 (?)–1638	Harris, William.	Bristol, merchant	Passport to Lewis ²²¹
1633/05	Mason, Captain John.	King's Lynn, Norfolk & Portsmouth, Hampshire	The <i>Peter</i> . ²²²
1633/05/25	Buxton, Captain William.	London (?)	The <i>Return</i> (?). ²²³
1633/07/04	Goodwin, Thomas (?).	Bristol	The <i>St John</i> (?). ²²⁴

²²⁰ CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1629–31*, 449.

²²¹ TNA, SP 16/408, fol. 290. A William Harris was a master of the *Marygold*, from Plymouth, 1626, but it is not clear that it is the same man. T. Gray (ed.), *Early Stuart Mariners and Shipping. The Maritime Surveys of Devon and Cornwall, 1619–35* (Devon & Cornwall Record Society, Exeter, 1990), 85. This Harris was admitted a burgess of Bristol, 1630. P. McGrath, *Merchants and Merchandise in Seventeenth century Bristol* (Bristol Record Society, 1955), 110. He was trading in tobacco in 1634, around Devon and Cornwall, and he later brought provisions to Derry/Londonderry in 1642. Neither passport to Lewis is dated. CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1633–1634*, 300. CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1625–1649*, 670. CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1638–39*, 275. Harris was trading with the Azores by 1644 and one of his ships was captured by Turkish pirates. He died sometime between 1649 and 1650. H.E. Knott (ed.), *The Deposition Books of Bristol, vol. 1, 1643–1647* (Bristol Record Society, 1935), 83. H.E. Knott & E. Ralph (eds.), *The Deposition Books of Bristol vol. 2, 1650–1654* (Bristol Record Society, 1948), 17. It is unclear if this William Harris, Bristol merchant, was one and the same man as the contemporary London merchant bearing the same name who was involved in the cheese and tobacco trades and also became a planter in Virginia. R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution: commercial change, political conflict and London's overseas traders, 1550–1653* (Verso, 2003), 160, 176, 183.

²²² NRS, GD 1/665/1.

²²³ CSP, *Domestic: Charles I, 1633–1634*, 19, 71. For some of the activities of Buxton in his naval career see CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1628–29*, 9, 22, 46, 48, 64, 70, 80, 89, 91, 131. His ship, the *Return* of London, sank off Plymouth, in March 1632. CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1631–33*, 288, 306. Buxton was also present in Stornoway, intervening in a violent dispute between Thomas Turner of Yarmouth and Oliver Mowat, a Scots merchant, in 1635. RPCS (2nd ser.), vi, 5–6. Captain Buxton (or 'Button') also seems to have been involved with the tobacco trade, shipping over 10,000 pounds of tobacco into London at this period. R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, 183.

²²⁴ TNA, SP 16/242/28. CSP, *Charles I, 1633–4*, 130. A ship called the *St John* seems to have been captured from the French, 14 May 1630, and taken into Bristol and it may well have been the same vessel that was bound for Lewis. D.L. Evans (ed.), *Acts of the Privy Council of England, 1629, May – 1630, May* (London, HMSO, 1960), no. 1251.

Date	Name	Origin/port	Vessel/activity
1634–1637	Low, John, agent.	London ?	Adventurers' agent, Lewis. ²²⁵
1634/01/19	?	?	<i>The Messenger</i> . ²²⁶
1634/01/19	Wilson, Christopher, Master.	Colchester, Essex	<i>William and John</i> . ²²⁷
1634–37	Berisford, Rowland.	London, citizen and skinner.	Agent for the lords and others at Stornoway. ²²⁸
1635/02/04	Rand, Edward, skipper.	Deal, Kent (?).	? ²²⁹
1635/04/01	Riddell, Christopher with John Jaffray, William Hardie, Thomas Cooke, Leonard Bure, sailors with others, Englishmen, 'altogether 100 persons' at Stornoway.	Colchester or Deptford (?).	Following Thomas Turner and Edward Rand in dispute at Stornoway. ²³⁰

225 TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 20. NRS, RD 1/513, fol. 30. D.O. Shilton & R. Holworthy (eds.), *High Court of Admiralty Examinations* (MS volume 53), 1637–38 (London, 1932), no. 68. A John Lowe, son of William of Passenham, Northamptonshire, was apprenticed to a London fishmonger named William Angell, 1620. It is not certain, however, that this was the same man. C. Webb (ed.), *London Livery Company apprenticeship registers: Fishmongers' company, 1614–1800* (London, 2006), 83.

226 This vessel was driven ashore by bad weather in Stornoway in early January 1634. Appendix Eg.

227 RPCS (2nd Ser.), vi, 12–13. TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 20. CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1635*, 449. These English ships going to Lewis may have been heavily armed. A ship bearing this name, possibly the same vessel, was described in an account from 1627, which included a list of the weaponry it bore. G.G. Harris, *Trinity House of Deptford, Transactions, 1609–35*, no 293.

228 Berisford, aged 50 in 1637, a citizen and skinner of St George, Botolph Lane, London, was partner for a time (c.1634–35 ?) with Oliver Mowat in Stornoway. Shilton & Holworthy, *High Court of Admiralty Examinations* no. 68. Beresford appears in a two more transactions, 1634 and 1637, apparently in Lewis, related to the British fishery company. Harris (ed.), *List of witnesses in the High Court of Admiralty, 1619–49: HCA 13/43–63* (Kew, Surrey, List and Index Society, 2010).

229 RPCS (2nd ser.), vi, 12. An Edward Rand from Deal in Kent, probably the same man, was employed by Trinity House, Deptford, around 1627 as a pilot. Harris (ed.), *Trinity House of Deptford, Transactions, 1609–35*, no. 283, 297, p. 183.

230 RPCS (2nd series), vi, 12–13.

(Table Continued)

Date	Name	Origin/port	Vessel/activity
1635/04/01	Turner, Thomas, master. James Boyd (boatswain), Laurence Fookes (master's mate), John Smith (pilot), Thomas Cocke (apprentice) and George 'a scotch boy.'	Yarmouth, Norfolk.	<i>Gift of God</i> ²³¹
1635/06/20	House, Mr Richard.	Yarmouth, Norfolk.	<i>The Pembroke</i> ²³²
1635/06/20	Jepson, Mr Balten.		<i>The Danbye</i> ²³³
1636/09	Cobbye, Richard (master). John Mowter, John Cullen		Crew of the <i>Hopewell</i> ²³⁴

- ²³¹ This ship, with Turner as master, was owned by Allan Burlingham, Thomas Stilsoun [Tilson], Daniel Wilgreffe, John Cooper and Henrie Lund, merchants of Yarmouth. *RPCS* (2nd ser.), vi, 5–6. Turner alleged that when they went ashore at Stornoway in 1635, Oliver Mowat went on board (claiming to be a part owner) and refused to let Turner back on board. Thomas Lindsay an officer of the Vice Admiralty of Scotland arrested the ship and Turner claimed he was imprisoned for a period in Mowat's house at Stornoway. However, the owners of the vessel took a counter-action against Turner, claiming he sold the ship's provisions meaning the company was on a small allowance, that he was drinking and neglecting the ship's affairs. Furthermore, it was alleged that Turner had threatened Mowat saying that if he came on board he would 'keel haule' him and 'make a water ratt of him.' Shilton & Holworthy, eds., *High Court of Admiralty Examinations*, no. 68, 505. Turner bound Iain Mackay of Thurso and Oliver Mowat to stand surety for £1000 that Alasdair Mackenzie of Achilty would not harm him or his crew, dated at Stornoway 4 January 1635. *NRS*, RD 1/489 fol. 29v. A Thomas Turner was on the council of the factory of Surat, Western India, c. 1630–33. Although it is not clear that this is the same man it is a possibility given Sir William Courteen's involvement in both Lewis and India. See note, below, for Captain William Cobb. W. Foster (ed.), *The English Factories in India, 1630–1633. A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, Bombay Record Office, etc.* (Oxford, 1910), 26, 186, 224, 258, 298, 301, 305–307, 322.
- ²³² TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 50. A Richard House, it is not clear if it was the same man, was master of the *Lyon* of Yarmouth in 1646. H.E. Knott (ed.), *The Deposition Books of Bristol, vol. 1, 1643–1647* (Bristol Record Society, 1935), 174.
- ²³³ TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 50.
- ²³⁴ The crew of the *Hopewell* signed up for a four month voyage to the 'Lewis country in Ireland.' On their return they had a dispute with the curers who had hired them, Thomas Ayres and John Austin, regarding their wages. Shilton & Holworthy (eds.), *High Court of Admiralty Examinations*, no. 22. *CSP, Domestic, Charles I, 1636–1637*, 540. Compare the territorial description here by this English crew 'Lewis country in Ireland' with 'het eylant van Leeuwis onder Yerlant' (the island of Lewis under Ireland) given in a deposition by a crew from Zeeland, 1630, GAR, ONA 320/643 (appendix E4).

Date	Name	Origin/port	Vessel/activity
	(mate), with Robert Anchor, Thos Reade, Wm Taylor, Wm Hamond, Rodger Hodges, Alexr Howe, Richard Bell and George Bradford.		
1637/07/10	Chapman, Richard.	London, fishmonger (?).	Factor for John Low ²³⁵
1637/12/04	Bennit, Thomas.	London.	Passport to Lewis ²³⁶
1637/12/04	Brooke, Batholomew.	?	Passport to Lewis ²³⁷
1637/12/04	Crowther, Richard.	London.	Passport to Lewis ²³⁸
1637/12/04	Dewell, Humphrey.	London.	Passport to Lewis ²³⁹

²³⁵ NRS, RD 1/513, fol. 30. Two persons of this name appear in contemporary records, although it is not clear if either was the same man who turned up in Lewis. One Richard Chapman, shipwright, had been employed in the shipyards of the Thames around this time. It might be that the British fishery company contemplated building ships close to the source of the timber on Seaforth's West Highland estates. G.V. Scammell, *Seafaring, Sailors and Trade, 1450–1750* (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2003), 36–37. Another Richard Chapman was active as a master fishmonger in London around 1618–19, when he took on two apprentices a William (son of William) Chapman, citizen & haberdasher and a William (son of William) Parker from Saffron Walden, Essex. Webb, *London Livery Company apprenticeship registers: Fishmongers' company, 1614–1800*, 24.

²³⁶ TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 50. CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1637–1638*, 8. A Thomas Bennet, nephew to Alderman Sir Thomas Bennet, is on record in London in the early seventeenth century. R.G. Lang, 'The social origins and social aspirations of Jacobean London merchants,' in *The Economic History Review*, 27 (1974), 28–47, at 38 & n. 3.

²³⁷ CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1637–1638*, 8.

²³⁸ CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1637–1638*, 8. Crowther was involved in a dispute involving soap in Westminster, 1637 and had been granted the right (together with Alexander Moore) to collect parings of oiled leather, horse hoofs, cows' and oxen claws and also turtle shells and old rags. CSP *Domestic, Charles I, 1637*, 43. CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1635–1636*, 544.

²³⁹ CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1637–1638*, 8. Dewell was involved in a court case overseen by Henry Lord Maltravers and Thomas Earl of Arundel (both patrons of the Association of British Fishing) against a Francis Sherwood and a William Rymes in 1638. CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1638–39*, 51. Dewell also, in March 1639, had a commission, together with others, to apprehend illegally traded leather in southern England. CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1638–39*, 624. A Humphrey Dewell, cooper, in London, perhaps the same man, also bought up a cargo of 'damned' Canary wine at half price in early 1638. Shilton & Holworthy (eds.), *High Court of Admiralty Examinations*, no. 599.

(Table Continued)

Date	Name	Origin/port	Vessel/activity
1637/12/04	Jegges, Richard.	London (?)	Passport to Lewis ²⁴⁰
1637/12/04	Wright, Henry.	London, fishmonger.	Passport to Lewis ²⁴¹
1637/12/04	Wright, James.	?	Passport to Lewis ²⁴²
1638 ?	McConnell, Seamus.	Groomsport, Ireland.	<i>The Katherine</i> ²⁴³
1638/05/07	Cocke, Hugh.	London, merchant.	Passport to Lewis ²⁴⁴
1638/05/07	Upshire, William.	London, merchant.	Passport to Lewis ²⁴⁵
1638/12	Ffarewell, Simon, skipper.	Southampton (& Yarmouth).	<i>Speedwell</i> ²⁴⁶
1639/05/21	Jeggs, Robert.	London, goldsmith.	Passport to Lewis ²⁴⁷
1639/05/21	Kneveton, Daniel.	London, goldsmith.	Passport to Lewis ²⁴⁸

240 CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1637–1638*, 8. Possibly a relative of Robert Jegges, who had a passport to Lewis shortly after this. See below.

241 CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1637–1638*, 8. A Henry Wright, master fishmonger of London, took a Daniel Lewin of Broxbourne, Hertfordshire, as an apprentice in 1648. Webb, *London Livery Company apprenticeship registers: Fishmongers' company, 1614–1800*, 80.

242 CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1637–1638*, 8.

243 The calendar entry states that McConnell was going to the fishing in the Isles of Scotland although it is not clear which islands. Appleby (ed.) *Calendar of Material relating to Ireland from the High Court of Admiralty Examinations*, no. 1108, p. 269. This Seamus may have been following the directions of Sir Ragnall MacDonnell, Earl of Antrim. Both Antrim and his wife Lady Katherine Manners, after whom this boat may have been named, were signatories for the charter for the British Fishery Association, 1630 and 1632. RPS, A1630/7/95. In addition to this Ragnall Macdonnell, Earl of Antrim, was an alderman of the city of London. Curl, *The Londonderry Plantation, 1609–1914*, 39.

244 CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1637–1638*, 419. A reference survives to a Hugh Cocke, tobacco-merchant, of Garlic Hill, London, 1 February 1637–38, although it is not certain if this was the same man. Shilton & Holworthy, eds., *High Court of Admiralty Examinations*, no. 501.

245 TNA, SP 16/373, fol. 260.

246 R.C. Anderson (ed.), *The Book of Examinations and Depositions, 1622–1644. Vol. iii, 1634–1639* (Southampton Records Society, 1934), 89–90.

247 CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1639*, 203.

248 TNA, SP 16/421, fol. 174. CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1639*, 202–203. Neither Kneveton nor Jeggs, however, appear in a published list of London goldsmiths, suggesting, perhaps, that they may have either originated outwith London or else that they were not well established there. A. Heal, *The London Goldsmiths, 1200–1800. A record of the names and addresses of the craftsmen, their shop-signs and trade cards* (Cambridge, 1935).

Date	Name	Origin/port	Vessel/activity
1642	Cobb, Captain William.	London, Wapping.	<i>The Roc</i> . Stornoway & Minch ²⁴⁹

F2 Raising Stock for the Company of Lewis, n.d., c.1629–31

Captain Masons oppinion how the stock to be raised by the Associat[e]s of the Right Honorable the Lo[rd] Highe The[saur]er of England for the intended fishings in the Isle of Lewes ought to be employed (*n.d.*, c. 1629–31).²⁵⁰

1. The Associates ou[gh]th to be naturalized Scottishmen and made burgesses of a free burrough to be created at Sternoway in Lewes according to an act of parlament of

²⁴⁹ Captain Cobb (born c.1605) was in dispute with Oliver Mowat of Stornoway, 1642, alleging piracy on Mowat's part, a charge Mowat refuted. RPCS (2nd ser.), vii, 548, 611. An undated ticket survives from Stornoway at this time in Mowat's hand giving a discharge to a person named William Cobb. NRS, GD 1/665/1. Cobb, master of the *Roc* of London, complained at the Sheriff court in Kirkwall that he had been violently spoiled of his goods at sea, off Skye, by Mowat and his accomplices including Iain Mackay, of goods such as anchors, sails, cables and tows and even the 'float-boat'. NRS, SC 11/5/1642/3. Captain William Cobb had been involved in a venture with London merchants led by Endymion Porter in 1635. He seems to have been no stranger to disputes and had been accused of piracy, having made a predatory raid in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean sometime during 1635–36 on Portuguese, Dutch and Moghul shipping causing damages to the latter group alone of 107,000 rupees in 1635. Shortly after this he was pursued by damages by these groups. By 1640 a warrant was issued for his arrest and he was later caught and imprisoned for a period in London, 1643–44, on charges of piracy in the Red Sea. He had also gone on a voyage to the Canaries as master sometime before 1637 and he sailed as a master on a vessel, *the James* to Newfoundland and Naples, c. 1637. This last vessel belonged to Sir William Courteen, one of the investors in the British fishery company, a connection which might explain Cobb's subsequent presence in Stornoway. Shilton & Holworthy (eds.), *High Court of Admiralty Examinations*, no. 356, 358, 540. W. Foster (ed.), *The English Factories in India. A Calendar of documents in the India Office, Westminster, 1642–1645* (Oxford, 1913), 237. CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1635*, 96. CSP, *Domestic, Charles I, 1636–37*, 528–529. R. Brenner, *Merchants and Revolution*, 170. E.L. Sainsbury (ed.), *A Calendar of the Court Minutes etc., of the East India Company, 1635–1639* (Oxford, 1907), xv, xxi, xxvii, 58, 246, 253, 290, 299, 337, 339–340, 352. E.L. Sainsbury (ed.), *A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company, 1640–1643* (1909), 5, 28, 315, 322, 354. E.L. Sainsbury (ed.), *A Calendar of the court of the minutes of the East India Company, 1644–1649* (Oxford, 1912), 24, 51, 52, 188.

²⁵⁰ This transcript taken from TNA, SP 16/229/95.

King James 6th that they may be capable of any traffique to those parts as well as fishings.

2 That the King purchase the Isle of Lewes from the Earle of Seafort in whole or in part in lewe wherof his Ma[jes]tie may give other lands of the Crowne of Scotland according to the vallew as I shall shew his Ma[jes]tie, which lye more convenient for the Earle. And soe the Kinge to have the whole benefitt of the towles²⁵¹ on petty customs of the fishings of that island, or otherwayes his maj[est]ie to sett downe a rate reasonable for all adventurers to pay for packhouses and drying netts.

3 The harbour and loughs on the maine land opposite to the Lewes must be free for our fishinge with ground leave also as in the Lewes to which end the kings letter must be obtayned to the propriettors of those places and the The[saur]er to make composition with them, the fishings of the Isles of Orknay and Shetland free being the kings land.

4 The King to bestowe 10 peeces Iron ordnance with powder and shott sufficyent from tyme to tyme for [the] maintenance of a ffort upon the Island in Sternoway. The Captain and the souldiers shall be paid at the charge of the generall fishers and inhabitants.

5 Every adventurer may increase his adventure yearlye as he pleaseth but not with-drawe it out of stocke without consent of the maior part of the associats of his company.

6 All codd and linge to be brought to sale in this kingdome for a tyme and herringe likewise except the sommer herringe which are only fitt for the marketts in Muscovia, Poland and other places.

7 All fishes employed in our shipping or boats shall goe for shares, and there shares shall be bought at a rate by the th[esaur]er to the use and benefitt of the associats and his Ma[jesti]es subjects cheify or all together to be sett on worke.

8 All such fishers as will sell fish to be delivered fresh at the packhouse in the Lewes whether they be inhabitants fo the Island or others shall have a reasonable rate for at for which cause part of the stocke in mony and victualls and some other comodities in a magazin must be there.

9 Every adventurer shall have a bill of adventure for the Th[esaur]er for his particular and faire books sall be kept of all buyings and sellings settinge out and returns whereby oure in the yeare every one shall know how his moneys are employed and how his stocke in that particular stands.

10 It will be necessary that the adventurers or the greater part of them meet at tymes to conferre of their of their affaires and to order their bussinesses wherin noe man of them sall be excluded from his vote or to avoyd the trubling a multitude a committee may be chosen out of them and their meetings to be at the house of Captaine Mason in Stanchurch street.

11 Seeing this worke doth tend verie much to Setting a work the poor of this kingdome which for the most part are now idle and vagrants if his Ma[jes]tie shall be

²⁵¹ Tolls.

pleased to graunt to this company in favour of this their enterprise 6 ackres of Broom-field Close neer Deptford for building workhouses and habitations for the poore that shalbe Employed in spinning and maeking netts. The Cittye of London may be indured to build the said houses at their charge, or Sir Henry Martyn out of the mony for pious uses may build them in short tyme and the stock shallbe made to sett the poore on worke by theis adventures.

F3 The Appointment of Captain Mason, n.d., c.1629–31

We whose names are hereafter in this booke wth our own hands (or by the writing of such as who have authorized subscribed) doe agree shall before the (blank) day of (blank) next will pay or cause to be pay[e]d into the hand of Captain Jo[h]n Mason Thes[aur]er and Surveyor for us who are associates in partnershippe wth the right Hono[r]able the Lord High Th[esaur]er of England and others of the Domicell & Comonalty of the Societie of the Fishinge of Greate Bryttayne and Ireland: The severall somis hereafter in this booke expressed.²⁵²

And we doe further agrie and consent to be p[ar]tners in the trade of the fishings aforesaid and to allowe and beare a rat[e]able p[ar]te of the charge and losse of our said severall adventurers soe employed and ro receive a ratable p[ar]te of the p[ro]fitt and gain thereof from the hands of the said Captain Jo[h]n Mason whome we doe appointe to be receivor and expendor of our said severall adventurers. Hereby authorises him there from tyme to tyme to p[ro]vide ffishermen, shippinge netts and all other necessities whatsoever appertayning and p[ro]per for the said fishing, an accompt of all wch premiss[e]s is to be made upp and declared to such of the associats as shalbe appointed yeerely between Candlemas and Easter. And what p[ro]fit shalbe found to arise to each adventurer over and above his principall or capital stocke it shalbe lawfull for him if he pleases to take leavinge his said first principall stocke to be contynued in the trade of the fishing; It shalbe free for ev[er]yone of the associats to increase his adventure yeerely as he pleaseth, but not to withdrawe all or anie p[ar]te of it without the consent of the mai[or] p[ar]te of the associats in this partnershippe.

F4 The Projected Costs of a Fishing Bus Fleet, n.d., c.1629–31

The Compt of the charges of outreiking ane Busch of about fourtie lastis to the fishing and what profit may be exported yearly.²⁵³

²⁵² This transcript taken from TNA, SP 16/229/96.

²⁵³ This transcript taken from TNA, SP 16/229/97.

Imprimis for ane Bushe making thrie returnes yearly being loaded with herring
would extend to ane Hundreth lastis att ten shilling the last is 1000 lib

Charge of Outreik

Imprimis 100 lastis of Barrels	72 lib
for salt thereto	88 lib
for beir to drink	42 lib
for bread	21 lib
for butter and bacon	18 lib
peis and billets	06 lib
for mens wages	<u>88 lib</u>
	335 lib

Item for the bushe with all her apparrell and implements

for fishing prowying all new is 500 lib

Summa totall of charges is 835 lib

Which being deducted declare for the first year the

bushe and charges all payed there rests 165 lib

So, making a computation of the outreik of ten hundreth busches and the last
buying of them wt all the apparrell implements and furniture after the computation
of the charge of ane busche before mentionat the two hunder bushes outreik will
amount to 167000 lib

And the two hundreth busches after the first reckoning of ane bushe vantage will
make yearly 200000 lib

From the which somme deducting the buying of the bushes and all there fish out-
reik being two hundreth in number extending to the summe of 167000 lib

There will rest declare the fish year all charges payed and the busches
made frie to the owners 33000 lib

And to consequently indureing the continuance of the fishing wt two hundreth
bushes allowing yearly for the outreik of ilk bushe 335 lib and repairing the

samen 100 lib wch is 935 lib

Every bushe by this accompt making of clear proffit yearly 565 lib

The 200 bussches will make yearly of proffite after the first year the
sowme of 113000 lib

Notta Nevertheless that this fishe which be takin be set downe under the name of
herring the fourth pairt thairof as ordinarily gray fishe called cod and ling extending to
500 lastis which being sold at the nett of 15lib the last will exceed the former pryce of
the herring being but 10 lib the last, the sowme of fyve pounds ilk last, so 500 lasts
amounteth to 25000 lib

Which being addit to the furst sowme of 113000 lib

maketh up the sowme of 138000 lib

F5 **Calculations of Profit and Loss, the Fishing Fleet, n.d., c.1629–31**

A Calculac[i]on of the charge of 10 busses wth the furnishing them to sea: for four moneths fishing & the profitt tha will arise thereby.²⁵⁴

Imprimis 200 tonnes of Barrell and Caskes wch will coste	720 lib
Item in salte to the value of	880 lib
`` in beere	420 lib
`` in bacon & Butter	180 lib
`` in pease	030 lib
`` in billets	030 lib
`` mens wages payable at the end of the voyage	880 lib
`` bread	210 lib

S[um]ma totals 3350 lib

Each busse wth her furniture of netts, sales, ancors, cables & all other fishing ymplements newe to be made will coste

500 lib

Soe it appears that 10 busses amounts to

5000 lib

The so[w]me of the whole disbursement to the number of 10 busses the furniture as above said for 4 moneths ffishing will amount unto

8350 lib

A busse will laste 20 years and better. Allow the 10 busses abovesaid to make but 4 ffishings from the 24th of June to November and that in every fishing she take but 50 tonnes of herrings qt will amount to 200 tonnes each busse according to that rate 10 busses will take 2000 tonnes of herrings wch being sould but att 5 lib the tonne will amount to 1000 lib each busse In the whole

10000 lib

Every busse doth mayntayne 2 shippes by her 4 moneths ffishing besides her selfe in carrying & returning such necessaries as doth arise out of this ffishing.

The Holland Busses and there vessells for fishing doth yearly maintaine betuixte thirtie & fortie thousand saylers.

F6 **'Plantation of Fishing on the Islands of Scotland' n.d., c.1629–31**

Grounds and reasons for the encouragement of your Ma[jes]tys subjects to employ themselves in fishing upon yo[u]r ma[jes]tys seas and coasts of Great Brittain and Ierland; the advantages thereby arising to yo[u]r dominions and

²⁵⁴ This transcript taken from TNA, SP 16/229/98.

to eache perticular subject that shall employ him selfe or his estate in that designe and the benefit that forrain Nations make thereby.²⁵⁵

In the first yo[u]r ma[jes]ty will bee advantaged by settling plantations and corporations employing your subjects in fishing and strengthening yo[u]r kingdome by the encrease of ships and mariners, In yor customs, in the wealth of yor subiects. By preventing the overmuch encrease of wealth and strenght of shipping obtained by other nations, especially the Hollanders, whose impregnable wall consists of ships whose number amountes to 20000 and upwards. And they principall trade is fishing and that chiefly upon yo[u]r ma[jes]tys seas and coastes of Great Brittain and Ireland, which is the seminary of theyr mariners the[r] evere as of whome, together wth theyr ships hath made them dreadfull to theyr enemies from whom they are so secure that they can both offend them, and assist theyr allies. The knowledge of w[hi]ch theyr strength hath made them so insolent, that often times they have denied the acknowledgement of yo[u]r Ma[jes]tys soveraingty in refusing to strike sayl unto yo[u]r ma[jes]tys ships upon yo[u]r own seas, which pride proceeds from theyr wealth – theyr wealth from the benefitt they receive out of yo[u]r ma[jes]tys dominions and Seas, ffor it is not unknown unto yo[u]r ma[jes]ty and yo[u]r subiects that the Hollanders have had a great encrease of wealth and substance out of Yo[u]r maj[es]tys sease by theyr trade of fishing whereby they encrease in shipping,²⁵⁶ grow skilful in navigation and become perfect mariners so that they are become a powerfull and proud nation principally by that trades wch is theur chief maintenance; whose lives are protected under yo[u]r Ma[jest]ys wings by that and other trades wch they drive in yo[u]r ma[jest]ys kingdomes for they deal in all vendable wares fit for transportation forbidden as well as lycensed wch they can wey by fraudulent means as bull[i]en, coyne, gould & silver, corne, coles, sheep, skins, fells, wooll, salt, butter, chees[e], beef, tallow, and hides; wth sundry other commodeties for bulding theyr ships and busses, especially they have allmost all theyr timber w[i]th w[hi]ch they build theyr ships and busses out of yo[u]r ma[jes]tys dominions.

As Yo[u]r Ma[jes]ty wil be pleased to take into your consideration the wealth that they receive and the los[s] that yo[u]r subjects sustain by theyr fishing and fishing of the said fish to yo[u]r subiects within yo[u]r kingdom at deerer rates than yo[u]r owne subiects do or carry and what profit it would bring to yo[u]r maiesties subiects by planting of colonies and corporations in the i[s]lands of the Hebrides and others of yo[u]r western islands.²⁵⁷ And by employing yo[u]r subiects in that trade of fishing

²⁵⁵ This transcript taken from TNA, SP 16/229/100.

²⁵⁶ In the margin: 'The Hollanders gayne much by fishing in His Ma[jes]tys seas.'

²⁵⁷ In the Margin: 'Planting of Collonies and making corporations in the islands of the Hebrides.'

you will easily conceave what benefit yo[u]r subiects will enjoy wch at this time is reaped by the hands of strangers. Yo[u]r easiest way to compas this will be to begin in the Islands of Lewes and according to the old statutes and Acts of Parlyament ordained to that effect to build a town and a city in the Lewes.²⁵⁸

Secondly if Yo[u]r ma[ies]ty shall think good to setle collonyes and plant corporations in the sayd llands of Hibredes or in all yo[u]r north and west llands of Scotland and Ireland, it will be necessary that the planters shall have have p[ro]portions of ground appropriated to them on wch they may build dwelling houses and storehouses. As also groundes so wel fit for planting as as for tillage and for breeding of cattle for theyr maintenance.²⁵⁹ They will find the grounde very fertyle according to the climet wch hath been an inducement to yo[u]r predecessors who were well informed of the state of the Islands, to bring them to a state of civil obedience to theyr soveraigne [those people] who inhabited those islands, that they being brought up in the fear of God might in time become both religious and industrious. And, to this end, an Act of Parlyment was enacted in the reigne of Kinge James the Third of happy memory for setling and and planting of three full townes and corporations in the Highlands and Iles of Scotland;²⁶⁰ w[hi]ch sayd act hath been approved by all his successors and more especially ratifyde in the fifteenth parlyament of King James the Sixth of blessed memory, holden at Edenborough, the ninth of December an[n]o 1597, and that the sayd three townes should be built in the most convenient parts fo the sayd llands, viz., one in Kintyre, the second in Lochaber, the third in the Lewes and the sayd townes to enjoy the priveliges of borroughs according to the meaning of the statute enacted in the said parlyament.

3 Thirdly that the sayd planters be freed from all taxations wch shall be required from them by any landlords, especially the Earl of Seafort, who pretends a right to the Ile of Lewes and that the sayd Earle may be made acquainted of yo[u]r Ma[ies]ty's pleasures on this behalf.²⁶¹

258 In the Margin: 'To begin wth the the llands of Lewis and according to the old statutes to build a town & citty there.'

259 In the margin: 'The planters to have proportion of ground in the Hebrides to build on &c.'

260 In the margin: 'Act of Parl[yament] in the time of K[ing] J[ames] the 3[rd] for planting three free townes in the Highlands. The same ratefyde in the 15[th] year] of K[ing] J[ames] the] 6[th]. There appears, however, to be no other record of the plantation of three towns in the Highlands during the reign of James III (1460–88) and this seems, instead to have been a novelty of the reign of King James VI (1567–1625). A Statute with the title 'Regarding the building of burgh towns in the Isles and Highlands' appears in the Parliamentary Register, 16 December 1597. *RPS*, 1597/11/41 <<http://www.rps.ac.uk/>>.

261 In the margin, 'The planters to be freed from all taxations from any landlords, especially the earl of Seafort.'

4 Ffourthly the benefit of these plantations will plainly apeare if you do consider the encrease of the viages²⁶² w[hi]ch will be made from there; w[hi]ch will be five for one of those that shall be made from England thether, because they will enjoy the Spring, Autumn, and Winter seasons, for fishing, w[hi]ch are of far greater consequence than the su[m]mer fishing w[hi]ch as yet wee only enjoy as doth apear by the trading of those people w[hi]ch have done and now do inhabit these islands who by the careful preserving of theyr train oyle and small ffishes do encreas[e] theyr profits as well as by saveing the charges of maintaineing mariners wherewh[i]th wee are burthened.²⁶³

5 Fifthly you may be pleased to consider the benefit that wil arise from the intelligence w[hi]ch the adventurers may speedily receave from those parts for a messenger can come in the space of 12 or 13 days from thence to give notice when there shall be commoditys enough ready to lode a ship or ships, so that the merchiant, without loss of time, may despatch away ships for the transporting of the sayd goods, for they need not stay there for any winde, by reason of the conveniency of sundry passages for all windes to go through or about any of those islands to the sea.²⁶⁴

6 Sixthly, it will plainly apeare that this kingdom will receive a great benefit by this plantation if you do consider w[i]th what safety, merchants or ffactors, or any other of theyr servants may returne from those parts where that golden mint is into this kingdom by land or as well as by sea, as soone as there shall a competent nu[m]ber of colonyes be planted ffor it will secure them from the danger of rob[b]ers, if theyr urgent occasions may require theyrs passage by land.²⁶⁵

7 Seventhly, this will greatly encreas[e] yo[u]r number of seamen and fishermen together w[i]th theyr ships, w[hi]ch will ad[d] no final strength to these, yo[u]r Ma[jes]tys dominions for ever and these plantations may speedily be persewed, if yo[u]r Ma[jes]ty will bee pleased to allow the same liberty to the planters as hath been allowed in other yo[u]r Ma[jes]tys plantations.²⁶⁶

8 Eighthly, thei will encreas[e] yo[u]r ma[jes]tys customes by the trafficke of strangers w[hi]ch will arise not only from fishing but also from all other com[m]odetyes imported or exported to and from those parts, as woole, sheepe skins, gote skins, flannel, harts hides, beef, cowes hides, butter, ffishess amd many other com[m]odetyes. And likewise by this plantation, many good people will be set on worke in making all

262 Probaby 'voyages.'

263 In the margin, 'The benefit of the voyages to be made from niernes wilbe five for one more than those that are made out of Engl[and].'

264 In the margin: 'A great benefit by the speedy intelligence they may have when ther shall [be] commoditys enough ready to lode a shipp.'

265 In the margin: 'This kingdome will receave much benefit by this plantation because of the safe passages – better for the merchands.'

266 In the margin: 'It will increase the number of seamen.'

sorts of materialls necessary ffor ffishing, as nets, lines, and hookes, also cordage for shipping, also the native people of those parts of by the good exa[m]ple and im[ple]e[n]tation of the planters, in time, become civill and industrious.²⁶⁷

9 Ninthly, you may consider the aptnes of these islands for a plantation by reason of theyr situation for they may at an easy rate be founrished w[i]th all necessaryes belonging to theyr employment of fishing as Turfe for fire and woods for making of barrels and hoopes w[hi]ch are to be had from the nighbouring parts of the adiajcent continent of Scotland, from whence they may also have all urther sorts of timber for building of houses, from here also by sayling of a small distance they may be furnished w[i]th pitch, tar, Iron and cordage for shipping, barrell staves, and ____ wood without making the tedious voyage to the Baltick Ocean.²⁶⁸

10 Tenthly, you may consider the profit of making salt w[i]th turfes w[hi]ch is practised in the llands of Orkenney, namely in the Ile of Eda[y], w[hi]ch may also be done in the adiajcent island of the Hibredes, turfe being there more plentiful and the strength of the seawater no whit inferior they lying on the ocean sea without any mixture w[i]th fresh water.²⁶⁹

11 Eleventhly, these collonyes once settled and the islands being strenghtened w[i]th shipping as Yo[u]r Ma[jes]ty and the state shall think it fit[t]ing, you may easily intercept the trade w[i]th the easterlings, as Hollanders, Hambourgers, Lubeckeers, Dantzickers, and other inhabitants within the Baltick Sease [who] do drive towards the south as w[i]th Spayn and Ffrance and through the Straites, because they have no other passage whither but through narrow seas between us and Ffrance.²⁷⁰

12 A twelfth consideration may be taken from the Hollanders practise who without doubt would not so much have laboured for leave to have implanted the same islands if not ____²⁷¹ how much theyr present knowne benefits might ____²⁷² by being admitted masters of these Islands w[hi]ch for the present they by stealth enjoy w[hi]ch shall be no small occasion to make yo[u]r ma[jes]tys servants to endeavour to gaine a profit in the same way wherein they now suffer, being enforced to pay a double rate for those ffishes w[hi]ch by yo[u]r Ma[jes]tys service to theyr owne endeavours might become theyr owne.²⁷³

267 In the margin: 'Many poor people wilbe sett on work in making netts &c.'

268 In the margin: 'Those islands apt for plantation by reason of theyr situation.'

269 In the margin: 'Salt may be made with turfe.' This meant the cutting and drying of peat, still used as a fuel on the Isle of Lewis.

270 In the Margin: 'This collony once settled and strenghtened w[i]th shipping the trade of w[hi]ch the eastern nations may be intercepted.'

271 Obscure, looks something like 'sercable,' 'tereable' ?? perhaps 'ser[vic]eable' ?.

272 ____aured ? The start of this word obscured by a blotch of ink.

273 In the margin: 'The Hollanders would not have deyned to plant if they had not known the benefit of being masters there.'

13 In the thirteenth place, yo[u]r statutes for a strict observing of Lent and ffasting days and the breede of cattle may be the better observed.²⁷⁴

14 In the fourteenth place It is a desire of all yo[u]r subijects who through theyr losses burthened by other adventures are now willing to employ the returne of theyr estates at cure (?) to encrease yo[u]r Ma[jes]tys powre and profit and to enable them selves to satisfy theyr creditors and provide for theyr prosperity.

**F7 Memorandum Regarding English Strategic Interest in the Fisheries,
n.d., c.1629–31**

Endorsed: 'To the Right ho[nora]ble S[i]r John Coke, Principall Secretary of State and one of his Ma[jes]ties most hon[ora]ble Privy Counsell att the court.'²⁷⁵

There is a necessity to p[re]serve carefully and to advance

The honour of the king and Kingdom

The safety of both.

The profile of both.

This necessity will thus appeare:

For the honour of the kingdom, how studious soever, wee are of peace & know and acknowledge the inestimable benefitt and blessing of it, yet it will not be a secure peace unlike that the world may seem _____ in utrump parati (?)

For th[eyr] safety, this being an island, however, Inhabited by a warlike people of able bodys and full of courage, yet our strength and safety (under God's blessing) ly's in our walls w[hi]ch is our shipping and thereby to maintaine the king's undoubted right of Lord of the Narrow Seas.

For the proffitt of the king and kingdom, albeit we have rich native com[m]odities as wools, lead, timb[er] & c., yet hade bringeth in the riches of a state to an Island, especially and trade well ordered.

We shall suffer in all there if it be not prevented:

In our Hon[our] wee suffer if our reputation sinke: for our enemies will hold up in contempt and our allys neglect.

In our safety wee suffer if our shipping be not maintained and the right of the narrow seas preserved for in former ages our strength ar sea preserved our peace at home and made it abroad, and the same reasons remain now, and wee find

²⁷⁴ In the margin: 'Statutes for Lent and fasting days and breeding of cattle may be the better observed.'

²⁷⁵ This transcript taken from TNA, SP 16/229/102.

oure nearest neighbours, the Hollanders, take too much boldnesse out of the opinion their strength at sea and of our necessity.

In our profitt wee suffer. For (1) our native comodities are abused in their worth and value, Merchants are discouraged, the East India Company especially, in which the whole kingdom will suffer. (2) Fishing is decayed which breedeth up mariners & bringeth in wealth. (3) Our coyne is decayed wee bring in litle, carry out much & harm_____ of our own. (4) The balance of Trade is unequall, our importation more than our exportation, w[hi]ch wee confirme in vaype (?) superflu[o]us and unneccessary, and too much excess of things necessary.

The means to remedy all these things without charge, nay with profitt to the king.

1. To lett our neighbour kingdoms know, not by words but by actions that wee are resolved to maintaine the ancient hon[our] of our nation.
2. To prepare our selves strong in shipping, to keep our good ordinance at home, not to give it or sell it at any price: to make a store to furnish our selves, to encourage mariners, to keepe the narrow seas as the doors of a kingdom, all our neighbours must be beholding to us. The same strength and charge as is now maintained against the pyrates would preserve it.
3. To cherish our trade:

The three general & maine things w[hi]ch wee are to take care of are:

1. The strength and safety of the kingdom.
2. The wealth and profitt of the kingdom
3. And, as a consequence of both, the honour of the kingdom.

The means to support and advance these deeds:

1. To maintaine the navy and shipping of the kingdom.
2. To incourage and increase the trade & merchandise.
3. To p[re]serve the reputation of our nation in making it appear to our neighbours nations that although wee love peace and know & acknowledge the blessing of it yet wee are prepared for warr *in ultime parati*.

The way proposed not to faile of these ends if God give a blessing and ourselves apply our endeavours.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ The following seven points in the text are highlighted by a comment in the margin: 'For the strength of the kingdom.'

1. That the navy & shipping be maintained according to theat honoraoble beginning, w[hi]ch with happy success hath been made.
2. That there be foresight to have a sufficient store of all manner of provisions for shipping, as masts, sayles, cables &c.
3. That there be a magazine of iron ordinance provided to furnish out on a sudden that shipping w[hi]ch is now used but for coles or other burthen, this to be at the common charges.
4. That noe iron ordinance be transported from [the isle of] Lewes apou any termes whatsoever. It is such a treasure as no nation but our selves have, and is not to be given or to be sold to to oure best friends, they may turne enemies.
5. That wee be not unfurnished of gunpowder, saltpeter or other ammuniion for warr that when there is need wee must be beholding to our neighbours.
6. That there be always a sufficient number of shippes in nations which may com[m] and the narrow seas and make the king master of them as he is.
7. That the p[re]rogative of the king of fishing on the coast of this island be maintained this will bring both strength and profite.

It will increase shipping and navigation.

It will breed up [a] store of marriners.

It will sett multitudes of people on worke.

It ill bring an inestimable profite.

It will be undertaken without a penny charge to the king; if he please to protect them who undertake it, else it will be in vaine.

For the Wealthe of the Kingdom²⁷⁷

1. The native comodities of the kingdom the clathe specially, hath not the vent & vallue it formerly had for w[hi]ch there must be there remedys:

To make our own cloaths & staffe well & substantially & not deceitfully.

To dye them (w[hi]ch are dyed here) w[i]th true colours and not falsely.

To hinder their making abroad by forbidding the transportation of woolls and fullers earth.

To encourage the wearing of our cloth at home, partly by laws, partly by example, that our woolle may be wrought at home and what will not usit abroad spent at home.

(The parliament hath all there p[ar]ticulares in consideration [of a] bill there.²⁷⁸)

²⁷⁷ This is written in the margin on the original document.

²⁷⁸ This written in the margin of the three previous sentences.

2. The incouragement of our own people in manufacture w[hi]ch are now discouraged because the aliens living amongst us possesse many of those trades and undersell our people it sell much by retayle w[hi]ch the lawes forbid under great penaltys.

3 To countenance our merchants, specially at this time those of the East India company, who suffer intollerably be the ijuries rec[eive]d from the Hollanders who doe but dally in making restitution promised; but if they see ones that wee are in good earnest, wee should surely treaty on better termes, and yet not make a breach with them.

4 To prevent the exportation and help the importation of coyne, the remedies whereof are:

The making the charges of the minte raise

The exportation of coyne heavy

That the money and bullion brought in be brought to the minte.

5 To helpe the overballance of trade,

By the forbearing to make over large returnes in wayne & superfluous comodities, as tobacco

By being thrifty in the expense of things otherwise convenient and fitt to be had, which are brought from beyond the seas as wines, spices, silkes

The store[s] (?) of the kingdom will necessarily follow is the wealth and strength thereof be advanced and in the mean time the reputation thereof supported.

It is conceived that if the king would be pleased to recall his fleet now sent against the pyrates, and to imploye them with the kings shippes already hovering (?) on the narrow seas, that w[hi]ch is defined in most of these p[ar]ticulars would be effected w[i]th no increase of charge to his ma[jesty] & w[i]th the great safety and content of the subject.

F8 Description of the Island of Lewis, November 1629

'Description with narrative of the endeavours of the Dutch, countenanced by the Earl of Seaforth, to establish a fishing station in that island'²⁷⁹

Uppon conference wt Mr Heys Agent for the burrough of Scotland concerning Lewis Island.

The Island of Lewis is distant from the continent of Scotland about 24²⁸⁰ miles, is about 40 myles in length & in breadth 6, 8, 10 [and] 16 myles.

²⁷⁹ This transcript, dated 30 November 1629, is taken from TNA, SP 16/152 fol. 121.

²⁸⁰ '30' is added here in another hand.

It is most hillie ground but hath tilling & feedeth much cattle.²⁸¹ It hath divers good harboroughs whereof the principal is Stornoway. The toun lieth about 2 miles fra the mouth of the river wch is also called Stornoway. The rivers mouth is but a bow shoote over it so as a fort sett on either side may make it defensible against al[l] the world above the mouth with the land. The water inlargeth it self in some places half a mile in some a mile inside two miles, ther til it cometh to the town of convenient breadth & depth for all manner of ships to ride safely of that burden soever & to the number of thowsands free for all weather. At the town there is a small harbourough about a quarter of a mile in compass w[hi]ch lieth drie when the sea ebs, but at a flood hath depth for anie ship to come in to th[e]r to be repared, calked or trimmed.

The town of Stornoway is but a small village, & is not yett a trew town. It hath yett (?) traffique. But the town is so situate that it may be easely fortified & the water bring it about it to drown the ground neere it. About this iland & the other llands, adjacent to it there is continual fishing for white fish; that is ling and cod & salmon & for herrings. And the fishings here are at all times of the yeare when fishermen can brooke [fol. 121v] the sease. This fishing hath been used by the Scots above 40 years & by them is esteemed above that of New Found Land. There is also conveniences for whale fishing whereof thowsands are yearly seen about the Iles.²⁸² This fishing was not haunted or known by anie but Scotsmen before the yeare 1594 when the Hollanders began to fishe those seas uppon pretence of a pasport from King James whereby they were restrained to cum within 20 miles of the shore norr with in the Lowghs that is the baies within the llands. Since that yeare, 1594, the Hollanders have cum thither with all there fleet of Busses, In times 3000 saile.²⁸³

By the laws of Scotland no stranger may fish within them seas uppon powre of confiscation of there goods and loss of life. So the Hollanders cum against the law. They first procured the Erle Marshal of Scotland called Keyth to begge of King James leace to set to the Hollanders a little Island of his inheritance lying ower against a harbourough in Boughan called Peterhead, w[hi]ch King James absolutely refused with protestation that no Hollanders or stranger should get a footing in his country whilst

281 Note on the margin in an other hand. 'The east lowland the west & south west somewhat settled (?) but hath much tillage & feedeth much cattle.'

282 Note in the margin: 'This hath been attempted: but yieldeth no profit. They are not whales by Jovarts w[hi]ch are less and afford but smale store of oile & ____ not the boats to cut ____ them.'

283 Note in the margin: 'In the time of James 5th the Hollanders having only a verbal licence to fish at 20 miles distance, come neerer the shore ____ the mouth of the Forth of Edenborrough, there licence in designlir (?) of the kings comens. Then the king set out men of warre & tooke so manie of them that he sent a barrel full of heads in the Hollands, for their names fixed to their foreheads uppon cards. This related by the old Bishop of Ross Lindsay, who came in to King James to England.'

hee lived. This was attempted & this answer given since King James cuming into England. Notwithstanding the Kings refusal the Hollander cum yearly appon the coast along the Ilands & offred many abuses to the subiects whereuppon the subiects made complainit to the king by their petition, dated 12 March 1610. Whereupon the council of Scotland writt them letters to the [fol. 122r] King in concurrence wth this petition to want for a proclamation to inhibit the Hollanders & to give advice to his ambassador in the Low Countries to expostulate this missive. The letters, dated 4 April 1610. His [grace ?] answered councils letters by his letters dated 7 November 1610 whereby he signified that the business was to free & that considerations were to bee sent from the States to that end & requiring a consideration to bee sent for Scotland to the Duke of Lennox & others to treat w[i]t[h] them etc.

The Comission was accordingly sent up, but the Hollanders declined the question of right pretended for former grants or asays expected uppon the general dispute de mare liberr & thereby frustrated the proceeding & the business protrectevk (?) til anno 1622 when the subiects receaved their complainit to the council there whereby their letter dated 24 June 1622 aquented the same to His M[ajes]tie Uppon w[hi]ch letter nothing was done only the Duke of Lennox had a purpose to hand, raised a companie in Scotland for fishing but he dying the year after it cam[e] to no effect.

But the Hollanders foirseeing what might succeed uppon theis continued complaints they agreed wth the Erle of Seafort for the town of Stornoway to plant a colonie these & to make it a free town that it myght bee inhabled to have free trade: because, by the law of Scotland none can trade but those that have the libertie of a free town. This Erles father had bowght the whole freehold of the Iland of Lewes from 14 or 15 gentlemen to whom [fol. 122v] bodie or company to cause fishing, King Jeames befor his cuming into England though by the lawes of Scotland the Islands belong inseparably to the crown. These persons being se[verallie] killed & the rest discouraged at length were drawn by the Erle of Seafort to sett there ryght to him. & thereupon, his sonne now Erle of Seafort, sauld Stornoway to the Hollanders as is concourded.

And to answer further question, moved the king for a patent to erect Stornoway into a free town & a baronie extending there liberties and the whole yland with powere to fortifie to people it wth strangeris & to grant to the said strangeris protection & pardon free at ____ past not confined (?) in his dominions. Whereby the basetards of Amboina was remitted. And to trade freely in all the world. This patent by the mediation of Mr Hay was slowed by His Ma[jes]tie[is] command at the free broughs of Scotland by whom hee was sent to prosecute this course should bee heard. This was done in May 1628 & afterward in ____ when he finding that the Erle had made a strong partie in Scoland cam againe to move the king. So now it regest[e]rs only under the kings hand but slowed at the Exchequer in Scotland. Notwithstanding w[hi]ch stay the Erle of Seafort hath brought some families of Hollanders into Stornoway & there plan-teth them & permitteth sondrie of there ships, above a dozen saile the last yeare to

cum and fish there & to carie away there fish without cocket or custom paid to his Ma[jes]tie & not permitting anie Scot to fish in these waters except they wil set there fish to the Hollanders. Notwithstanding a letter written to the said Erle by his Ma[jes]tie to the contrarie dated 10 August 1628. Whereupon,

[fol. 123] whereuppon complaint being made by the borroughs to the council of Scotland they by their sentence and decree discharged the said Erle as appeareth by the decree itself dated 17 March 1629. The effect whereof it that the Erle of Seaforth should observe the act of Parliament made, 1621, that no stranger not inhabitant within Scotland should pack or pil in anie place of the Yles out of the frie borroughes not transport forbidden goods out of the same. Notwithstanding wch deemed the Erle continews to interteine strangers there con[t]rarie to the law. Whereuppon the borough again complained to the council ther[upon] and they by ther letters dated in July last commend these petitions to his Ma[jes]tie, signifying that the Hollanders by this means have ingrossed the whole fishing & [th]at commoditie thereof & [they] deserve redress.

F9 Anglo-Scottish Tension at Stornoway, 1634–35

*A note in the margin of this document states: 'abstracted out of several letters.'*²⁸⁴

The 19th of January 1634, there happened such a storme of winde at the Lewis that the shipp *William & John* whereof Christopher Wilson was m[aste]r bydeinge at anchor in the harbour of Stornoway being laden with herrings, hydes tallow²⁸⁵ and sundry other foods for accompt of the Right hon[orabi]ll Thomas Earle of Arundell & Surrey, Jerome Earle of Portland, Thomas Lord Viscount Savage, Henry Lord Maltravers, Mr Secretary Windebanke and the rest of the Adventurers in the Royall ffishings of Great Brittain & Ireland. The said shipp was forced from her anchors & foundered upon the rocks neere the shoare. The m[aste]r & the company began to save the goods and haveinge landed part of the the goods. Thomas Lindsey pretending himself to bee an officer unto the Lord Vice Admirall of Scotland (but would shewe no warrant of deputation) came with a crew of uncivill men and seized upon all p[er]force of armes and kept them from saveinge the shippe and the rest of the goods whatsoever the adventurers, servants brought on shoare hee p[er]force tooke it from them, beinge showed the lords of his Ma[jes]ties Councell for the Royall Ffishings certificate under their Lordes Seale hee villified it, & accompted it as nothing calling their factors rogues & pirote, seing that he would doe more curtesie for the poorest ffisherman than for the the Lords or their ffactors. Hee and his followers drewe their swords upon the

²⁸⁴ This transcript taken from TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 92 (dated 24 June 1635).

²⁸⁵ In the margin: 'J[oh]n Low 31st January, 43 ½ lasts herrings, 9 hydes, 2 barrels tallow.' And further down the same margin, 'Robert Innes, 31st January.'

adventurers agents and stabbed Robert Innes to the great endangering of his life and further vowed to bee the death of every English man in the Islands and one John Smith, the deputy vice admirals man, threatened to burne the English houses.

John Low, the adventurers agent there for the better keeping of the Inhabitants quiett did sett up his Ma[jes]ties cullers upon the castle. Thomas Lindsey caused the Lord Duke of Lenox cullors to bee sett up by them telling the people that his Grace had monie lands in England, Scotland & France, then hee that wroate himselfe kinge of Ffrance, and that Kinge Charles had nothinge to doe in the islands saying that his Ma[jes]tie was never proclaimed there. After all this by the mediation of Mr Ffarquhar [MacIennan], the minister att Sternoway, the said Lindsey, upon security given him, gave way that the adventurers herrings should be carryed to Leith one of the compaynes shippes there to bee adiudged whether a wracke or noe which turneth to the exceeding great dammadge of the adventureris, their herings beinge a p[er]ishable com[m]odity, and paying besides above three score pounds a month for freight of the shippe in which the herrings now are. Moreover the adventurers had threescore & nyne nettes aboard the said shipp which are all rotten & spoiled by reason the said Thomas Lindsey hindered the adventurers servants from saveing any thinge, and there being provision of beife for the seamen w[hi]ch they had saved hee tooke it all away vowing they should starve sooner then [have a] peece of it.

Moreover, the same storme one of the adventurers busses called the *Messinger* was driven ashore but most of her provisions landed & saved by the adventurers owne servants which the said Lindsey p[er]force tooke away likewise. And, such provisions as were left aboard the busses were by Lindsey and his servants purloined & stolen away: Lindsay saying that last yeare he tooke from four busses divers things and there was no satisfaction required, 'neither will ther bee for what I have done this yeare.' This mischaunce befell the vessel not upon the sea coast but in the King's harbour. The goods were landed by the adventurers owne people and not by any other & this was done within one syde & not one man lost the busses [but they were] saved & brought into the compaynes docke within two dayes fitt for men to worke in. The shippes likewise forced from her anchors in the same Harbour not a man lost and the shipp & goods all saved. Restitution of all is therefore desired & satisfaction for damadges and that Lindsey may bee punished accordinge to his demerits.

Since the adventurers herrings have bin brought in one of their owne shippe to Leith neere Edinburgh [and], beinge arrived there, the shippes sales have bine taken from her by order of the admiralty, whereof the company here have received sundry letters from theme, & in the said letters.²⁸⁶ Writinge that there they are jeared att by every one especially by Lindsey & his confederates & are called English dogges and soe abused by them that it is not to bee spoken of & yet can have nothinge donne to them

286 Note in margin: 'Christopher Wilson, the 5th May, Edward Rand, 6th May.'

they give attendance with there counsell before the judge of admiralty but are putt off[f] with delayes.²⁸⁷ The judge of the admiralty doth nothing but putt them of from day to day with delayes not any of the marchants and with them but all against them for having any trade there & cannot abide to heare of the Companyes Plantation.

Except some speedy redresse come from the King & Counsell here they expect none there. The admiralty will neither give them lawe or justice, but only delayes and Lindsey suff[e]red to domineere ower them that they are a laughing stocke to all the city. By reporte of his neighbour hee, [i.e. Lindsey], is a poore threddbare fellowe that hath nothinge and as dishonest a man as any in the country. Mr Ffarquer Macklenen preacher of Gods word at Stornoway being now at Edenbrough writeth from thence that for his love & care in the adventurers affaires hee is derided by his own country men and called an English, but wisheth that hee might call those that soe call him good Christians, then should they have lesse adoe there & bin dispatched long ere now.

Untill Mr William Dicke came himselfe into the court and entered into security for 3000 lib. the shipp & herrings were not released but from Lyndsey there is noe security [i]f at all.²⁸⁸ Christopher Wilson m[aste]r of the shipp *William And John*, hath attended theire 7 or 8 weeks with his witnesses and cannot have any one of them breaved or examyned but Lyndsey hath his wittnesses sworne and examyned which are these men that tooke away the said Wilsons tackling of his shipp and five (?) last of herrings from him & offred to throw him over bord, these are received for witnesses against him.

F10 Shareholders in the British Fishery Company, 1635

A calculate drawne out this 20th June 1635 of all the stocke received to this day & wherein it consists by a Valluatyon made thereof.²⁸⁹

The whole Stocke receaved to the 20th June 1635 am. [Amounts] To £8721. 00s. 00d.

The monies receaved up at intrest owing viz.,

To Sir Henry Lowe, dewe, 11th July 1635, £1036. 05s. 00d.

To Mr David Bonnell dewe 16th June 1635, £518. 15s. 00d.

To Mr David de Mackle, £103. 10s 10d.

To Sir William Courteen, dewe in October 1635, £1100. 00s. 00d

Some is £2757. 10s. 00d

£2600. 00s. 00d.

£11321. 00s. 00d.

²⁸⁷ Note in margin: 'Christopher Wilson, 26th April. Edward Rand, 9th May.'

²⁸⁸ Note in margin: 'Christopher Wilson, 26th May.'

²⁸⁹ This transcript taken from TNA, SP 16/291, fol. 50 (dated 20th June 1635). All sums of money here in English money, pounds (£), shillings (s) and pence (d).

The Discharge

The coste & chargeis of 6 Busses now upon theyr imployments, Viz.,

The *Pembroke*, Mr Richard House (?) gone to the Lewis, £800. 00s. 00d.

The *Danbye*, Mr Balten Jepson gone to the Lewis, £1000. 00s. 00d.

The *Dover*, Mr Edward Beare to the North Seas, £800. 00s. 00d.

The *Bedforde*, Mr Robert Dondye to Sheatland, £1000.00s.00d.

The *Ffontine*, Mr Cornelis Peiterson to the North Seas, £1000. 00s. 00d.

The *Salisbury*, Mr Charles Mees to the North Seas, £800. 00s. 00d.

Some [is], £5400. 00s. 00d

£5400. 00s. 00d.

The coste of 5 shallopes built for the Lewis & Wesmeng,²⁹⁰ £50. 00s. 00d.

The maggazene at Sternawnie consisting of 2827 barrels of salt wch is sufficient
for 700 lasts of herring wch together with caskes, nettes and sondrie other
provisions wch did cost, £4000. 00s.00d.

The lands and buildings there, £1000. 00s. 00d.

The fishe to selle at the storehouse vallewed at, £150. 00s. 00d.

The caskes, copp. & other provisions at Wapping storehouse, £150. 00s. 00d.

The ffactors in the Eastland by sale of herring, £150. 00s. 00d.

The debts owing for herring, hydes, & c., £300. 00s. 00d.

The remaines at Sheatland with Richard Carpinter, £300. 00s. 00d.

Some [is], £11500. 00s. 00d.

£11500. 00s. 00d.

The damadge done by the Dunkirkers to bee received

£2000. 00s. 00d.

The Arreeres of Payments the 20th June 1635

The Right honll. Earle of Salisbury

£100. 00s. 00d.

The Duchesse of Buckingham

£200. 00s. 00d.

The Countess of Devonshire

£57. 00s. 00d.

Sir David River (?)

£60. 00s. 00d.

Sir James Palmer

£30. 00s. 00d.

Sir Edward Stradling

£30. 00s. 00d.

Sir Thomas Bludder

£30. 00s. 00d.

Sir William Fleetwood

£15. 00s. 00d.

Sir Richard Newport's Booke: Sir Richard Lee (£60),

Sir Richard Prince (£16. 13 s. 04d.) and Mr Richard Lister

£86. 13 s. 04d.

Sir Morris Abbott

£40. 00s. 00d.

Sir Thomas Walsingham

£20. 00s. 00d.

Mr Garie (?) Raleigh

£80. 00s. 00d.

²⁹⁰ Probably Vestmannaeyjar, or the Westman Islands, off the south east coast of Iceland.

Mr Edmond Cavernor	£60. 00s. 00d.
Mr Thomas Mewtis	£30. 00s. 00d.
Mr William Herbert	£40. 00s. 00d.
Mr Alderman Ffenn	£13. 06 s. 08d.
Mr Thomas Hanson	£15. 00s. 00d.
Mr Edward Segocus	£20. 00s. 00d.
Mr Dewridges Compa[ny] of Barnstable: Mr John Dewridge (£7. 10s.), Mr Richard Dewridge (£7. 10s.), Mr Wm Procland (£03. 06s. 08d.), Mr John Strange (£06. 13s. 04d.), Mr Thomas Matthews (£10), Mr Simon Amery (£10), Mr George Baylie (£10).	£55. 00s. 00d.
Mr Thomas Chester	£10. 00s. 00d.
Mr William Playse	£13. 06 s. 08d.
William Coriton	£35. 00s. 00d.
The Trinity House	£50. 00s. 00d.
Mr Thomas Scrimeson	£15. 00s. 00d.
Mr Richard Benthies booke, viz., Mr Tho. Pease (£5), Mr Bryan Throgmorton (£60), Mr Wm Playse (£6. 13s. 04d), Mr Wm Bare (£6. 13s. 04d), Mr John Smith (£33. 06s. 08d.), Mr Robert Cooke (£13. 06s. 08d.), Mr Richard Woode (£10), Mr Tho. Chester (£20), Mr John Howe (£5), Mr Henry Dennis (£10), Mr Philip Sangly (£8).	£178. 00s. 00d.
Sir Edward Stradlings booke, viz., Sir Denis Mansill (£15), Sir Ant. Mansill (£10), Mr Edward Thomas (£10), Mr Edmond Thomas (£10), Capt Henry Stradling (£10), Mr Thomas Bull (£10), Mr Wm Herbert (£20), Capt Thomas Caine (£20), Mr John Cardest (£30), Thomas Matthew (£20), William Bassett (£20).	£175. 00s. 00d.
<u>Some [is]</u>	<u>£1478. 06 s. 08d.</u>
The in[te]rest mony paid: £52. 05 s. 00d.	
	£67. 16 s. 00d.
	£01. 13 s. 00d.
	£03. 10s. 00d.
	£18. 15 s. 00d.
	£35. 00s. 00d.
	<u>£179. 00s. 00d.</u>

Superscriptions Whereof Nothing Paid, Dewe. Viz.,

The Lord of Holland, £1000. 00s. 00d. to,	£4200. 00s. 00d.
The Lord of Cleaveland, £280. 00s. 00d. to,	£4200. 00s. 00d.
Sir Richard Murray, £105. 00s. 00d. to,	£300. 00s. 00d.
Mr Phineas Pett, £60. 00s. 00d. to,	£60. 00s. 00d.
<u>Total, £1445. 00s. 00d.</u>	<u>[£5760.²⁹¹]</u>

291 This figure was not clear from the manuscript. It might be expected to read £5760.

G1 Note on Language Choice & Nomenclature

The question of language and place names has been, and remains, a contentious one for Gaidhealtachd (Gaelic speaking) areas.²⁹² The most recent editions of Ordnance Survey maps in the Landranger and Explorer series have introduced Gaelic forms of place names for Lewis and the Outer Isles. This was generally been followed here for settlement names and forms, in Lewis, such as 'Siabost' and 'Càrlabhagh' which can be found on modern Ordnance Survey maps are favoured here rather than anglicised versions of these such as 'Shawbost' and 'Carloway.' However, the English form of Steòrnabhagh, 'Stornoway,' has such currency that this been used here for practicality. Elsewhere English forms – such as 'Duntulm' in Skye were used, following Ordnance Survey practice, rather than 'Dùn Tuilm.' For larger administrative areas both in Lewis and elsewhere the anglicised versions of the place names were used (forms such as 'Ness' and 'Point' and 'Vaternish' rather than the Gaelic forms 'Nis,' 'An Rubha' and 'Bhatarnais'). Placenames and lordship names in Ireland have been left in their anglicised forms. Chanonry (or Chanonrie) of Ross the placename form used in the period under discussion here has been privileged rather than 'Fortrose' the new name adopted for this burgh in the latter half of the seventeenth century.²⁹³

Gaelic personal names have long been written phonetically in another language within Scotland both by Gaels themselves as well as by non-Gaels. Historiography has traditionally reinforced this trend by using anglicised forms of names although some recent scholarship has embraced Gaelic name forms.²⁹⁴ English forms of Gaelic surnames such as Macleod, Mackenzie and Macdonald were used throughout this book (rather than MacLeòid, MacCoinnich, and MacDhòmhnaill) for the sake of familiarity and convenience. One Lewis kindred identified variously as 'bref,' 'breif,' 'McBref' or

292 For a discussion of some of these issues in Scotland see R. MacIleathain, *Gaelic on Signs and Maps in Scotland. Why it matters* (Islands Book Trust, Kershader, 2011). For Ireland, see S. Deane, 'Dumbness and Eloquence. A note on English as we write it in Ireland,' in C. Carroll & P. King (eds.), *Ireland and Postcolonial Theory* (Notre Dame, 2003), 109–121, at 112–121. B. Friel, *Translations* (London, 1981).

293 Fortrose seems to have been coined as early as 1590. Nevertheless this name does not seem to have passed widely into general usage until late as 1664, when a sasine deemed it necessary to referred to 'Ffortros alias Chanonrie.' After this date the name 'Chanonry' seems to have been overlooked and Fortrose gained greater currency. C. Innes et al eds., *Origines Parochiales Scotiae. The Antiquities, ecclesiastical and territorial, of the parishes of Scotland* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 3 vols. 1850–55), ii, 590. BL, Add. Ch. 61951.

294 See, for example, M. MacGregor, 'The Statutes of Iona: text and context,' in the *Innes Review*, 57 (2006), 111–181. I.G. MacDonald, *Clerics and Clansmen. The Diocese of Argyll between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries* (Brill, Leiden, 2013), xlix. C. Dalglish, 'An age of transition? Castles and the Scottish Highland estate in the 16th and 17th centuries,' in, *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 39/2 (2005), 243–266.

'Sliochd a' Bhrithemh,' a hereditary legal family, re-named themselves as 'Morison' sometime before the mid seventeenth century.²⁹⁵ The modern spelling 'Morrison,' has generally been favoured here for consistency other than in source quotations.

The forms of personal forenames or christian names found in primary sources relating to the Gaidhealtachd are extremely inconsistent, often being scotticised or anglicised approximations of Gaelic names. Due to the inconsistency of spelling found in most of the primary sources the Gaelic forms of names such as 'Donnchadh,' 'Dòmhnall' and 'Coinneach,' 'Cailean,' were privileged here throughout rather than their English forms (Duncan, Donald, Kenneth, Colin and their variants) other than in source quotations for the sake of consistency. This has been done where people are known to have been (or can reasonably be assumed to have been) speakers of Gaelic and to have used such forms in the past.

Gaelic patronymics were reconstructed here using modern Gaelic orthographic forms rather than English forms for reasons of accuracy (other than in direct source quotations). The form 'Torcall' has been used here for consistency throughout (rather than 'Torquil') although there are a variety of spellings for this name in both English and Gaelic. This was a personal name favoured by the Macleods of Lewis and the name they used to identify themselves. There were two independent branches of the Macleod clan: the Macleods of Harris and Dunvegan (sometimes known as Siol Tormoid) and the Macleods of Lewis, who seem to have developed as separate entities since the fourteenth century. A source sympathetic to the Macleod of Lewis (and possibly written by a member of the family), c. 1626, referred to his people as 'Shiel Torquill' (Siol Torcaill), literally the offspring or progeny of a Torcall from the distant past.²⁹⁶ 'Siol Torcaill' is used interchangeably here with and for the 'Macleods of Lewis.'

In Ireland both Gaelic and English name forms seem to be used in current historiography.²⁹⁷ Rather than switch between both here, and because the individuals discussed were identified with Irish Gaelic speech and culture, Irish Gaelic forms of their names were adopted here throughout for the sake of consistency: Ó Dómhnaill

295 MacCoinnich, 'Dùn Èistean: the historical background, c. 1493 – c.1700,' in, Barrowman (ed.), *Dùn Èistean: Excavations on a Late-Medieval Clan stronghold* (forthcoming).

296 *Highland Papers*, ii, 268, 279.

297 See, for example, K., *From Kings to Warlords. The changing political structure of Ireland in the later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1987, 2000). Simms uses Irish Gaelic forms throughout her book. Hiram Morgan, on the other hand, favoured English forms (with the occasional Irish name form) in his *Tyrone's Rebellion. The Outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland* (Woodbridge, 1993). Three recent edited collections of essays on early modern Irish history have room for both forms within their covers: É Ó Ciardha & M. Ó Siochru (eds.), *The Plantation of Ulster. Ideology and Practice* (Manchester University Press, 2012); P.J. Duffy, D. Edwards & E. Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland, c.1250-c.1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin, 2001). L. Doran & J. Lyttleton (eds.), *Lordship in Medieval Ireland. Image and Reality* (Dublin, 2007).

(rather than O' Donnell), with the exception of the Macdonnells of Antrim who are treated in the same manner as the Scots Gaels (i.e. Raghnaill Aranach Macdonnell). Irish place and lordship names, however, have been left in their English dress.

These choices in nomenclature, whether for Scotland or Ireland, may not please all readers, but the use of Gaelic names should serve as a reminder of the obvious, if frequently overlooked, fact that language use even more than culture was fundamental to the difference between Gaelic speakers and their Scotophone and Anglophone neighbours. This is something that can often be forgotten due to the predominance of Scots and English language forms in surviving records. English forms are, however, ubiquitous and for ease of reference, the usual English approximations for Gaelic personal names are given in a table below (App. G3), along with a glossary of Scots and Gaelic words and terms with which the reader may be unfamiliar (App. G2).

Scots and English writers in the seventeenth century were often similarly imprecise with their descriptions of the Dutch people with whom they came into contact. They variously described the area from which they originated as Flanders or Holland, and the people as Flemings, Flemish or Hollanders even though they were usually from the Protestant Dutch Republic. Many of the people so labelled, particularly with regard to Lewis came from Zeeland in the southern Netherlands. When people came instead from Flanders or the Catholic Spanish Netherlands, they were often called, at least in a maritime context, 'Dunkirkers.' Any confusion here mirrors the uncertainty of Scots and Englishmen in the early modern period.

G2 Glossary of Scots Gaelic and Scots Terms

Given the extensive use of primary source transcripts and quotations used in this book both in the notes and the appendices as well as in the body of the text the reader may encounter unfamiliar terminology. Some of the more commonly used words are given here, below. The Gaelic words (G) are shown in their nominative forms and secondly in their genitive or plural forms as they occasionally appear in the text, i.e., mac/mhic.

For any unfamiliar Scots words (S) not listed here please see the online *Dictionary of the Scots Language/Dictionar o the Scots Leid*, available as an online resource at: <<http://www.dsl.ac.uk/>>.

Abuilyements (S) – n. pl. Ornaments,
especially of the clothes or person.

Bàn (G) – adj. Pale. Used often for persons
with fair hair.

Bere (S) – n. Barley.

Big & Bigging (S) – v. Build, building.

Intromett/intromit (S) – v. Take away or
uplift goods or monies on behalf of
someone else.

Kindly tenant (S) – n. Tenant who
occupied land on grounds of
hereditary occupation.

- Birlinn* (G) – n. Shallow draft vessel powered by oar and sail used in the west highlands.
- Beag* (G) – adj. Small, young, or small of stature.
- Bodin in feir of weir*. Fully armed and ready to fight.
- Britheamh/Bhritheimh* (G) – n. Adjudicator, Gaelic legal practioner.
- Caution*. (S) – n. Surety. A cautioner was someone who stood surety for someone else.
- Clann* (G) – n. Children or progeny. Borrowed into English as ‘clan.’
- Compt* (S) – n. Account.
- Conanach* (G) – adj. Relating to, Strathconon.
- Creach* (G) – n. Plunder, plundering spree, usually involving the taking of cattle.
- Cuddich* (S) – n. Loanword of ‘cuid oidhche’ see below.
- Cuid-Oidhche* (G) – n. – A night’s portion or lodgings, due from tenant to chief – or payment in lieu.
- Dabhach* (G) – n. Archaic Scottish unit of land extent.
- Davoch/davach* (S) – n. See dabhach.
- Donn* (G) – adj. Brown, dun coloured.
- Dòrlach* (G) – n. Rendered in Scots as ‘dorlach’ or ‘durloch’ – a quiver used by Highlanders.
- Dubh* (G) – adj. Black, or very dark coloured.
- Dùn/Dùin* (G) – n. A fortified stronghold.
- Dùthchas* (G) – n. Possession of land on which ancestors have lived. Similar to ‘kindness.’
- Ewill* (S) – adj. Evil or ill.
- Fine* (G) – n. Clan.
- Fir Innse Gall* (G). The [chief] men of the Hebrides.
- Kindness* (S) – n. Right of tenancy through hereditary occupation. Similar to ‘dùthchas.’
- Kirk* (S) – n. The Church.
- Last* (S) – n. Measure used for herring and grain etc.
- Lymmer(is)* (S) – n. Rascal, or villain.
- Mac/mhic* (G) – n /gen. Son.
- Machair* (G) – n. Low lying plain. In a Hebridean context, fertile land lying on sandy soil.
- Mòr* (G) – adj. Big or great.
- Moyen* (S) – n. & adj. Power to exert influence
- Odhar* (G) – adj. Sallow.
- Òg* (G) – adj. Young.
- Oighre* (G) – n. Heir.
- Portioner* (S) – n. Proprietor of small estate, forming part of a larger unit.
- Quhat* (S) – adj. pron. & adv. What.
- Quhair* (S) – adj. pron. & adv. Where.
- Quhilk* (S) – adj. & pron. Which.
- Quho/quha* (S) – adj. & pron. & adv. Who.
- Reiff* (S) – n. Plunder.
- Relict* (S) – n. widow.
- Rìgh* (G) – n. King.
- Ruadh/Ruaidh* (G) – adj. Reddish or ruddy.
- Seanchaidh* (G) – n. Story teller and tradition bearer.
- Sìol* (G) – n. Progeny or descendants of a person.
- Sliochd* (G) – n. Descendants of a person.
- Sorn* (S) – v. Exaction of free board by force or threat.
- Tack* (S) – n. Lease.
- Tacksman* (S) – n. One who holds a lease.
- Teinds* (S). Tithes.

Gaidhealtachd (G) – n. Gaelic speaking areas.

Gorm (S) – adj. Blue or blue-ish.

Gossoprie (S) – n. Godparentage, relationship as gossips or godparents.

Gruamach (G) – adj. – Gloomy or scowling.

Hagbut (S) – n. A large bore, portable, firearm. Harquebus.

Harl (S) – n. Roughcast applied to exterior walls.

Herschip (S) – n. A plundering raid, usually violent.

Horn (S) – n. Also horning and ‘put to the horn’ or ‘at the horn.’ To be declared outlaw.

Thesaurer (S) – n. Treasurer.

Thig (S) – v. To solicit food or subsistence from other people.

Thir (S) – pron. & adj. Plural of ‘this.’

Tocher (S) – n. Dowry.

Tutor (S) – n. Guardian and administrator of the estate of a minor.

Umquhill (S) – adj. Deceased, former, late.

Wadset (S) – n. Mortgage of property.

G3 Gaelic Personal Names and Their English Alias

Most of the clan hierarchies in Gaelic Scotland had adopted fixed Scots/English style surnames by the end of the fifteenth if not the sixteenth century such as ‘Mackenzie’ or ‘Macleod’ – at least for the immediate chiefly family – when writing in Scots or in English. Although the leadership of clans styled themselves in this manner, many Gaelic clansmen in the early modern period used patronymics rather than fixed surnames. A Torcall who was the son of a Tormod and whose paternal grandfather was named Dòmhnall would be known as Torcall mac Thormoid mhic Dhòmhnail. The usual English alias forms one encounters for Gaelic personal names are given in the following table. The personal names are given in their (nominative) Gaelic forms beside their usual English parallel forms.

Ailean	<i>Allan</i>	Gillepàdruig	<i>Peter/Patrick</i>
Alasdair	<i>Alexander</i>	Iain	<i>John</i>
Amhlaidh	<i>Aulay</i>	Iomhar	<i>Edward/Ivor/Evander</i>
Anna	<i>Ann/Anne</i>	Iseabail	<i>Ishbel/Isobel, Sybilla</i>
Anndra	<i>Andrew</i>	Mairead	<i>Margaret</i>
Aonghas	<i>Angus/Innes</i>	Màiri	<i>Mary</i>
Cailean	<i>Colin</i>	Marsaili	<i>Marjory</i>
Cairistiona	<i>Christine/Christina</i>	Màrtainn	<i>Martin</i>
Catrìona	<i>Catherine</i>	Murchadh	<i>Murdo/Murdoch</i>
Coinneach	<i>Kenneth</i>	Niall/Nèill	<i>Neil</i>
Dòmhnall	<i>Donald / Daniel</i>	Ragnall	<i>Ranald/Ronald/Randall</i>

Donnchadh	<i>Duncan</i>	Ruairidh	<i>Roderick/Rory</i>
Dùbhghall	<i>Dougall</i>	Seònaid	<i>Janet</i>
Eachann	<i>Hector</i>	Seòras	<i>George</i>
Eoin	<i>John/Jonathan</i>	Seumas	<i>James</i>
Fearchar	<i>Farquhar/Ferquhard</i>	Sgàire	<i>Zachary</i>
Fionnghal	<i>Florence/Fiona</i>	Sìm	<i>Simon</i>
Fionnlagh	<i>Finlay</i>	Sìne	<i>Jane</i>
Flòraidh	<i>Flora</i>	Somhairle	<i>Sorley/Samuel</i>
Gilleasbuig	<i>Archibald/Gillespie</i>	Tòmas	<i>Thomas</i>
Gillebrìde	<i>Gilbert</i>	Torcall	<i>Torquil</i>
Gillecaluim	<i>Malcolm/Calum</i>	Tormod	<i>Norman</i>
Gillecrìosd	<i>Christian/Christopher</i>	Uilleam	<i>William</i>
Gillemicheal	<i>Michael</i>	Ùisdean	<i>Hugh/Hucheon/Eugenius</i>
Raibeart	<i>Robert</i>		

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